

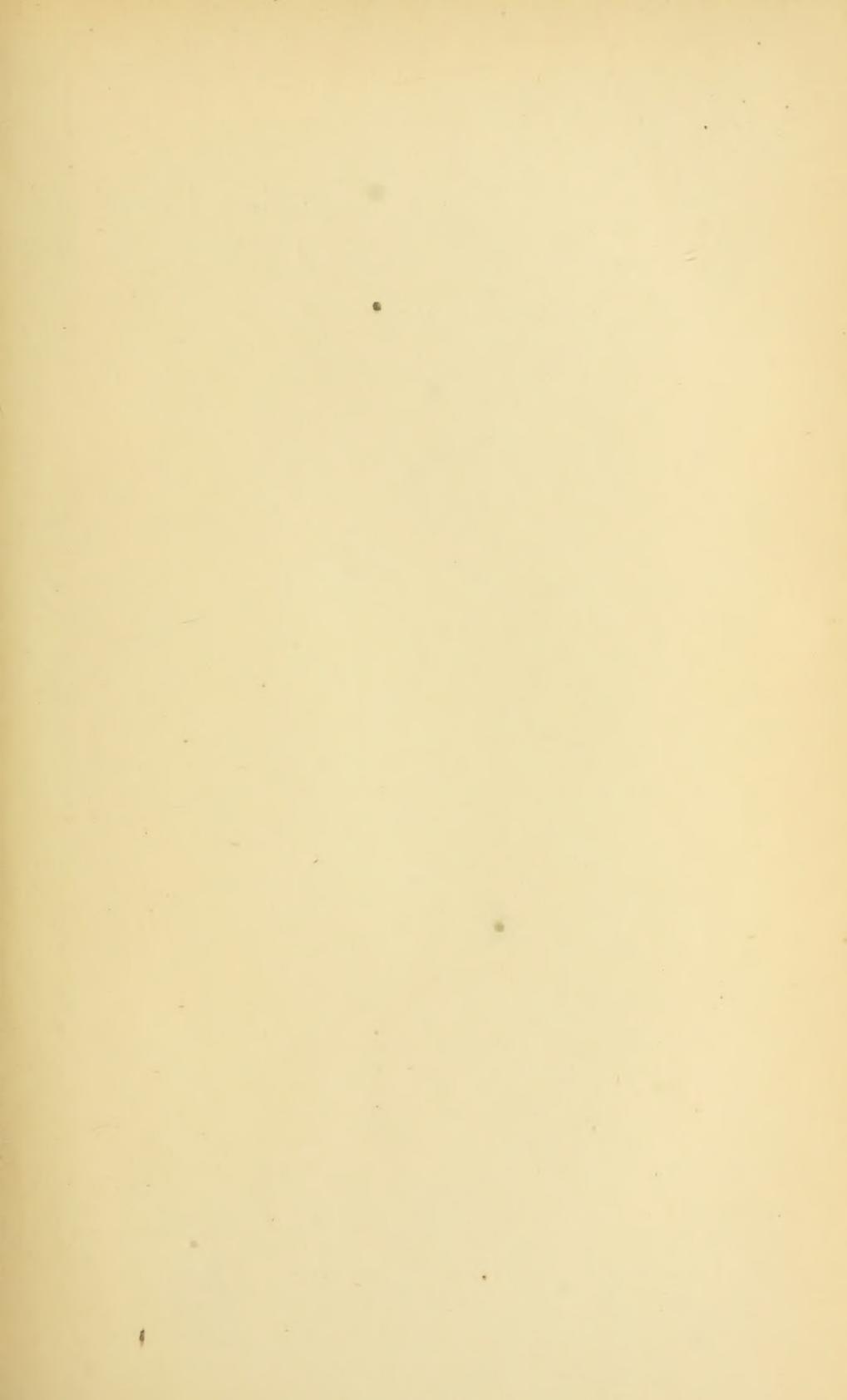
THE
RUSSO-TURKISH
WAR
ILLUSTRATED

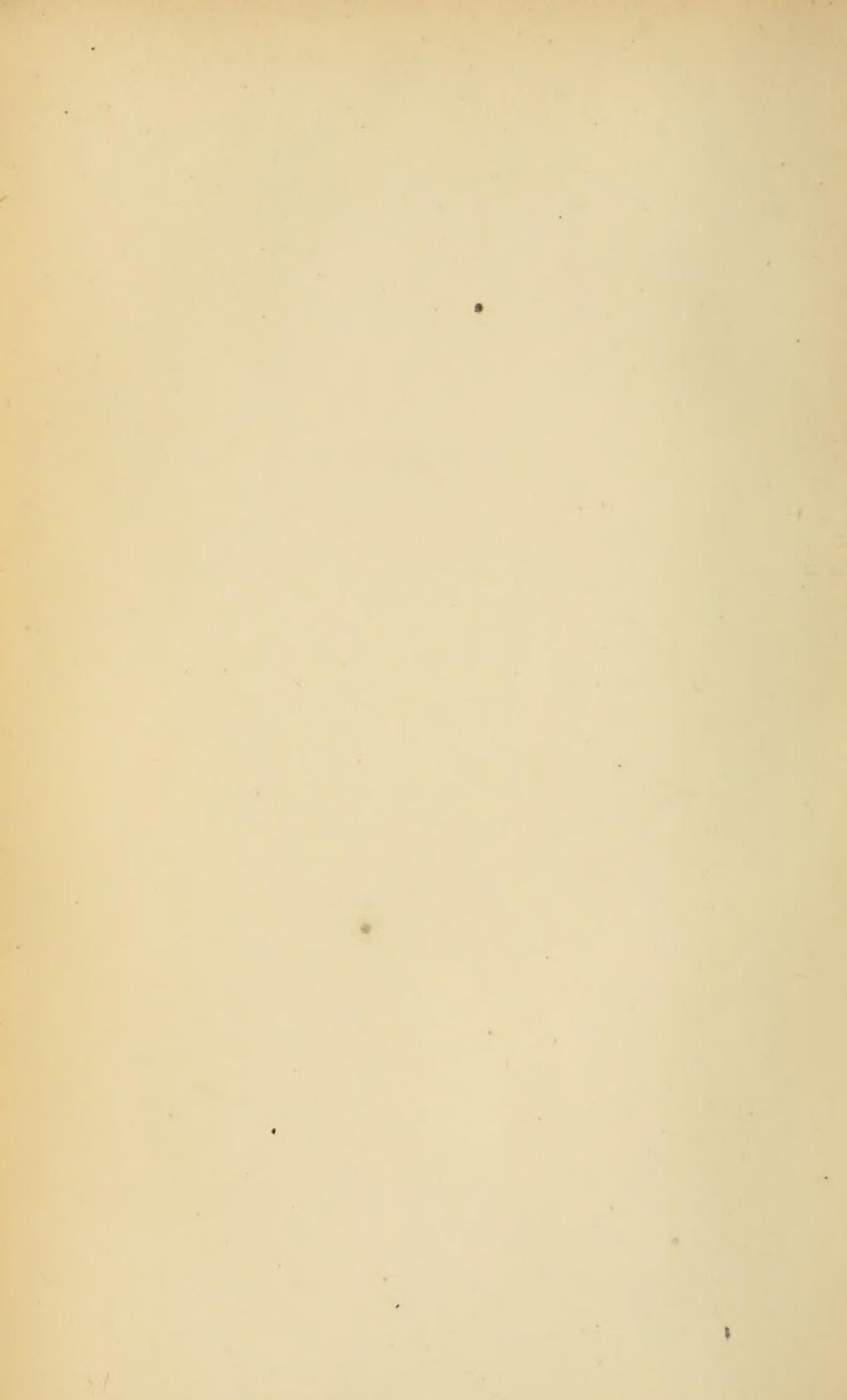


MAP OF
THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE,
KINGDOM OF GREECE,
AND THE RUSSIAN PROVINCES ON THE
BLACK SEA.

Scale of English Statute Miles.

40 80 120 160 200







ALEXANDER II., EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.



MEHEMET MURAD, THE NEW SULTAN OF TURKEY.

THE
RUSSO-TURKISH WAR:

COMPRISING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SERVIAN INSURRECTION,

THE

DREADFUL MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS IN BULGARIA,

AND OTHER

TURKISH ATROCITIES,

WITH

THE TRANSACTIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS OF THE CONTENDING POWERS
PRELIMINARY TO THE PRESENT STRUGGLE, THE MILITARY
RESOURCES AND DEFENCES OF THE COMBATANTS,

AND THE

STIRRING BATTLES AND THRILLING INCIDENTS OF THE WAR

TOGETHER WITH

A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF RUSSIA AND THE RUSSIANS,
THE RISE, PROGRESS AND DECLINE OF THE OTTOMAN
EMPIRE, AND SKETCHES OF THE PEOPLE, MANNERS
AND CUSTOMS AND DOMESTIC
LIFE OF BOTH NATIONS.

BY

R. GRANT BARNWELL,

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF MOODY AND SANKEY," ETC., ETC.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

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PREFACE.

THE eyes of thinking people are now turned to the great struggle in Eastern Europe for the supremacy of the Bosphorus, and to the effort of the Slavonic races of the Danube to throw off the Turkish yoke. The desire of the Russians to possess themselves of Constantinople is as old as the nation itself. It has its origin, not in political ambition only, but in a determination to rescue from infidel bondage their brothers of the Slavonic race and of the Orthodox Church. The position of the Russian Christians under the Tartar domination was very like the present position of the Christians in Turkey. For some time after the conquest, Russia was ruled as Bulgaria is now; then she obtained her rights and powers similar to those of Servia and Roumania at the present day; and ultimately she gained complete independence. Thus the Russians long formed the vanguard in the cause of Slavonic emancipation. They were the first of the Slavonic people to fall under the Tartar yoke, and the first to emancipate themselves. This they have not forgotten; and we cannot wonder that they should now sympathize with those kindred races which are striving to follow their example.

Encamped for four centuries in Europe, the Turks have deviated but little from the manners and customs of their Asiatic forefathers. Although, from the day that the cannon of Mohammed the Second opened the breach in the wall of Constantinople—which still exists, to attest the fall of the Emperor of the East—they have been undisputed masters of the fairest and richest dominion upon earth; yet the great body of them still retain the primitive customs and habits which they brought with them from the mountains of Koordistan. They have in no degree either shared in the improvement, or adopted the manners,

or acquired the knowledge of their European neighbors. Notwithstanding their close proximity to, and constant intercourse with, the democratic commercial communities of Modern Europe, they are yet the devout followers of Mohammed; notwithstanding that they everywhere admit that the star of the Crescent is waning before that of the Cross, they still adhere in all their institutions to the precepts of the Koran. They rely with implicit faith on the aid of the Prophet, although they are well aware that the followers of Christ are ultimately to expel them from Europe; and themselves point to the gate by which the Muscovite battalions are to enter when they place the cross upon the dome of St. Sophia.

In the present volume it is designed to give to the American reader a succinct account of the relations existing between the two nations now at war, to show the causes which, in their gradual development, have led to the present conflict, and to present a vivid and truthful picture of the social and domestic life, habits, and surroundings of the belligerents. The author has endeavored to avail himself of all accessible sources of information, and from the large accumulation of materials, he has selected only such as will be most likely to interest the general public. The aim has been to make the work comprehensive in scope and full in information; and the events narrated are brought down to the present date.

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THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR.

CHAPTER I.

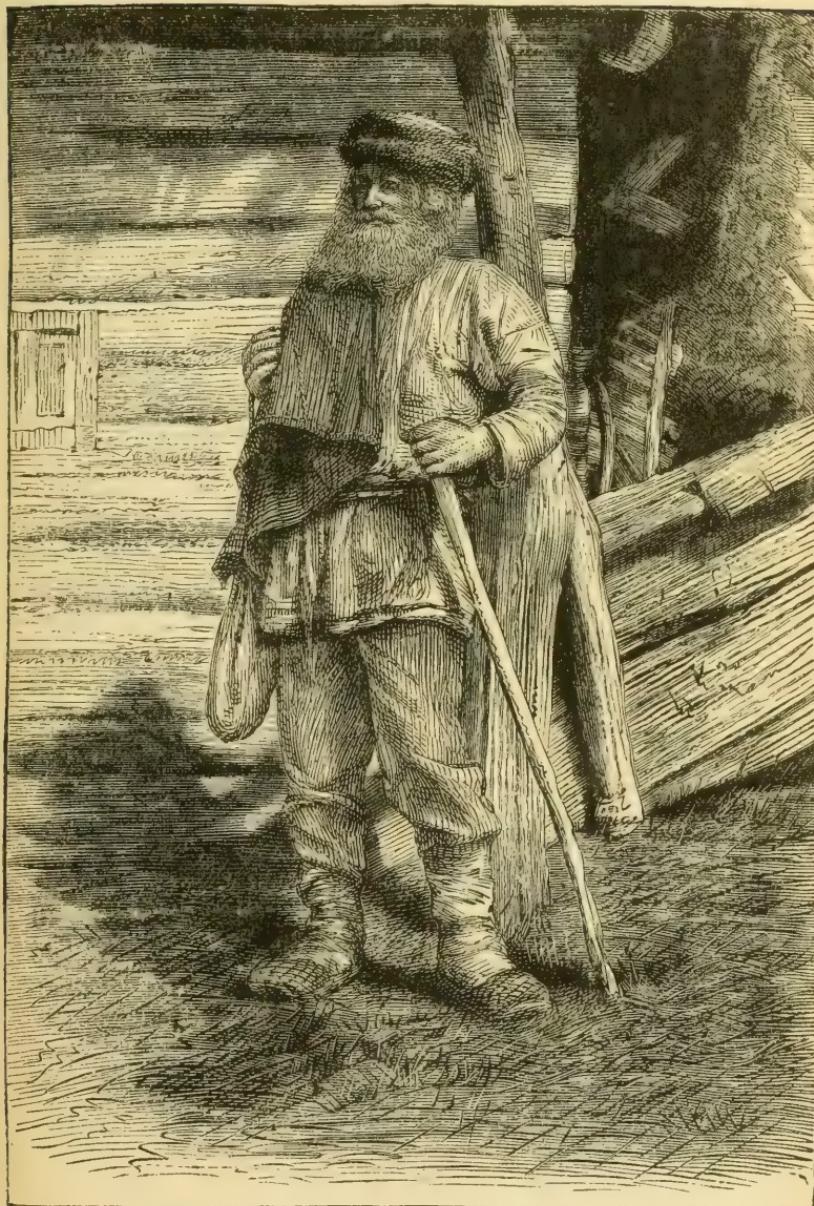
EARLY HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

THE earliest annals of Russia only furnish occasional glimpses of numerous barbarous hordes roaming over its surface. These nomadic tribes, classed under the common appellation of Sarmatians and Scythians, at a very early period began to menace the Roman frontiers, and even before the time of Cyrus the Great of Persia had invaded what was then called the civilized world, particularly Southern Asia. They inhabited the countries described by Herodotus between the Don and the Dnieper; and Strabo and Tacitus mention the Raxalani, afterward called the Ros, as highly distinguished among the Sarmatian tribes dwelling in that district. The Greeks early established colonies here; and in the second century the Goths came from the Baltic, and, locating in the neighborhood of the Don, extended themselves to the Danube.

In the fifth century, the country in the neighborhood of these rivers was overrun by numerous migratory hordes of Alans, Huns, Avarians, and Bulgarians, who were followed by the Slavi, or Slavonians, a Sarmatian people, who took a more northerly direction than their predecessors had done. In the next century, the Khozari, pressed upon by the Avarians, entered the country between the Volga and the Don, conquered the Crimea, and thus placed themselves in connection with the Byzantine Empire. These and numerous other tribes directed the course of their migrations toward the west, forced the Huns into Pannonia, and occupied the country between the Don and the Alanta; while the Tchoudes, or Iohudi, a tribe of the Finnic race, inhabited the northern parts of Russia. All these tribes maintained themselves by pasture and the chase, and exhibited the usual barbarism of wandering nomades.

The Slavonians, coming from the northern Danube, and spreading themselves along the Dnieper, in the fifth and sixth centuries, early acquired, from a commerce with their southern neighbors, habits of civilized life, and embraced the Christian religion. They founded in the country afterward called Russia the two cities of Novgorod and Kiev, which early attained a commercial importance. Their wealth, however, soon excited the anxiety of the Khozari, with whom they were compelled to maintain a perpetual struggle. But Novgorod found another and more formidable enemy in the Varagians, a race of bold pirates who infested the coast of the Baltic, and who had previously subdued the Courlanders, Livonians, and Estonians. It is not improbable that those Varagians formed a part of those Scandinavian nations, who, under the names of Danes and Saxons, successively made themselves masters of England. To these bold invaders the name of *Russi*, *Russes*, or *Russians*, is thought by the most eminent authors to owe its origin. Be that, however, as it may, it appears certain that in these dark ages the country was divided among a great number of petty princes, who madé war upon each other with great ferocity and cruelty, so that the people were reduced to the utmost misery; and the Slavonians, seeing that the warlike rovers threatened their rising state with devastation, were prompted by the necessity of self-preservation to offer the government of their country to them. In consequence of this, a celebrated Varagian chief, named Rurik, arrived in 862, with a body of his countrymen, in the neighborhood of Lake Ladoga, and laid the foundation of the present Empire of Russia, by uniting his people with those who already occupied the soil.

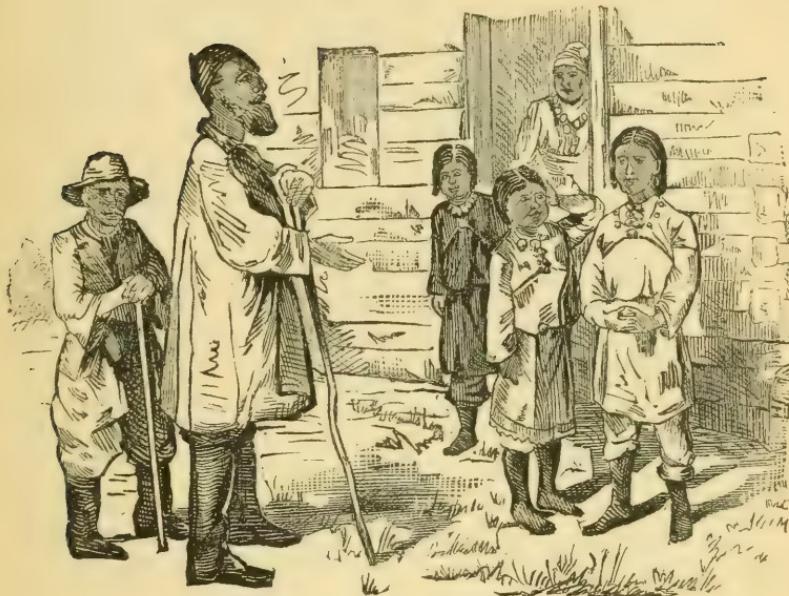
Rurik has the credit of being jealous for the strict administration of justice, and enforcing its exercise on all the *boyars*, or nobles who possessed territories under him. He died in 879, leaving an only son, Igor, who, being a minor, Oleg, a kinsman of the deceased monarch, took on himself the administration of affairs. The new monarch appears very early to have projected the extension of his territories, by annexing to them the settlement which the Slavi had formed about Kiev, against which he soon undertook a formidable expedition. He collected a numerous army, and, taking with him the young Prince Igor, opened the campaign with the capture of Lubitch, and of Smolensk, the capital of the Krivitsches. Having reduced several other



A RUSSIAN PEASANT, OR SERF.

towns, he advanced toward the rival city of Kiev, the possession of which formed the chief object of his ambition. As he did not think it advisable to hazard an open attack, he had recourse to artifice; and, leaving behind him the greater part of his troops, he concealed the remainder in the vessels that brought them down the Dnieper from Smolensk. Oleg himself, disguising his name and quality, passed for a merchant sent by the regent and his ward Igor on business of importance to Constantinople; and he despatched officers to Oskhold and Dir, the two chieftains of the Kievians, requesting permission to pass through their territory into Greece, and inviting them to visit him as friends and fellow-citizens, pretending that indisposition prevented him from paying his respects to them in person. The princes, relying on these appearances of friendship, accepted Oleg's invitation; but when they arrived at the regent's encampment, they were surrounded by the Varagian soldiers, who sprang from their place of concealment. Oleg, taking Igor in his arms, and casting on the sovereigns of Kiev a fierce and threatening look, exclaimed: "You are neither princes, nor of the race of princes; behold the son of Rurik!" These words, which formed the signal that had been agreed on between Oleg and his soldiers, were no sooner uttered, than the latter rushed on the two princes, and laid them prostrate at the feet of their master. The inhabitants of Kiev, thrown into consternation by this bold and treacherous act, made no resistance, but opened the gates of their city to the invader. By this means the two Slavonian States were united under one head.

Having thus made himself master of the key to the Eastern Empire, Oleg prepared to carry into effect his ambitious designs against Constantinople. Leaving Igor at Kiev, he embarked on the Dnieper with eighty thousand warriors in two thousand vessels. The inhabitants of the imperial city had drawn a massy chain across the harbor, hoping to prevent their landing. But the invaders drew ashore their barks, fitted wheels to their flat bottoms, and converted them into carriages, which, by the help of sails, they forced along the roads that led to the city, and thus arrived under the walls of Constantinople. The Emperor Leo, instead of making a manly resistance, is said to have attempted carrying off his enemies by poison; but, this not succeeding, he was obliged to purchase from the conqueror an ignominious peace. Oleg obtained the completion of his wishes by the rich booty which he carried off, and his people, dazzled with



BEGGARS IN ST. PETERSBURG.

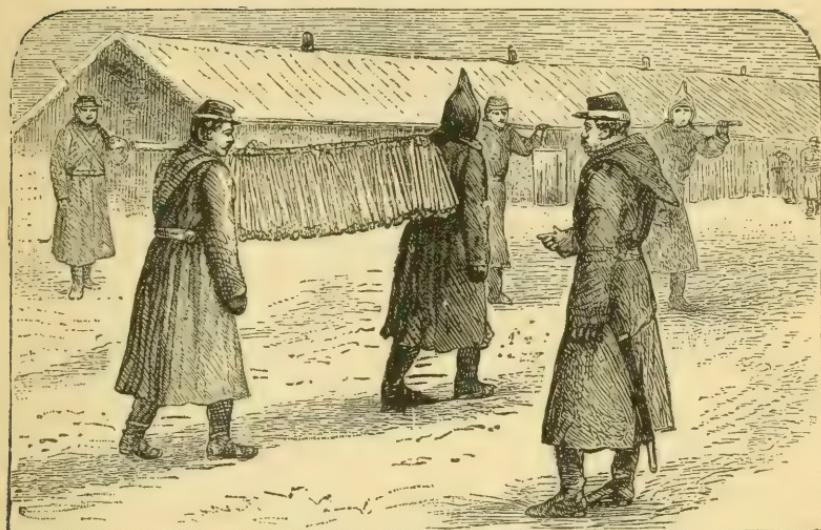
the brilliant success which attended his arms, thought him endowed with supernatural powers.

Oleg maintained the sovereign power for thirty-three years; nor does it appear that Igor had any share in the government till the death of his guardian left him in full possession of the throne, A.D. 912, at which time he had reached his fortieth year. He soon discovered marks of the same warlike spirit which had actuated his predecessor. Among the nations that had been subjugated by Oleg, several, on the accession of a new sovereign, attempted to regain their independence; but they were quelled, and punished by the imposition of a tribute. Igor, however, soon had to contend with more formidable enemies. The Petchenegans, a nation hitherto unknown, quitted their settlements on the Yaik and the Volga, and made incursions into the Russian territory; and Igor, finding himself unable to cope with them in arms, concluded a treaty of alliance.

The Russian monarch was now far advanced in years; but the insatiable rapacity of his officers, ever craving fresh spoils from van-

quished nations, impelled him to turn his arms against the Drevlians, for the purpose of obtaining from them an increase of their yearly tribute. In this unjust attack, he was at first successful, and returned loaded with the contributions which he had levied on that people; but having dismissed a great part of his troops with the spoils of the vanquished, and marching with the remainder too far into the country, he fell into an ambuscade, which the Drevlians, now grown desperate, had formed, on his approach, in the neighborhood of Korosten. The Russians were overpowered, and Igor, being taken prisoner, was put to death. This occurred in 945.

Before the death of Oleg, Igor had married a princess of a bold and daring spirit, named Olga, by whom he had one son, Sviatoslaff; but as he was very young at the death of his father, the queen-mother Olga assumed the reins of government. Her first care was to take signal vengeance on the Drevlians, who, satisfied with the death of their oppressor, appeared desirous of renewing their amicable intercourse with the Russians. Olga, concealing her real designs under a specious veil of kindness, appeared to listen to their overtures, and received the deputies of Male, but immediately ordered them to be privately put to death. In the meantime, she invited a larger deputation from the Drevlian chief, which she treated in the same manner, taking care that no tidings of either murder should be carried to the Drevlians. She then set out, as if on an amicable visit, to conclude the new alliance; and having proclaimed a solemn entertainment, to which she invited some hundreds of the principal inhabitants of the Drevlian towns, she caused them to be treacherously assassinated. This was but the first step to the dreadful vengeance which she had resolved to inflict on this unhappy people. She laid waste the whole country, particularly near the town of Korosten, where Igor had lost his life. For a long time she could not master the place, as the inhabitants, dreading the horrible fate that awaited them from the revengeful spirit of Olga, defended themselves with valor and success. At length, being assured of clemency, on condition of sending to Olga all the pigeons of the town, they submitted; but Olga, causing lighted matches to be fastened to the tails of the pigeons, set them at liberty. The birds flew to their usual places of residence in the town, which were speedily in a conflagration. The wretched inhabitants, endeavoring to escape from the flames, fell into the hands of the Russian soldiers, planted round the town for that



A RUSSIAN CAMP.

purpose, by whom they were put to the sword. Though not uncommon in the annals of a barbarous people, this transaction is sufficient to hand down the name of Olga with detestation to posterity. The princess was, however, the first of the barbarians who professed to embrace Christianity. She failed in persuading her son to follow her example, but induced a few of her subjects to do so.

It is probable that Olga retired from the administration of affairs soon after her profession of Christianity; for we find Sviatoslaff in full possession of the government in 957, long before his mother's death. This prince has been considered one of the Russian heroes; and if a thirst for blood, a contempt of danger, and disregard of the luxuries and conveniences of life, be admitted as the characteristics of a hero, he deserves the appellation. He took up his habitation in a camp, where his accommodations were of the coarsest kind; and when he had, by this mode of life, ingratiated himself with his troops, he prepared to employ them in those ambitious projects which he had long been forming.

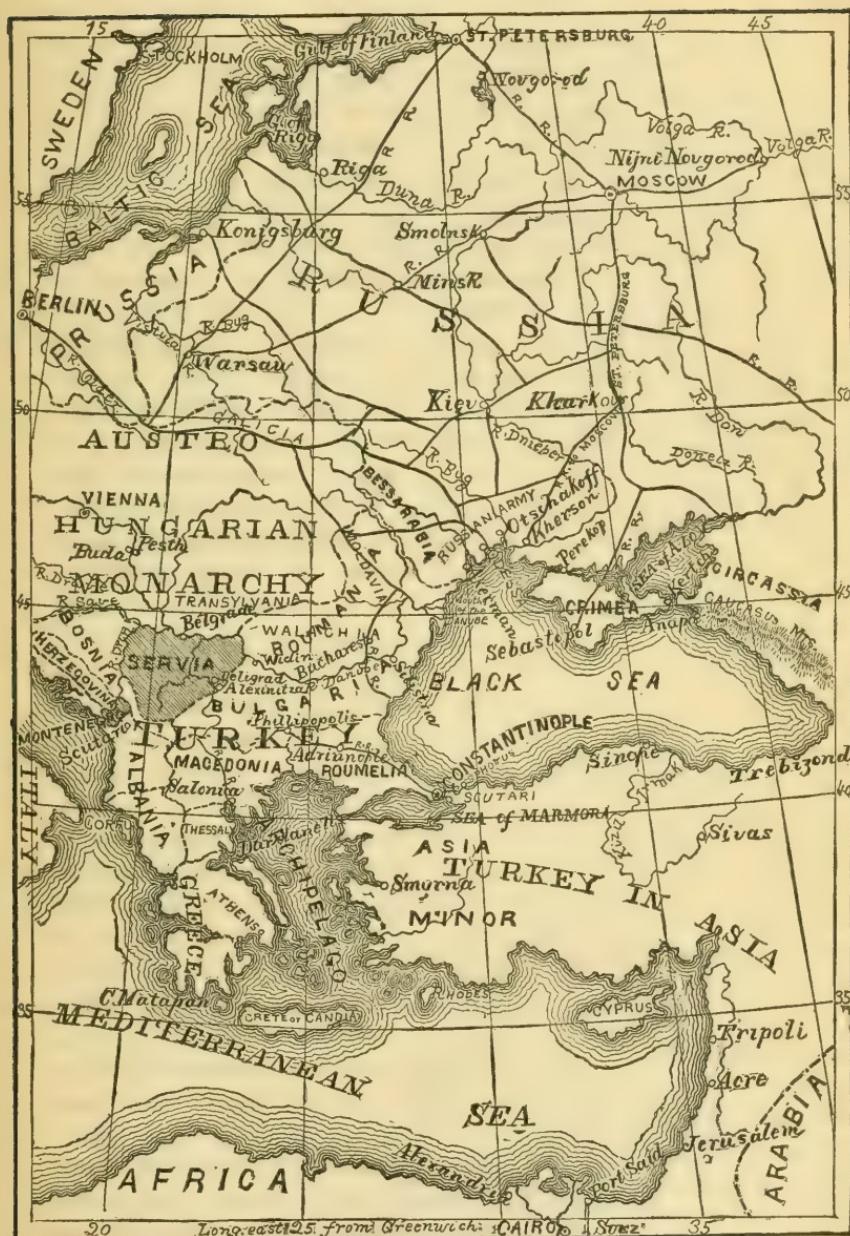
His first expedition was against the Khozari, a people already mentioned, from the shores of the Caspian, and the Caucasian mountains,

who had established themselves along the eastern shores of the Black Sea. These people had rendered tributary both the Kievians and the Viateches, a Slavonian nation that dwelt on the banks of the Oka and the Volga. Sviatoslaff, desirous of transferring to himself the tribute which the Khozari derived from the latter people, marched against them, and appears to have succeeded in his design. He defeated them in a battle, and took their capital city Sarkel, or *Belgorod*. It is said by some historians that he annihilated the nation; and it is certain that, from that time, no mention is made of the Khozari.

The martial fame of Sviatoslaff had extended to Constantinople; and the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, who was then harassed by the Hungarians, assisted by his treacherous allies the Bulgarians, applied for succor to the Russian chieftain. A subsidiary treaty was entered into between them, and Sviatoslaff hastened with a numerous army to the assistance of his new allies. He quickly made himself master of most of the Bulgarian towns along the Danube; but, receiving intelligence that the Petchenegans had assembled in great numbers, ravaged the Kievian territory, and laid siege to the capital, within the walls of which were shut up his mother and his sons, he hastened to the relief of his family.

Having defeated the besiegers, and obliged them to sue for peace, he resolved to establish himself on the banks of the Danube, and divided his hereditary dominions among his children. He gave Kiev to Yaropolk; the Drevlian territory to Oleg; and on Vladimir, a natural son, he bestowed the government of Novgorod. On his return to Bulgaria, however, he found that his affairs had assumed a very different aspect. The Bulgarians, taking advantage of his absence with his troops, had recovered most of their towns, and seemed well prepared to resist the encroachments of a foreign power. They fell on Sviatoslaff, as he approached the walls of Pereiaslavatz, and began the attack with so much fury, that at first the Russians were defeated with great slaughter. They, however, soon rallied, and, taking courage from despair, renewed the battle with so much eagerness, that they in turn became masters of the field. Sviatoslaff took possession of the town, and soon recovered all that he had lost.

During these transactions, the Greek Emperor Nicephorus had been assassinated, and John Zemisces, his murderer, had succeeded to the imperial diadem. The new Emperor sent ambassadors to the Russian



MAP OF RUSSIA AND THE SEAT OF WAR.

monarch, requiring him to comply with the stipulations of his treaty with Nicephorus, and evacuate Bulgaria, which he had agreed to occupy as an ally, but not as a master. Sviatoslaff refused to give up his newly-acquired possessions, and prepared to decide the contest by force of arms. He did not live to reach the capital; for having, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers, attempted to return to Kiev up the dangerous navigation of the Dnieper, he was intercepted by the Petchenegans near the rocks that form the cataracts of that river. After remaining on the defensive during the winter, exposed to all the horrors of famine and disease, on the return of spring, in 972, he attempted to force his way through the ranks of the enemy; but his troops were defeated, and himself killed in the battle.

Yaropolk, the sovereign of Kiev, may be considered as the successor of his father on the Russian throne; but his reign was short and turbulent. A war broke out between him and his brother Oleg, in which the latter was defeated and slain. Vladimir, the third brother, dreading the increased power and ambitious disposition of Yaropolk, soon after abandoned his dominions, which were seized on by the Kievian prince. Vladimir had retired among the Varagians, from whom he soon procured such succor as enabled him to make effectual head against the usurper. He advanced toward Kiev before Yarapolk was prepared to oppose him. The Kievian prince had, indeed, been lulled into security by the treacherous reports of one of his *voyvodes*, who was in the interest of Vladimir, and who found means to induce him to abandon his capital, on pretence that the inhabitants were disaffected toward him. The Kievians, left without a leader, opened their gates to Vladimir; and Yaropolk, still misled by the treachery of his adviser, determined to throw himself on the mercy of his brother; but before he could effect this purpose, he was assassinated by some of his Varagian followers. By this murder, which had probably been planned by Vladimir, the conqueror, in 980, acquired the undivided possession of all his father's territories.

The commencement of Vladimir's reign formed but a continuation of the enormities which had conducted him to the throne. He began with removing Blude, the treacherous *voyvode*, by whom his brother had been betrayed into his power, and to whom he had promised the highest honors and dignities. The Varagians, who had assisted in reinstating him on the throne of his ancestors, requested permission to



A PEASANT MOTHER AND CHILD.

go and seek their fortune in Greece. He granted their request, but privately advised the Emperor of their approach, and caused them to be arrested and secured.

Vladimir engaged in numerous wars, and subjected several of the neighboring states to his dominion. He seized on part of the Polish territory; and compelled the Bulgarians, who dwelt in that which now forms the government of Kazan, to do him homage. He subdued the Petchenegans and Khazares, in the immediate neighborhood of the Kievan state; he reduced to his authority Halitsch (or Kalisch) and Vladimir, countries which are now known as Galicia and Lubomiria; he conquered Lithuania as far as Memel, and took possession of a great part of modern Livonia.

This monarch, having settled the affairs of his Empire, demanded in marriage the princess Anne, sister to the Greek Empress Basilius Porphyrogenitus. His suit was granted, on condition that he should embrace Christianity. With this the Russian monarch complied; and that vast Empire was thenceforward considered as belonging to the patriarchate of Constantinople. Vladimir received the name *Basilius* on the day he was baptized; and, according to the Russian annals, twenty thousand of his subjects were baptized on the same day. The idols of paganism were now thrown down, churches and monasteries were erected, towns built, and the arts began to flourish. The Slavonian letters were also at this period first introduced into Russia; and Vladimir sent missionaries to convert the Bulgarians, but without much success. We are told that Vladimir called the arts from Greece, cultivated them in the peaceable periods of his reign, and generously rewarded their professors. His merits, indeed, appear to have been very considerable. He has been extolled by the monks as the wisest as well as the most religious of kings; his zealous exertions in promoting the profession of Christianity throughout his dominions acquired for him the title of saint; and succeeding historians, comparing the virtues of his character with the age in which he lived, have united in conferring on him the appellation of "Vladimir the Great."

His son Yaroslav, who reigned thirty-five years and died in 1054, at the age of seventy-seven, was a prince of considerable attainments, and a great patron of the arts. The Church of St. Sophia, at Novgorod, was by his order decorated with pictures and mosaics, portions of which are said to remain to the present time. His expedition



A WINTER SCENE IN ST. PETERSBURGH.

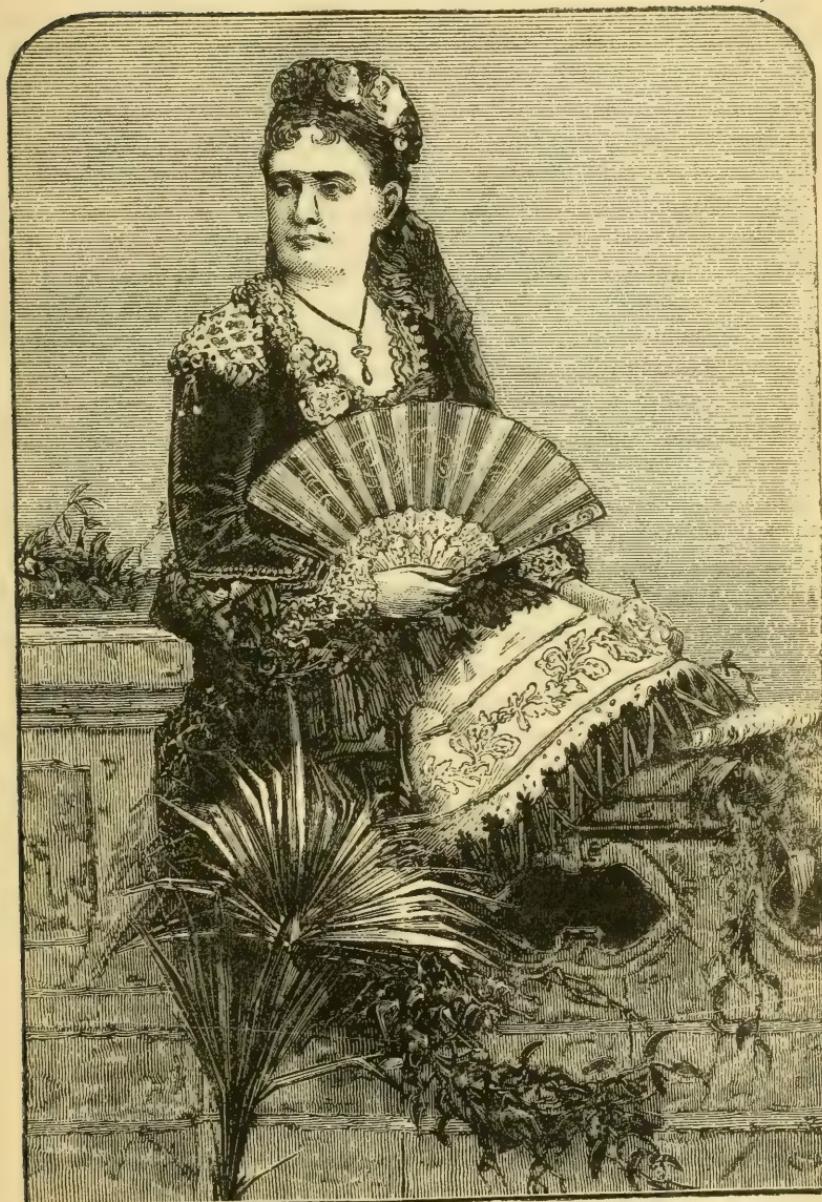
against Constantine XI., who then held the sceptre of the Eastern or Greek Empire (though unsuccessful), as well as his acquirements, and the splendor in which he lived, made his name known and respected throughout Europe. Three of his daughters were married to the Kings of France, Norway, and Hungary; and his eldest son, Vladimir, who died before him, had for wife a daughter of the unfortunate Harold, the last of the Saxon Kings of England.

Yaroslav, at his death, divided his Empire, as was usually the case, among his sons. Vladimir Monomachus, his grandson, who died in the early part of the next century, did the same; and as the Russian monarchs were blessed, generally speaking, with a numerous offspring, the country was continually a prey to internal dissensions and strife; and these family feuds were not settled until an appeal had been made to the sword, which, being congenial to the disposition of the people and the temper of the times, was frequently prolonged for years. In the year preceding the death of Monomachus, Kiev was nearly destroyed by fire; and, from the great number of churches and houses

that fell a prey to the flames, the city must then have been of great extent and opulence. This calamity was followed in the succeeding reign by a still greater one, when the sister capital, Novgorod, was desolated by a famine so awful, that the survivors were not sufficiently numerous to bury the dead, and the streets were blocked up by the putrid corpses of the inhabitants!

The reigns which followed this period of Russian history are distinguished by little else than continual wars with the Poles, Lithuanians, Polovetzes, and Tchoudes, with this exception, that the town of Vladimir, built by Yury I., in 1157, became in that year the capital instead of Kiev. But a more formidable enemy than the inhabitants of the countries and tribes already mentioned drew near the Muscovite territory, in the person of Tuschki, the son of Zinghis Khan, who, emigrating with his Tartars westward, led them, about the year 1223, from the shores of the Sea of Aral and the Caspian to those of the Dnieper. The Circassians and Polovetzes, having endeavored in vain to arrest the progress of the horde, were at length constrained to apply to their hitherto inveterate foes for assistance; and, the cause being now equally dear to all parties, the Russians made an intrepid stand on the banks of the Kalka. The impetuous attack, however, of the invaders was not to be withstood, and, the Prince of Kiev treacherously abstaining from taking part in the battle, the Russians were completely routed, and scarcely a tenth part of an army composed of one hundred thousand men escaped. The enemy then pursued his way unmolested to the capital, which he took, and put fifty thousand of the inhabitants of the principality of Kiev to the sword. The further progress of the Tartars northward was marked by fire and sword; but, having reached Novgorod-Severski, they faced about and retreated to the camp of Zinghis Khan, who was at this time in Bokhara.

Thirteen years after, Batow Khan, grandson of Zinghis, desolated Russia afresh, committing every species of cruelty, and aggravated breaches of faith with the towns who submitted to his arms. In this manner, the old provinces of Riazan, Periaslav, Rostov, and several others, fell into his hands; for, with incredible apathy, and contrary to their usual warlike inclinations, the Russian princes neglected to raise any troops to dispute their progress; and Yury II., Prince of Vladimir, who was at this critical juncture occupied in celebrating the marriage

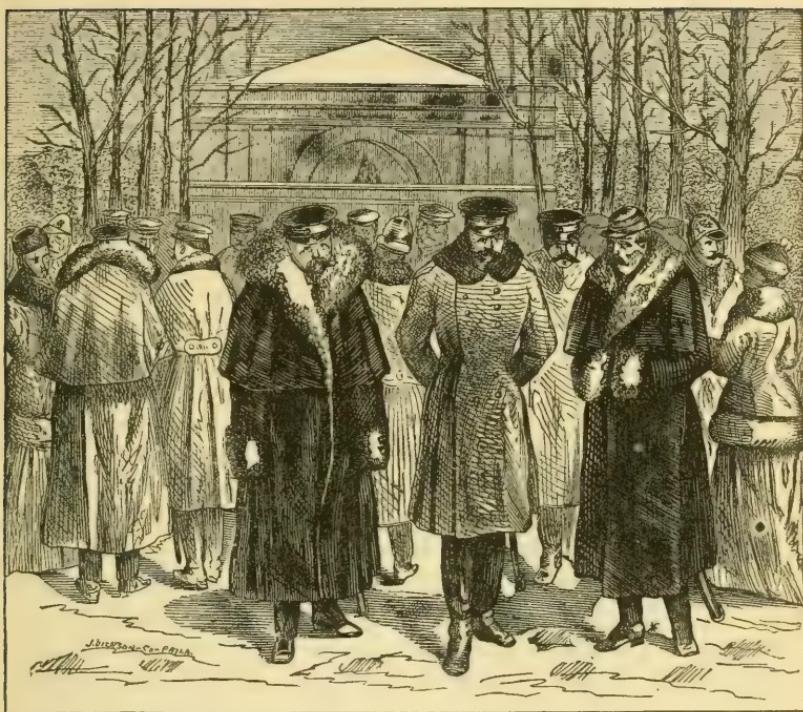


THE RUSSIAN SONGSTRESS, MADEMOISELLE BELOCCA.

of one of his boyars. At length, suddenly rousing to a sense of his desperate position, he placed himself at the head of some troops hastily called together, and left his family under the protection of one of his nobles, trusting that his capital would be able to sustain a long siege. He was mistaken; the Tartars soon made themselves masters of Vladimir, and the grand princesses, as well as other persons of distinction, were burnt alive in the church in which they had taken shelter. On hearing of this tragical event, Yury marched with his adherents to meet the foe. The contest was sanguinary and short; but, after performing prodigies of valor, the Russians were borne down by overpowering numbers, and their prince was left among the slain. There was now nothing to dispute the march of the ruthless Tartars, and they pushed forward to within sixty miles of Novgorod, when they again turned round, without any ostensible motive, and evacuated the Russian territory.

The wretched condition into which the southern and central parts of the Empire were thrown by these invasions, afforded a most advantageous opportunity for other enemies to attack it; and accordingly, in 1242, and during the reign of Yaroslav II., the Swedes, Danes, and Livonians, sent a numerous and well-disciplined army to demand the submission of Novgorod. This, Alexander, the son of the reigning sovereign, refused; and, leaving his capital, he advanced, unaided by any allies, to meet his opponents, and fought the celebrated battle of the Neva, which gained him the surname of *Nevski*, and a place in the Russian calendar. The personal courage of Alexander in this battle was of the highest order, and mainly contributed to secure the victory. His memory is still cherished by the Russians, and the order instituted in honor of him is much valued.

A cruel and constantly fluctuating war with the Tartars, various incursions by the Livonians, Lithuanians, Swedes, and Poles, and the most frightful civil discord among the several almost regal provinces of Russia, consumed fourteen successive reigns, between Yury II., who died in 1238, and Ivan I., who succeeded his father in the principality of Vladimir in 1328. The aspect of Russia during this period was that of a gloomy forest rather than an empire. Might took the place of right, and pillage, authorized by impunity, was exercised alike by Russians and Tartars. There was no safety for travellers on the roads, or for females in their houses; and robbery, like a contagious malady,



RUSSIAN OFFICERS IN CONSULTATION.

infested all properties. The Tartars, adding insult to injury, arrogated to themselves the power of protection of this or that interest; and, in the case of Ivan I., Uzbek Khan secured to him the possession of Novgorod, as well as of Vladimir and Moscow. Ivan's father had greatly beautified and improved the latter town; and Ivan followed his example, and made it his residence. Here also resided the Metropolitan, and it therefore rapidly advanced in importance. Ivan's reign of thirteen years was remarkable as improving and peaceful, and he exercised a sound discretion by building a wall of wood around the city, which supported a rampart of wood and stone. At the close of his life he took monastic vows, and died in 1341. In the reign of Ivan II., second son of the previous monarch of that name, Moscow established its pre-eminence as a city, and became a capital of the Empire.

Ivan II. died in 1358, and was succeeded by Dmitri III., who died in 1363. The throne was then occupied by Dmitri IV., under whom, towards the close of this century, the Russians raised an army of four hundred thousand men, and met the Tartars near the Don, who were defeated with great loss. This terrible contest lasted three days, and was known in after ages as "the Battle of the Giants." The victors, however, suffered greatly; and when Dmitri reviewed his army after the battle, he found it reduced to forty thousand men! This success obtained for him the surname of *Donskoi*. Subsequently, however, to this victory, the Tartars again advanced; and Dmitri, betrayed by his allies, the princes of the neighboring States, deserted Moscow, which fell by capitulation into the hands of the ruthless invaders, who devastated it with fire and sword until it was utterly destroyed, no building being permitted to remain except those which happened to have been constructed of stone by the grand Prince.

The character of Dmitri IV. is thus given by the metropolitan Cyprian: "He knew," says that ecclesiastic, "how to soften the kingly office by condescension, he was impartial in the administration of justice, and delighted to promote the peace and happiness of his subjects; his learning was small, but the rectitude of his disposition and the kindness of his heart supplied the defects of education, and entitle him to a distinguished place among Russian sovereigns." It was this prince who caused the Kremlin to be erected of stone, and closed by a wall flanged with towers, which were defended by ditches surrounded with stone.

Vassili or Basil II., who succeeded his father Dmitri in 1389, was also destined to see his country invaded by the Tartars under Tamerlane; but they never reached the capital, for he prepared to give them battle near the river Oka, when they suddenly turned round and retired, as their countrymen had previously done on two other occasions. The Russians attributed this to a miracle performed by a picture of the Virgin Mary, said to have been painted by St. Luke. The barbarian horde, however, joined by the Lithuanians, afterward laid siege to Moscow, but were repulsed by the inhabitants, the grand prince having retired with his family to Kostroma. Exasperated by this defeat, the Tartars in their retreat harassed the surrounding country, and slaughtered the defenceless peasantry. Money was first coined in Novgorod during this reign, its place having hitherto been



RUSSIAN PEASANT GIRLS.

supplied with skins and pieces of leather; twenty skins of the martin were considered as equivalent to a *grivna*, the value of which was a real pound of gold or silver, of nine and a quarter ounces in Kiev and thirteen in Novgorod.

During the reign of Vassili, Kazan was taken from the Tartars, and Russia was thrice visited with the plague and famine, while the ancient city of Novgorod was shaken by an earthquake after the greater part of its buildings had been consumed by fire. Internal dissensions broke out on the death of Vassili, a dispute having arisen respecting the succession to the throne between the son of that monarch and his uncle George. This was, by the consent of both parties, left to the decision of the Khan of Tartary, who determined in favor of the former. Nevertheless, a civil war ensued, and George was for a short time in possession of the throne, when, finding himself abandoned by his party and his family, he restored it to his nephew, and returned to his principality of Halitsch.

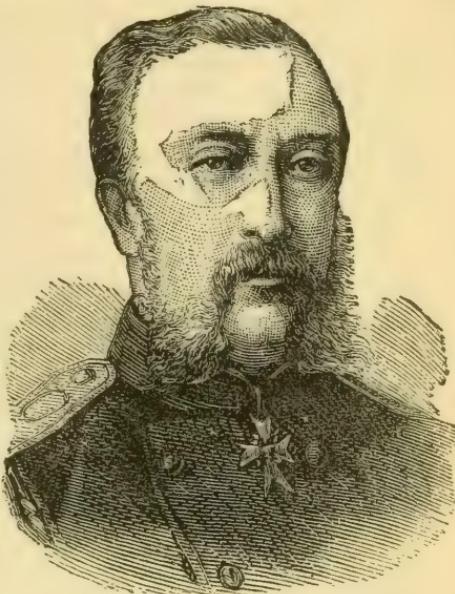
Complicated wars, Russian and Tartar, now followed; the principal incident of which was that Ivan, the prince of Mojask, in the interest of the traitor Chemiaka, induced Vassili to stop at the monastery of the Troitzkoi, to return thanks on his arrival from the Tartars, and, having seized him there, he took him to Moscow and put out his eyes. A few years after the prince of Mojask had committed this savage act, Vassili was restored to the throne, and died in 1462. The Tartars, under Makhmet, again possessed themselves of Kazan in this reign.

Vassili II. was succeeded by Ivan III. The first exploit which the new monarch attempted was the reduction of the province of Kazan, in which he succeeded after two severe campaigns. The next was the subjection of Novgorod, in which he also succeeded, incorporating that city and province with his own dominions, and, having received the oaths of allegiance of the inhabitants, he carried off with him to Moscow their celebrated town-clock, which he suspended in a tower before the Kremlin, to be used only to call the people to their devotions.

The next and most arduous undertaking was the destruction of the "Golden Horde," under Achmet, which he effected in revenge for the insult offered by that Khan in demanding the homage which he had received from his predecessors. Ivan spat on the Edict and Achmet's seal, and put his ambassadors to death, sparing one only to convey the

intelligence to his master, who prepared in the following year to take his revenge; but, awed by the preparations made to receive him on the banks of the Oka, he retired for a time, and subsequently took the more circuitous route through Lithuania, from which country he expected support. The Russians, however, met and defeated a part of this horde, and were returning home, when the Khan was met on a different route by the Nogai Tartars, who routed his army and slew him in the battle. His ally, Casimir IV., also brought himself under Ivan's indignation, not only for this war, but because he attempted to poison him, and an incursion that he made into the territories of the Polish king was eminently successful.

This powerful and ambitious prince also made treaties with and received ambassadors from the Pope, the Sultan, the kings of Denmark and Poland, and the republic of Venice. He assumed the title of "Grand Prince of Novgorod, Vladimir, Moscow, and all Russia," and changed the arms of St. George on horseback for the black eagle with two heads, after his marriage with Sophia, a princess of the imperial blood of Constantinople. In fact, Ivan III. may be called the true founder of the modern Russian Empire. Karamsin, the historian, thus describes him: "Without being a tyrant like his grandson, he had received from nature a certain harshness of character, which he knew how to moderate by the strength of his reason. It is said, however, that a single glance of Ivan, when he was excited with anger, would make a timid woman swoon; that petitioners dreaded to approach his throne; and that, even at his table, the *boyars*, his grandees, trembled before him"—which portrait does not belie his own declaration, when



THE RUSSIAN GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS.

the same *boyars* demanded that he should give the crown to his grandson, Ivan, whom he had dispossessed in favor of a son by his second wife—"I will give to Russia whomsoever I please!" He died, very infirm, in 1505, having reigned forty-three years.

Wars between the Russians, the Poles, the Tartars, and the Novgorodians, again arose on the death of Ivan, and it was not till the death of Vassili IV., his successor, and a minority of twelve years had elapsed in the reign of Ivan IV., that internal cabals and intrigues were for a time suppressed. This monarch, the first to take the title of "*Czar*," married Anastasia, the daughter of Roman Yuryvich, who in the early part of his reign had the happiest ascendancy over a character naturally violent and cruel. Ivan was at this period affable and condescending, accessible to both rich and poor, and his mental powers under her guidance were employed in advancing the interests and happiness of his subjects. Ivan soon perceived that, to preserve his power, he must annihilate the Tartar dominion. To this he felt that his uninstructed army was unequal; he therefore established, in 1545, the militia of the *Strelitzes*, and armed them with muskets instead of bows, hitherto their arms, as their name imports, from *Strelai*, "an arrow." He then laid siege to and captured Kazan, taking the Khan prisoner. He likewise defeated Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, in a pitched battle near Viborg; ravaged Livonia, taking Dorpat, Narva and thirty fortified towns; and made war on the King of Poland because he had refused him his daughter in marriage. An unsuccessful campaign against this potentate, attributed by the *boyars* to the unskillful arrangements of the foreign generals, as well as the death of his wife Anastasia, whose controlling influence was no longer felt, led to the unlimited indulgence of his naturally ferocious disposition; and the remaining acts of his life gained for him, in the history of his country, the surname of "The Terrible." Independently of the many and dreadful acts of barbarity of which he was guilty, he killed his own son in a paroxysm of rage, but died a prey to the grief and remorse which this fearful crime occasioned him, after having endeavored to atone for it by giving large sums of money to different monasteries. He received the tonsure in his last moments.

As a legislator, Ivan IV. was superior to his predecessors, having, with the assistance of his nobles, compiled a code of laws called "*Soudobrik*." In his reign an English ship, commanded by Richard Chan-



A PEASANT COUPLE ON THE MARCH.

cellor, on a voyage of discovery in the Arctic Sea, anchored in the mouth of the Dwina; and when the information of this circumstance was forwarded to Ivan, he invited Chancellor to Moscow, where, on his arrival, he was received with marked attention, and presented with a letter to carry back to his sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, expressing a desire to enter into commercial relations with England, and to have English artificers and workmen sent to him. It is curious that even at this early period the fair which he established at Narva was so glutted with English, Dutch, and French goods, that some of them were sold for less than the prime cost in their respective countries. Ivan controlled his religious prejudices, and tolerated the Lutheran churches of the German merchants at Moscow; but he never shook hands with a foreign ambassador without washing his own immediately after his visitor had taken his leave. With a character so strongly marked by cruelty, superstition and caprice, it is remarkable to find not only that he was enterprising and intelligent, but that he should ever have entertained the idea of placing the Scriptures in the hands of his subjects in the mother tongue; he did, however, order a translation to be made of the Acts and Epistles, and had it disseminated over his dominions.

"In the memory of the people," observes Karamsin, "the brilliant renown of Ivan survived the recollection of his bad qualities. The groans had ceased, the victims were reduced to dust; new events caused ancient traditions to be forgotten; and the memory of this prince reminded people only of the conquest of three Mongol kingdoms. The proofs of his atrocious actions were buried in the public archives; while Kazan, Astrakhan, and Siberia remained in the eyes of the nation as imperishable monuments of his glory. The Russians, who saw in him the illustrious author of their power and civilization, rejected or forgot the surname of tyrant given him by his contemporaries. Under the influence of some confused recollections of his cruelty, they still call him Ivan 'The Terrible,' without distinguishing him from his grandfather, Ivan III., to whom Russia had given the same epithet rather in praise than in reproach. History does not pardon wicked princes so easily as do people."

Ivan IV. died in 1584, having governed the Russian nation for a longer period than any other sovereign, namely, fifty-one years.

Feodor I., who ascended the throne after the death of Ivan IV., and

was a feeble and vacillating prince, died in 1598. His successor was Boris Godunoff, the brother of Anastasia, the Czar Ivan's first wife, who, like the English Richard, compassed the death of his nephew Dmitri, Feodor's younger brother, during that Czar's lifetime; and therefore in Feodor ended the dynasty of Rurik, which during eight centuries had wielded the Russian sceptre. Consequent upon this deed came all kinds of civil calamities, and in 1604 there arose a pretender to the throne in the person of a Russian monk. This man assumed the character of the murdered Dmitri, and having drawn to his standard the Poles and the Cossacks of the Don, met Boris in the field, remained master of it, and in the space of one year seated himself on the throne.

Nor was this civil war the only calamity which befell the Russians during the reign of Boris. Moscow was, in 1600, decimated by the most appalling famine that ever devastated the capital of a country. It is related that, driven by the pangs of hunger, instances occurred of mothers having first slain and then eaten their own children; and it is recorded that a woman, in her extremity, seized with her teeth the flesh of her son whom she carried in her arms. Others confessed that they had entrapped into their dwellings, and subsequently killed and eaten three men successively. One hundred and twenty-seven thousand corpses remained for some days in the streets unburied, and were afterwards interred in the fields, exclusive of those which had been previously buried in the four hundred churches of the city! An eye-witness states that this awful visitation carried off five hundred thousand persons from this densely-peopled capital, the population of which was, at the time, augmented by the influx of stran-



CYNROVITCH—THE FUTURE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

gers. During this dreadful calamity, Boris, with justifiable violence, broke open the granaries which avarice had closed, and had the grain sold at half its value.

Interminable and inexplicable troubles, a second false Dmitri, and other impostors, led to the occupation of Moscow by the Poles in 1610, who entered the city with Vladislaus, son of Sigismund, King of Poland, elected to the throne by the *boyars*, on condition that he should embrace the Greek religion. This gave great offence to the national feeling, and Minim, a citizen of Nijnei-Novgorod, called his countrymen to arms, and entreated the general Pojarski to take the command. This he did without reluctance, and his army was quickly increased by the arrival of troops and money from various towns, and by the Cossacks and Strelitzes who flocked to his banner. Thus reinforced, they marched to Yaroslav, and afterwards to Moscow, to which they laid siege, carried the *Kitai Gorod* by assault, and made a fearful slaughter of the Poles; when the inhabitants, driven to the last extremity by famine, surrendered, and Vladislaus abandoned the country. A fine monument was erected in the open space, under the Kremlin walls, in 1818, to the memory of Minim and Pojarski. It represents the high-spirited citizen of Nijnei calling on his countrymen to rid Russia of the foreign enemy, while Pojarski listens attentively to the stirring exhortation.

With a vacant throne, and unembarrassed by republican feelings, the *boyars*, after the flight of Vladislaus, proceeded to elect as their czar Michael Romanoff, the son of the metropolitan of Rostof, who was at the time only sixteen years of age; and from him is descended the present imperial family. The usual routine of civil strife and foreign wars continued after the accession of Romanoff; and that in which the Czar was involved with Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, was terminated, not much to the advantage of Russia, through the mediation of England, France, and Holland. A treaty was signed by the belligerent parties on the 26th of January, 1616, which gave to Sweden Ingria, Carelia, Livonia, and Estonia, the Russians retaining Novgorod; and these terms seem to have been dictated by the Czar's love of peace. The Poles were at this time masters of Smolensk, and ravaged the country up to the walls of Moscow, against which they made a night attack, but were repulsed; they remained, however, in possession of Smolensk, after sustaining a siege of two years. Dra-



A RUSSIAN PATRIARCHAL CHURCH.

goons are mentioned, for the first time in this reign, as forming part of a Russian army, and the Czar was assisted in his wars by both German and French troops; these regiments served him as models for the organization of the Russian army, which was further improved by the discipline introduced by the foreign officers in Romanoff's pay.

The Czar died in July, 1645, and was succeeded by his son Alexis. The chief events of his reign were, the marauding expeditions of the Cossacks of the Don; a rebellion in the city of Astrakhan; and the appearance of another false Dmitri. In this reign shipwrights came over from Holland and England, and a Dutchman named Butler built a vessel called the Eagle, at Didiloff, the first ship that the Russians had seen built on scientific principles.

Alexis died in 1676, and was succeeded by his son Feodor III., who died young, in 1682. During the exercise of his power, he evinced every disposition to carry out his father's plans. He directed his attention to the improvement of the laws, and rendered justice accessible to all, and in the words of a Russian historian, "lived the joy and delight of his people, and died amid their sighs and tears. On the day of his death, Moscow was in the same distress that Rome was on the death of Titus." The sovereignty of the Cossacks was secured to Russia in this reign. Feodor was succeeded by his half-brother Peter, who, some accounts say, was named by him as his successor.



COSACKS ON THE MARCH.

CHAPTER II.

PETER THE GREAT TO NICHOLAS.

THE succession of Peter to the throne of the Empire was by no means pleasing to the majority of the Russian nobles, and it was particularly opposed by Prince Galitzin, the prime minister of the late Czar. This able man had espoused the interests of Sophia (the sister of Feodor III. and Ivan, and half-sister of Peter), a young woman of eminent abilities and insinuating address. Sophia, upon the pretence of asserting the claims of her brother Ivan, who, though of a feeble constitution and weak intellect, was considered as the lawful heir to the crown, had really formed a design of securing the succession to herself; and with that view, had not only insinuated herself into the confidence and good graces of Galitzin, but had brought over to her interests the Strelitzes. These turbulent and licentious soldiers assembled ostensibly for the purpose of placing on the throne Prince Ivan, whom they proclaimed Czar by acclamation. During three days these Russian Janizaries roved about the city of Moscow, committing the greatest excesses, and putting to death several of the chief officers of State who were suspected of being hostile to the designs of Sophia. The princess did not, however, entirely gain her point, for, as the new Czar entertained a sincere affection for Peter (who, as already seen, was only his half-brother), he insisted that this prince should share with him the imperial dignity. This was at length agreed to; and on the 6th of May, 1682, Ivan and Peter were solemnly crowned Joint Emperors of all the Russias, while the Princess Sophia was nominated their copartner in the government.

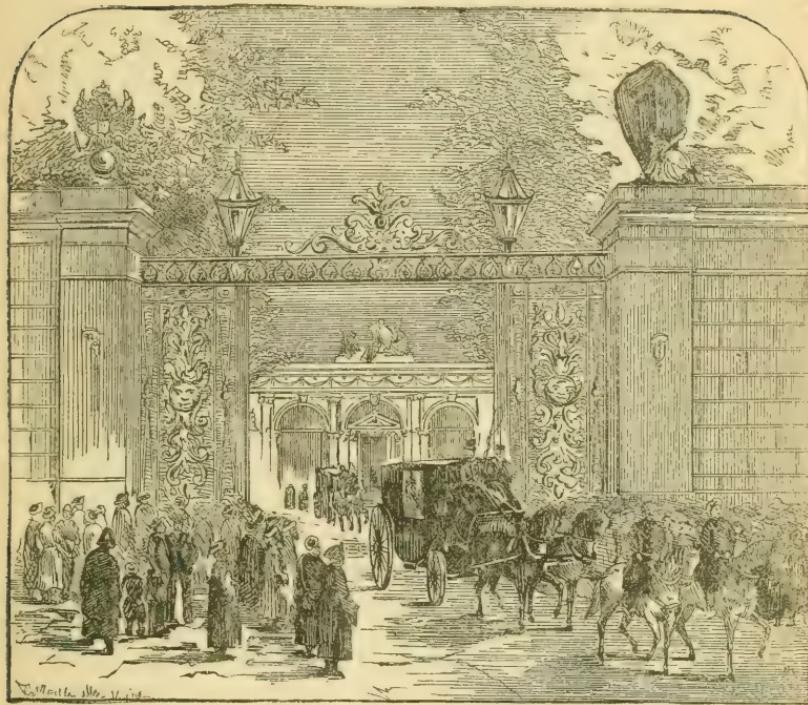
From the imbecility of Ivan and the youth of Peter (now only ten years of age) the whole power of the government in fact rested on Sophia and her minister Galitzin, though until the year 1687 the names of Ivan and Peter only were annexed to the imperial decrees. Sophia had scarcely established her authority, when she was threatened with deposition, from an alarming insurrection of the Strelitzes. This was excited by their commander, Prince Kovanskoi, who, demanding of Sophia that she would marry one of her sisters to his son, met with

a refusal. In consequence of this insurrection, which threw the whole city of Moscow into terror and consternation, Sophia and the two young Czars took refuge in a monastery, about twelve leagues from the capital; and, before the Strelitzes could follow them thither, a considerable body of soldiers, principally foreigners, was assembled in their defence. Kovanskoi was taken prisoner, and instantly beheaded; and, though his followers at first threatened dreadful vengeance on his executioners, they soon found themselves obliged to submit, when the most guilty among the ringleaders suffered death.

The quelling of these disturbances gave opportunity to the friends of Peter to pursue the plans which they had formed for subverting the authority of Sophia; and their designs were favored by a rupture with Turkey. The Ottoman Porte was now engaged with Poland and the German Empire, and both the latter powers had solicited the assistance of Russia against the common enemy. Sophia and her party were averse to the alliance; but as the secret friends of Peter had sufficient influence to persuade the majority that a Turkish war would be of advantage to the State, they even prevailed on Galitzin to put himself at the head of the army, and thus removed their principal opponent. Assembling an army of nearly three hundred thousand men, he advanced to the confines of Turkey, and here consumed two campaigns in marches and countermarches, and lost nearly forty thousand men, partly in unsuccessful skirmishes with the enemy, but chiefly from disease.

While Galitzin was thus trifling away his time in the South, Peter, who already began to give proofs of those great talents which afterward enabled him to act so conspicuous a part in the theatre of the North, was strengthening his party among the Russian nobles. His ordinary residence was at a village not far from Moscow, and here he had assembled round him a considerable number of young men of rank and influence, whom he called his playmates. Under the appearance of a military game, Peter was secretly establishing himself in the affections of his young companions; and he contrived effectually to lull the suspicions of Sophia, till it was too late for her to oppose his machinations.

In the year 1689, Peter, who had now attained his seventeenth year, determined to make an effort to deprive Sophia of all share in the government, and thus secure to himself the undivided sovereignty.



THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

An open rupture soon took place, and Sophia, finding that she could not openly oppose the party of the Czar, attempted to procure his assassination; but her design was discovered, and an accommodation was agreed to, on condition that she would give up all claim to the regency and retire to a nunnery. She was consequently incarcerated in a monastery for the rest of her life. The princess was, considering the times in which she lived, a woman of extraordinary taste and literary attainments. A tragedy, written by her when she was involved in State intrigues, and apparently absorbed in political turmoil, is still preserved. The commander of the Strelitzes, who was to have been her agent in the assassination of Peter, was beheaded, and minister Galitzin sent into banishment to Archangel. Peter had now obtained the wished-for possession of the imperial throne; for though Ivan was still nominally Czar, he had voluntarily resigned all partici-

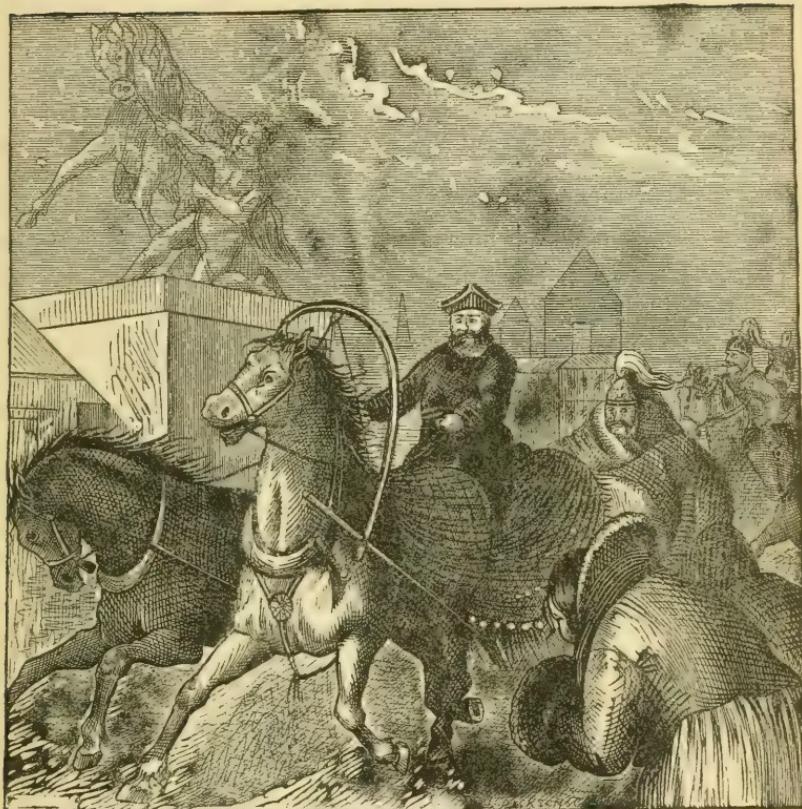
pation in the administration of affairs, and retired to a life of obscurity. He survived until 1696.

The ruling passion of Peter the Great was a desire to extend his empire and consolidate his power; and accordingly his first act was to make war on the Turks, an undertaking which was at the outset imprudently conducted, and consequently unsuccessful. He lost thirty thousand men before Azov, and did not obtain permanent possession of the town until the year 1699, and then by an armistice. In the following year he was defeated in his intrenched camp at Narva, containing eighty thousand men, by eight thousand Swedes under Charles XII., then only a boy of seventeen; and on many other occasions the Russians suffered severe checks and reverses. But at length the indomitable perseverance of Peter prevailed. In 1705 he carried Narva, the scene of his former defeat, by assault; and two years after, by the crowning victory of Poltava, where he showed the qualities of an able general, he sealed the fate of his gallant and eccentric adversary and the nation over which he ruled.

In 1711 Peter once more took the field against the Turks; but his troops were badly provisioned, and having led them into a very disadvantageous position, where they were surrounded by the Grand Vizier's army, he was only enabled, by a present of his consort's jewels to the Turkish commander, to negotiate a humiliating peace, one of the conditions of which was that the King of Sweden, then a fugitive in Turkey, should be permitted to return to his own country.

From this period to 1718 Peter was constantly occupied in pursuing with vigor the plans which he had originated for extending the frontiers of his kingdom toward the west. In the latter year he drove the Swedes out of Finland, made several descents upon the coast near Stockholm, destroyed whole towns, obliged her navy to fly, and finally, in 1721, by the peace of Nystadt, retained Esthonia, Livonia, Ingria, a part of Carelia and Finland, as well as the islands of Dago, Moen, CEsel, etc.

Having now no enemy on the side of the Baltic, Peter turned his arms eastward, and took Derbend, on the Caspian, from the Shah of Persia, in 1724—an inglorious conquest, for only six thousand Persians were opposed to his veteran army of eleven thousand, besides Kalmucks and Cossacks. This was his last miliary achievement, for he died in



THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA DRIVING ON THE NEVSKI PROSPECT,
ST. PETERSBURG.

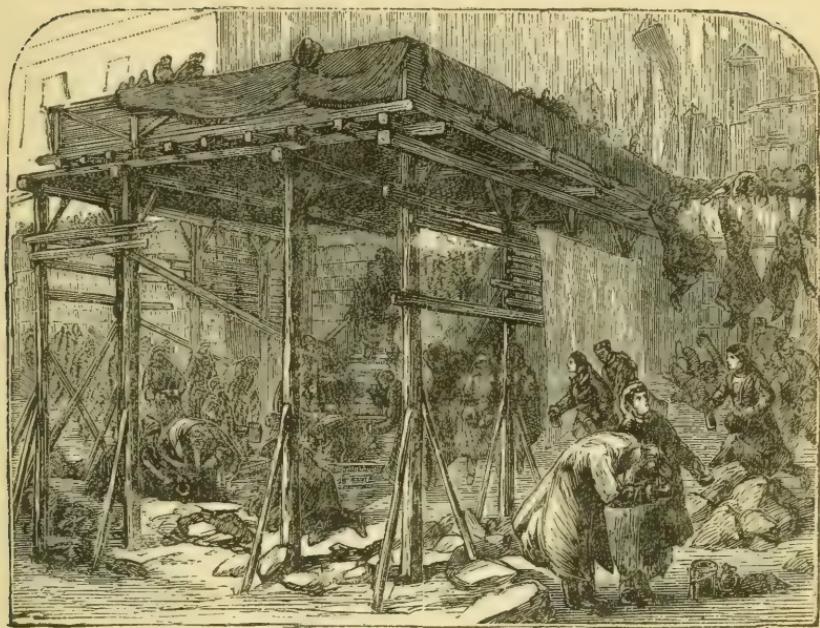
1725 (of a cold contracted in attempting to rescue some shipwrecked sailors near Kronstadt), in the fifty-second year of his age. His latter years were clouded by domestic infelicity; his second wife, Catherine, was more than suspected of being unfaithful to him; and his son Alexis was disobedient. The former he spared; the latter he brought to trial, and is believed to have put to death in prison—some accounts affirm, with his own hand.

We have said that the Czar's ruling passion was to extend his Empire and consolidate his power; but he likewise possessed in an eminent degree the national characteristics—a persevering mind and a resolute will, which bid defiance to all difficulties. By the assistance of his

foreign officers, he succeeded in forming and bringing into a high state of discipline a large army; he found Russia without a fishing-smack, and bequeathed to her a navy to which that of Sweden, long established and highly efficient, lowered her flag; he built St. Petersburg, which may be said to float upon the waters of the Neva; he caused canals and other public works of utility to be constructed in various parts of his empire; endowed colleges and universities, and established commercial relations with China and almost every other nation on the globe. The Czar likewise possessed the capability of enduring privation and bodily fatigue to an almost incredible extent, and seemed to act upon the idea that, by his own personal exertions and the versatility of his genius, he could accomplish for Russia that which it had taken centuries to effect in other countries, and fancied that he could infuse into her citizens an immediate appreciation of the mechanical and polite arts, as well as a taste for those things which are seen only in an advanced stage of civilization. Peter devoted his whole attention and energies to this theory; and though he could not compass impossibilities, he was enabled, by the uncontrolled exercise of the imperial will and inexhaustible resources, to effect a most extraordinary and rapid change in the political and physical condition of his country.

His manual dexterity and mechanical knowledge was great. Against the expressed wish of his *boyars* and the clergy, who thought it an irreligious act, he left Russia to make himself acquainted with the arts and inventions of other European nations, and worked with an adze in the principal dockyards of Holland; he not only built, but sailed his own boat, which is still to be seen in St. Petersburg, as are specimens of his engraving, turning, and carpenters' work. He rose at four o'clock in summer; at six he was either in the Senate or the Admiralty; and his subjects must have believed that he had the gift of ubiquity, so many and so various were his occupations. He had also the virtue of economy, a quality rarely seen in a sovereign. He even found time to dabble in literature, and translated several works into Russian; among these were the "Architecture" of Le Clerc, and the "Art of Constructing Dams and Mills," by Sturm. These manuscripts are still preserved.

During the Czar's visit to London, he was much gazed at by the populace, and on one occasion was upset by a porter who pushed against him with his load; when Lord Carmarthen, fearing there would be a



CEREMONIES OF BLESSING THE NEVA, AT ST. PETERSBURG.

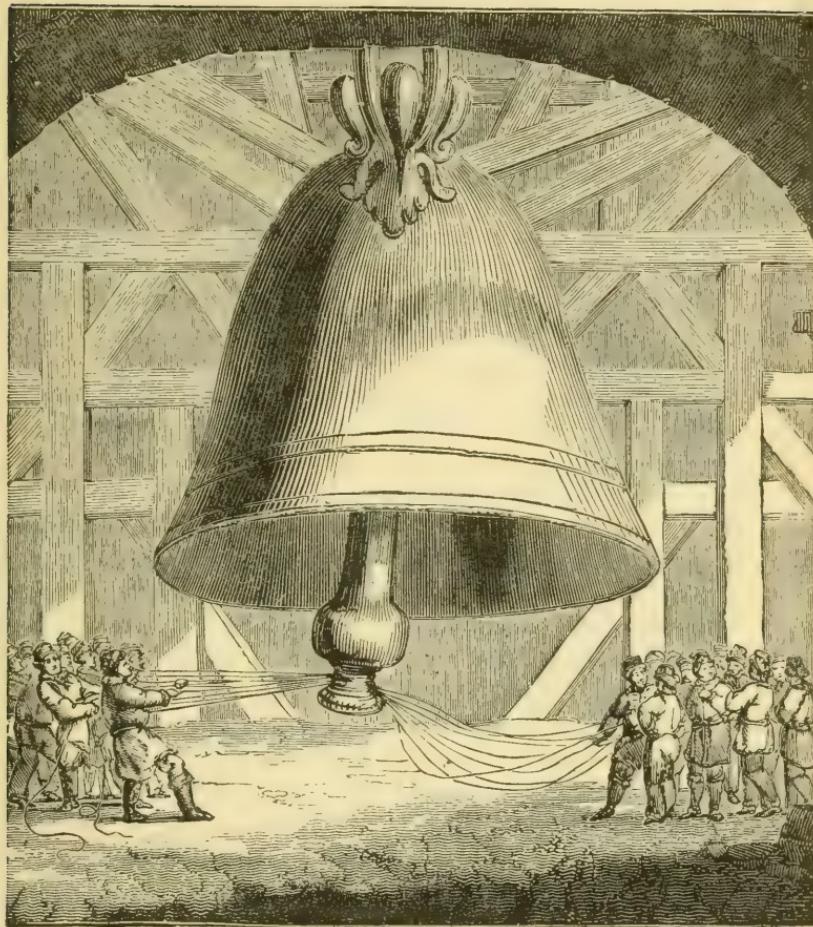
pugilistic encounter, turned angrily to the man and said, "Don't you know that this is the Czar?" "Czar!" replied the sturdy porter, with his tongue in his cheek, "we are all Czars here!" Sauntering one day into Westminster Hall with the same nobleman, when it was, as usual, alive with wigs and gowns, Peter asked who these people might be; and when informed that they were lawyers, nothing could exceed his astonishment. "Lawyers!" he said; "why I have but two in all my dominions, and I believe I shall hang one of them the moment I get home!"

The vices of Peter were such as might have been expected in a man of his violent temperament, despotic in a barbarous country, and who in early life had been surrounded by flatterers and dissolute associates. But it would be foreign to the purpose of this work to enter into a discussion of this nature. The Russians date their civilization from his reign; but a slight glance at the history of some of the early Czars will show that, in many of the points on which the greatness of his reputation rests, he was anticipated by his predecessors. Dark and

savage as the early history of the country is, an attempt at public education had been made, religious toleration and an anxiety to promote commerce existed, and the institution of a code of laws had already occupied their attention. The untimely death of some of these princes deprived Russia of monarchs far more benevolent than Peter—men of finer and more generous minds, and though not so ambitious, quite as anxious for her welfare. Under their sway no such rush at improvements would have been made; no such influx of foreigners would have taken place; but, if not so rapidly, at least as surely these sovereigns would have effected quite as much real good. Peter left no code of laws established on the broad principles of justice; he travelled in England and Holland, but thought only of their navies, and wholly overlooked the great principles of their governments, by which he might have ameliorated the condition of his own. Trial by jury never appears to have attracted his attention. The Czar, it is true, reigned over a nation of serfs—so did Alfred the Great of England, and in the ninth instead of the eighteenth century.

Peter was succeeded by his consort Catherine, in whose favor he had, some years before his death, altered the order of succession. She was the illegitimate daughter of a Livonian peasant. After some years spent in the service of a clergyman, she married a Swedish dragoon, who shortly afterward went on an expedition and never returned. She then resided, it is doubtful whether as servant or paramour, with the Russian General Bauer, when Prince Menchikoff became enamored of her charms, and made her his mistress. Peter the Great now distinguished her by his notice, and she became at first his mistress and afterward his Empress.

Catharine I. conducted herself with great gentleness and prudence in the administration of the government. She reduced the annual capitation tax; recalled the greater part of those whom Peter had exiled to Siberia; caused every gallows to be taken down, and all instruments of torture destroyed; paid the troops their arrears, and restored to the Cossacks their privileges and immunities, of which they had been deprived during the late reign. She concluded a treaty of alliance with the German Emperor, by which it was stipulated that, in case of attack from an enemy, either party should assist the other with a force of thirty thousand men, and should each guarantee the possessions of the other. In her brief reign the

THE GREAT BELL AT MOSCOW, OR THE TSAR[®]KOLVKOL.

boundaries of the Empire were extended in the Trans-Caucasus. Catherine also founded the Academy of Sciences. Her indulgence in the use of intoxicating liquors produced a disease of which she died on the 17th of May, 1727, at the age of forty-one, having reigned only about two years.

Catherine settled the crown on Peter, the son of Alexis, and grandson of Peter the Great by his first wife, Eudoxia, and who succeeded by the title of Peter II. This Prince was only twelve

years of age when he succeeded to the imperial throne, and his reign was short and uninteresting. He was influenced chiefly by Prince Menchikoff, whose daughter Catherine had decreed him to marry. This ambitious man, who, from a very mean condition, had risen to the first offices of the state under Peter the Great, and had, under Catherine, conducted the administration of the government, was now, however, drawing toward the end of his career. The number of his enemies had greatly increased, and their machinations succeeded so well that Menchikoff and his whole family were banished to Siberia.

The artful counsellors of the young monarch, instead of cultivating his naturally good abilities, encouraged him to waste his time and exhaust his strength in hunting and other athletic exercises; and it is supposed that the debility consequent on such fatigue increased the danger of the small-pox, with which he was attacked in January, 1730, and of which he died, at the age of only fifteen years.

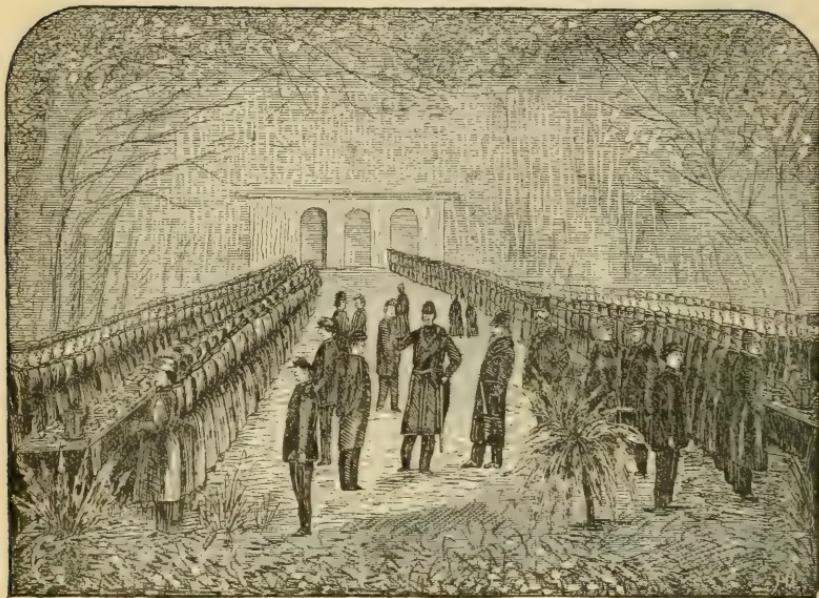
Notwithstanding the absolute power with which Peter the Great and Catherine I. had settled by will the succession to the throne the Russian senate and nobility, upon the death of Peter II., ventured to set aside the order of succession which these sovereigns had established. The male issue of Peter was extinct; and the Duke of Holstein (of Denmark), son of Peter's eldest daughter, was, by the destination of the late Empress, entitled to the crown; but the Russians, for political reasons, chose Anne, Duchess of Courland, second daughter of Ivan, Peter's half-brother; thus excluding her eldest sister, who was still living, because, as Duchess of Mecklenburg, she was allied to one of the royal houses of Germany.

In 1735, a rupture took place between Russia and Turkey, occasioned partly by the mutual jealousies that had subsisted between these powers ever since the treaty on the Pruth, and partly by the depredations of the Tartars of the Crimea, then under the dominion of the Porte. A Russian army entered the Crimea, ravaged part of the country, and killed a considerable number of Tartars; but having ventured too far, without a sufficient supply of provisions, was obliged to retreat, after sustaining a loss of nearly ten thousand men. This misfortune did not discourage the Court of St. Petersburg, and, in the following year, another armament was sent into the Ukraine, under the command of Marshal Munich, while a second army, under Lacey, proceeded against Azov. Both these generals met with considerable

success; the Tartars were defeated, and the fortress of Azov once more submitted to the Russian arms. A third campaign took place in 1737, when the Russians were assisted by a body of Austrian troops. Munich laid seige to Otcakov, which surrendered, while Lasey desolated the Crimea. No material advantages were, however, gained on either side, and disputes arose between the Austrian and Russian generals. At length, in 1739, Marshal Munich, having crossed the Boug at the head of a considerable army, defeated the Turks in a pitched battle near Stavutshain, made himself master of Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, and, before the end of the campaign, reduced the whole of that province to subjection. These successes of the Russian arms induced the Porte to propose terms of accommodation; but when, in the latter end of 1739, a treaty was concluded, Russia (probably through the influence of Austrian intrigue) again relinquished Azov and Moldavia, and only gained permission to build a fortress on the Don.

The Empress Anne rendered herself memorable by the decisive turn she gave to the contests which arose in Central Europe. She assisted the Emperor Charles VI. of Germany; frustrated the schemes of the French ministry for placing Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, and actually procured the crown for his competitor Augustus, the elector of Saxony. Her chief merit, however, was in advancing the commerce of the country, and establishing silk and woolen manufactures; her chief folly, the building a palace of ice, to which she sent a Prince Galitzin, one of her buffoons, and his wife, to pass the night of their wedding-day; the nuptial couch was also constructed of this cold material, as well as all the furniture, and four cannons which fired several rounds.

Anne died in 1740, after a reign of ten years, and was succeeded by her great-nephew, Ivan VI., when only two years of age. He was the son of the Princess Anne of Mecklenburg, the daughter of her eldest sister, who had married Prince Anthony Ulric of Brunswick-Beveren. The administration of the Princess Anne and her husband, in the name of their son, the infant Czar, was upon many accounts unpopular, not only among the Russians, but with other Powers of Europe; and notwithstanding a successful war which they carried on with the Swedes, the Princess Elizabeth Petrowna, daughter of Peter the Great by the Empress Catherine, and born in 1709, formed a respectable



RUSSIAN SYSTEM OF FEEDING SOLDIERS IN LINE.

party in her favor, by whom she was raised to the imperial dignity in December, 1741.

The Princess of Mecklenburg, her husband, and son, were made prisoners, and the two former sent into banishment, to an island at the mouth of the Dwina, in the White Sea, where the Princess Anne died in child-bed in 1747. Ivan was for some time shut up in a monastery at Oranienburg; and in attempting to escape, he was removed to the Castle of Schlusselburg, where he was afterward cruelly put to death.

The war which had commenced between Russia and Sweden during the short regency of Anne of Mecklenburg, was now carried on with vigor and success by Elizabeth. The Russian forces took possession of Abo, and made themselves masters of the greater part of Finland. At length, in consequence of the negotiations that were carrying on relative to the succession of the Swedish crown, a peace was concluded between the two Powers, in 1743, on condition that Elizabeth should restore the conquered part of Finland. On the eastern frontier of the Empire, however, the Russian arms were less successful, several of the

provinces wrested from Persia by Peter the Great having been reconquered by Nadir Kouli Khan.

Soon after her accession, Elizabeth determined to nominate her successor to the imperial throne, and had fixed on Charles Peter Ulric, son of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, by Anne, daughter of Peter the Great. This Prince was accordingly invited into Russia, persuaded to become a member of the Greek Church, and proclaimed Grand Duke of Russia, and heir of the Empire.

Elizabeth now began to take an active part in the politics of Europe. The death of Charles VI., Emperor of Germany, had left his daughter Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary, at the mercy of the enterprising King of Prussia, Frederick the Great (who immediately began the "Seven Years' War," by seizing the province of Silesia from the House of Austria), until a formidable party, more from jealousy at that monarch's military fame, than regard to the interests of an injured princess, was formed in her behalf. Frederick, whose sarcastic wit spared no one, having satirized in some verses Madame de Pompadour, the powerful and vindictive mistress of Louis XV., the French monarch at once espoused the cause of Austria; and it is remarkable that, from a like trivial cause, the Prussian king brought upon himself the vengeance of Elizabeth. Detesting Frederick for some coarse but truthful remark leveled at her mother, she made war on Prussia, which was conducted with great ferocity. Such was the mutual hatred excited by this contest, that after a battle the wounded soldiers of the two nations were seen tearing each other's flesh with their hands and teeth, even in the agonies of death; and Marshal Munich declared, in transmitting to the Empress an account of a victory which he gained, but with the loss of half his army: "If I gain another such victory, I shall be compelled to go myself, on foot and alone, to St. Petersburg, to inform your Majesty of the result!" Elizabeth persisted, however, in prosecuting the war; and was on the point of crushing the Prussian monarch, and possessing herself of his most valuable territories, when death suddenly closed her career, on the 5th of January, 1762, at the age of fifty-three, and in the twenty-first year of her reign.

The taste of this Empress for architecture greatly contributed to embellish St. Petersburg, and the Academy of Painting and Sculpture in that capital was instituted by her. She was, however, a model of dissimulation and hypocrisy; and while from feelings of pretended

humanity she abolished capital punishment, and deplored the miseries her troops suffered in the war with Prussia, she established a kind of star-chamber, in which justice and mercy were unknown. That her humanity was equivocal, is instanced in the shocking punishment which she inflicted upon the Countess Bestucheff and Lapookin, who were publicly knouted, and had their tongues cut out, for betraying some secrets relating to the amours of the Empress.

On the death of Elizabeth, her nephew, the Grand Duke Charles Peter Ulric, ascended the throne, by the name of Peter III. This prince entered on the government possessed of an enthusiastic admiration of the virtues of the King of Prussia, with whom he immediately made peace, and whose principles and practice he seems to have adopted as patterns for his imitation. Several wise decrees were passed by him; he suppressed the secret council established for the examination of political offenders, softened the rigor of military discipline, permitted his nobles to travel, lowered the duties in the Livonian ports, reduced the price of salt, abated the pressure of usury by the establishment of a loan-bank, and instituted other salutary measures. He might have surmounted the effects even of those peculiarities which were unpopular in Russia; but it is said that he aimed at reformations in his dominions which even Peter the Great durst not carry through; among which was his attempt at cutting off the venerable beards of his clergy, and his abolition of some established and favorite military fashions. He was, however, so weak and vacillating in his disposition that he had no opinions of his own, but childishly adopted the sentiments of any person who took the trouble to teach him. His tastes were, moreover, entirely German, which amounted to a crime in the eyes of the nobility. His chief amusement was buffoonery; and as he was a comparative stranger to the country, its inhabitants, and their manners, he is said to have suffered himself to be persuaded by those about him that the Russians were fools and beasts unworthy of his attention, except to make them, by means of the Prussian discipline, good fighting-machines. These sentiments regulated his whole conduct, and prepared the way for the revolution which afterwards dethroned him.

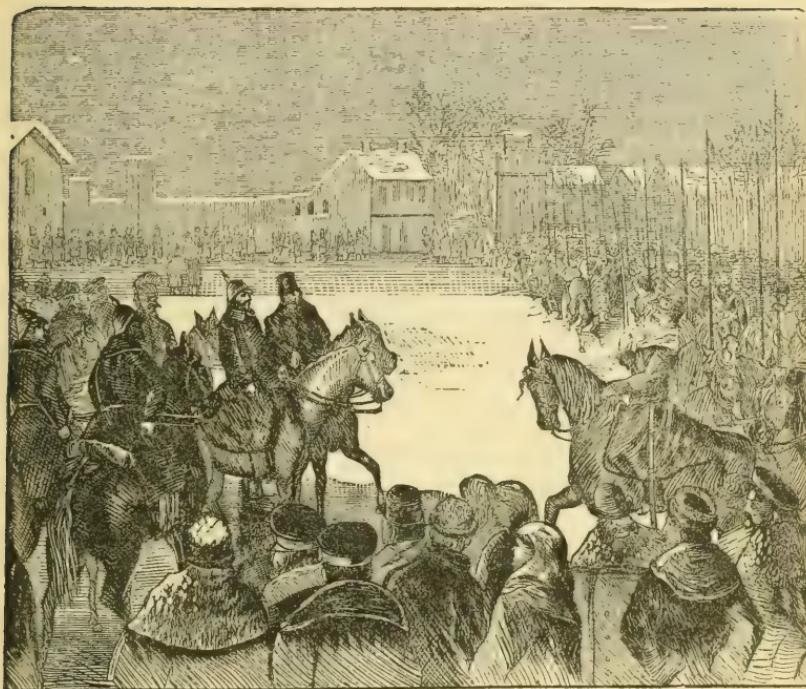
Peter was married, in 1745, to the German Princess Catharine, born in 1729, and daughter to the Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst. In addition to his other great faults, Peter was addicted to low society and to the



THE GRAND DUKE AND MILITARY OFFICERS OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY AT
ST. PETERSBURG.

most scandalous excesses; and Catherine, even in her youth, was by no means remarkable for chastity. With the inconsistency usually observable in such cases, each party reproached the other; Catherine, stung by her husband's brutality, became still more openly indecorous in her conduct, and Peter indulged in low wassail to such an extent that he must have been deranged. The Empress, who was as talented as she was ambitious, took every means in her power to secure the good-will of her Russian subjects. She engaged in her party many of the principal families, and what Peter lost in popularity was gained by the emissaries of Catherine. While the latter, in spite of her intrigues, was thus high in public esteem and affection, Peter became so infatuated by his disgust for Catherine and his son, and his passion for one of his mistresses, the Countess Woronzow, that he determined to divorce and imprison the former, and make the latter his Empress. Catherine saw her danger, and instantly formed her resolution, foreseeing that she must either submit to perpetual imprisonment, and perhaps a cruel and ignominious death, or contrive to hurl her husband from the throne. The proper steps to carry out her design were immediately taken; folly and imbecility fell before ability and address; and in three days the revolution was accomplished. Peter was seized and sent as a prisoner to the small palace of Ropscha, about twenty miles from St. Petersburg; but as there were many who were dissatisfied with the new order of things, it was soon found that there was little chance of tranquility while he lived. His death was therefore determined on; and at the connivance, if not at the positive command of the Empress, the unfortunate monarch was assassinated by the hand of his chief favorite, Prince Alexis Orlaff, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, after having enjoyed the imperial dignity only six months. This tragic event occurred in July, 1762, and in the next month the Czarina was solemnly crowned Empress of all the Russias, under the name of Catherine II.

The reign of this extraordinary woman is one of the most remarkable in Russian history. In the early part of it she interfered in the affairs of Poland, which produced a civil war, and terminated eventually in the partition and conquest of that unfortunate country. In 1769 the Turks declared war against Russia, which was at first favorable to their arms; but they were afterward defeated with great slaughter on the Dniester, and compelled to abandon Choczim. At this period was fought the celebrated action before Tchesme, in which the Turkish fleet



A REVIEW OF RUSSIAN TROOPS.

was completely destroyed ; an achievement that was mainly owing to the gallant conduct of Admirals Elphinstone and Greig, and Lieutenant Dugdale, Englishmen in the Russian service.

In a succeeding campaign, the Russians carried the lines of Perecop, in the Crimea, defended by nearly sixty thousand Turks and Tartars, and thus wrested that important and fertile peninsula from the Porte, while Romanzoff gained several victories in the Danubian provinces. These conquests were, however, dearly purchased. The plague passed from the Turkish into the Russian armies, and the frightful malady was carried by the troops into the very heart of the country ; eight hundred persons died daily at Moscow, and the disease subsided only with the severity of the ensuing winter.

It was at this period that the Calmuck Tartars (as alluded to in a previous chapter), who had been for upwards of half a century settled

near the Steppes of the Volga, north of Astrakhan, suddenly, and to the number of half a million of souls, left the Russian territory for their old haunts on the Chinese borders—an affront offered to them by the Empress having been said to be the cause of this extraordinary flight.

Every attempt at negotiation having failed, the contest with the Turks was renewed in 1773; and although the Russians again suffered severe losses, Romanzoff brought the war to a successful termination. By the treaty of peace concluded in the following year, his country obtained the free navigation of the Black Sea, the cession of Kilburne and Enikaleh, together with a tract between the Boug and the Dnieper, and also the town of Taganrog on the Sea of Azov. Russia restored her other conquests, and the Turks paid into the Russian treasury four millions of roubles toward the expenses of the war; they also acknowledged the independence of the Crimea, which in the year 1784 fell altogether into the hands of Russia, as well as the island of Taman, and part of the Kouban in the Caucasus.

Shortly after this, Catherine and the northern courts, in conjunction with France, jealous of the British maritime power, brought about a combination against England, which was hastened by the following singular incident: The British minister, suspecting that this intrigue was going on, desired Potemkin to lay before the Empress a memorial that he had drawn up, which the prince promised to do. Of this memorial the French governess of his nieces contrived to possess herself, and after allowing the French minister to make his notes in refutation of it in the margin, replaced it in Potemkin's pocket, who, ignorant of the circumstance, laid it before Catherine; when the empress, conceiving the notes to have been made by her favorite, formed a league with Sweden and Denmark, and announced her intention of supporting it with her navy.

In 1787 Catherine made, in company with Potemkin and an immense suite, her famous triumphal progress to the Crimea, and the following year found her once more at war with the Turks. Soon after, Gustavus III. of Sweden, seizing this favorable opportunity, invaded the Russian territories; this contest, however, produced no decisive results, and was settled by a pacification in 1790. In the close of that year, Constantinople trembled at the former movement of the Russians; and the fall of Ismail, under Suwarrow, after the ninth assault, closed the

war on the 22d of December. In this extremity, the Western Powers of Europe combined to save the Porte from destruction; and in 1791 Russia was forced to relinquish all the territory she had acquired, excepting that guaranteed by the treaty of 1784. In the various wars in which Russia had been engaged with the Ottoman Empire down to the period here treated of, it is computed that there were destroyed 130,000 Austrians, 370,000 Turks, and 200,000 Russians; in all, 700,000 men!

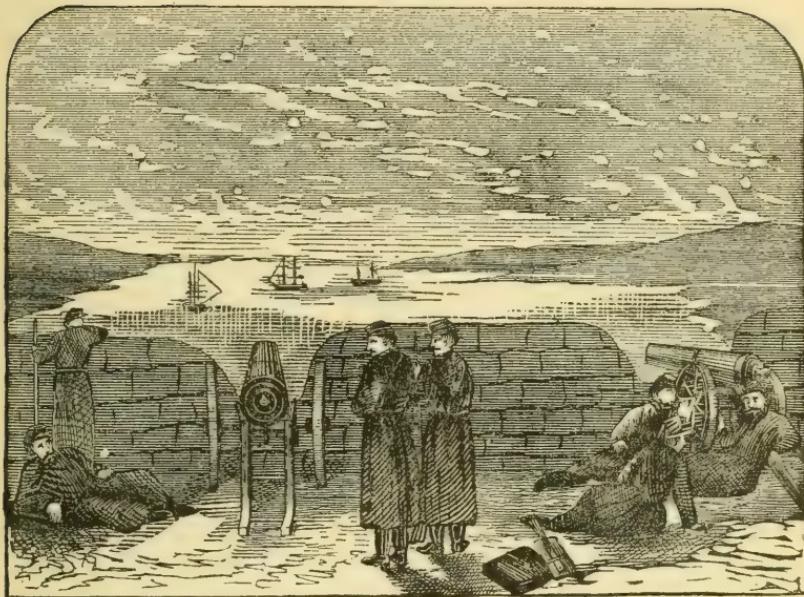
About this time the intrigues of Russia, Austria and Prussia, for the partition of Poland, commenced and, carried on for several years, were brought to a conclusion by two sieges of Warsaw; in the first, Kosciusko was made prisoner; and in the second the Poles, unassisted by his genius, gave way in that fearful assault which, on the 9th of November, 1794, consummated the ruin of Poland as a nation. In 1795, by the third partition of that unhappy kingdom, Russia extended her power toward the west as far as the Vistula. Catherine's subsequent plans of aggrandizement in Daghestan and on the shores of the Caspian were cut short by her death, on the 9th of November, 1796, in the sixty-eighth year of her age, and the thirty-fifth of her reign.

Ill as her power was obtained, Catherine used it wisely and well. The great talents for governing which she possessed are universally admitted; and, though her energies were principally displayed in carrying out her schemes of foreign conquest, she by no means neglected the internal affairs of her Empire. Her views on all subjects were far more enlarged than those of her predecessors, and nearly seven thousand children were educated at St. Petersburg at the public expense. Catherine visited Pallas, Euler and Gmelin, to survey her territories and describe their characteristics, and requested D'Alembert to undertake the education of her grandson, the Grand Duke Alexander, which, however, he declined. The Empress also confirmed the abolition of the secret state inquisition, and, by dividing the College of the Empire into separate departments, facilitated the despatch of business, and rendered the administration in each more efficient. She founded schools and towns, encouraged foreign artisans and workmen of all kinds to settle in her dominions, and projected and completed public works of equal magnificence and utility. With a view to check corruption, she raised the salaries of the government officers, abolished many monopolies of the crown, and issued a ukase which prevented

any proprietor from sending his serfs to the mines, or to any distant part of the Empire, except for agricultural purposes. But her amours in the meantime injured her as a woman, and her tyrannous conduct toward Poland is a foul blot upon her escutcheon as a sovereign. Ambition, however, and lack of female virtues, did not wholly degrade her, for, as already shown, her internal policy was as much directed to the useful as to the grand; and, amid all the distraction of business and voluptuous dissipation, she found time to encourage literature. Indeed, she was herself the author of instructions for a code of laws, which she translated into German; and she wrote several dramatic pieces, and some moral tales for the use of children. Possessed of great beauty in her youth, Catherine preserved the traces of it to the end of her life. She purchased the praises of the French philosophers, corresponded with Voltaire and D'Alembert, and complimented Charles James Fox, the great English orator, by asking him for his bust, which she placed between those of Demosthenes and Cicero. Some letters written by Frederick the Great to Peter III., found after his decease, which strongly recommended to him a change of conduct, and particularly pleaded in behalf of his repudiated consort, fixed Catherine throughout her reign in the friendship and policy of the Russian monarch. In matters of religion, she was tolerant from political motives, extravagant in an extraordinary degree, and, with a woman's liberality, paid well those who served her; and, though there are many acts in her reign which cannot be defended, she did more for the civilization of Russia than any of her predecessors.

Catherine II. was succeeded by her son, the Grand Duke Paul, who ascended the throne under the title of Paul I. This Prince had attained his forty-second year before the death of his mother placed him on the imperial throne. For many years he had lived in a state of retirement, and had apparently been considered by the Empress as incapable of taking any active part in the administration of affairs. It is well known that Catherine never admitted him to any participation of power, and even kept him in complete ignorance of the affairs of the Empire. On the day following the death of his mother, however, Paul made his public entry into St. Petersburg, amid the acclamations of all ranks of the people.

At his coronation, Paul decreed a law of hereditary succession to the crown in the male line, and afterward in the female, instead of leaving



FIELD BATTERY OF THE RUSSIANS ON THE RIVER DANUBE.

it to the caprice of the reigning sovereign. One of the first measures of the new Emperor was that of ordering the remains of his father, Peter III., to be removed from the sepulchre in which they had been deposited in the church of St. Alexander Nevski; which, after having laid in state for three weeks, were interred in the sepulchre of Catherine II., in the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul. He also, with strong marks of admiration and friendship, liberated Kosciusko from the prison wherein he had languished since his defeat and capture in 1794.

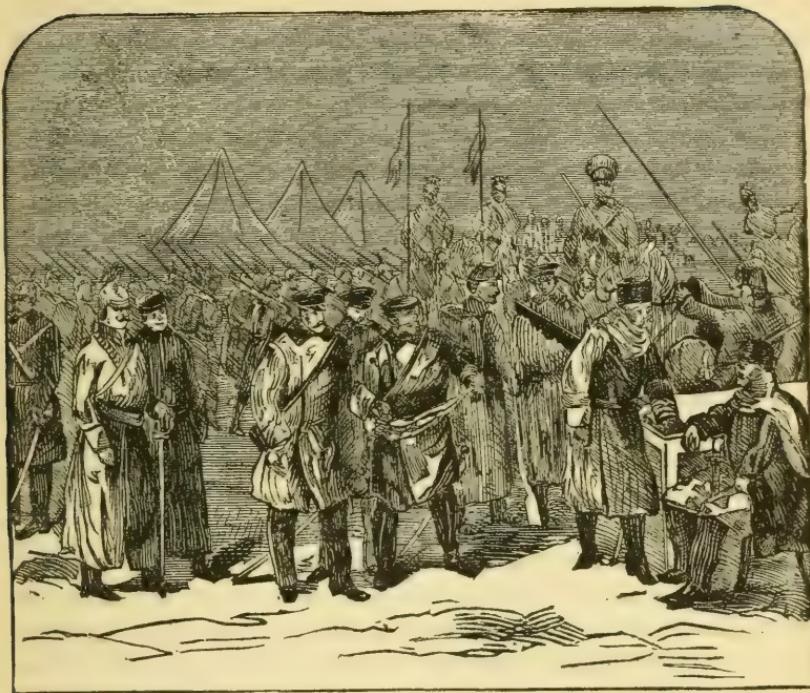
Few political events of any importance marked the reign of Paul previous to the year 1798, when, in consequence of a treaty between Russia and the Emperor of Germany, who were subsidized by England, an army of about fifty thousand men, under Field-Marshal Suwarrow, joined the imperialists in Austrian Italy, as already detailed. In 1799, the Emperor Paul entered into a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with Great Britain. This treaty was signed at

St. Petersburg on the 22d of June, in consequence of which a Russian fleet joined that of Britain in Yarmouth road, and took part in the unfortunate expedition to the coast of Holland undertaken in the summer of that year.

Soon after this period the Russian Emperor began to show marks of mental derangement. His favors and his displeasures were alternately experienced by some of his most distinguished courtiers and adherents. Stanislaus, the deposed King of Poland, partook by turns of his beneficence and his severity; while to the memory of Suwarow, who is said to have fallen a broken-hearted victim to the detraction of his imperial master, he raised a colossal statue of bronze; and on the days when he reviewed his troops in the square where the statue had been erected, he used to command them to march by in open order, and face the statue.

The ill success of the Russian arms against the French, augmented by the bad understanding which subsisted between his generals and those of Austria, appeared also to have an extraordinary effect upon the mind of Paul. Meanwhile, Napoleon had returned from Egypt, and was chosen First Consul of France. He immediately liberated ten thousand Russian prisoners of war, and presenting them with new uniforms and everything necessary for their long journey, despatched them to their own country, together with a friendly epistle to their sovereign. Paul was not yet so "insane" but that he could appreciate this truly magnanimous act as it deserved; and, from having been the uncompromising opponent of Napoleon, he now entered into amicable correspondence with him, and became one of his most ardent admirers. He laid an embargo on all the English vessels in his ports, and induced Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia to join him in the northern armed confederacy to resist the encroachments of the British Government. This gave great offence to the mercantile classes, who preferred the English to the French alliance.

The growing eccentricities of Paul exhibited themselves in the most fantastic manner. Among his ukases was one against the use of shoe-strings and round hats; and in the number of queer whims which affected his brain was a rage for painting with the most glaring colors the watch-boxes, gates, and bridges throughout the Empire. This continued course of folly and caprice disgusted many of the nobles, who at length entered into a confederacy to prevent the ruin of their country, by removing the Emperor. For this purpose they employed Plato



WINTER CAMP LIFE OF RUSSIAN SOLDIERS.

Zuboff, the last of Catherine's favorites, who had been banished from the court in disgrace. In order to avenge this affront, Zuboff formed the design of murdering the Emperor. He contrived, by his intrigues, to insinuate himself into the favor of Paul, and associated with the noblemen, in order the more securely to effect his purpose. Having taken their measures, the assassins proceeded to the imperial palace on the evening of March 22, 1801. The Emperor, who usually slept upon a sofa, in an apartment next to that of the Empress, contrary to his custom, kissed the members of his family very affectionately, visited the sentinels at their posts, and then retired to rest. The guard being changed by officers who were in the conspiracy, the murderers penetrated with ease to the door of the Emperor's apartment, where a huzzar, whom it had been found impossible to remove, presented his musket. Zuboff cut him down with his sabre. The murder of his faithful servant roused the unfortunate monarch, who, springing from his sofa

when the conspirators entered the room, at first endeavored to shelter himself behind the chairs and tables ; then, assuming an air of authority, commanded them to surrender as his prisoners. As they fiercely advanced toward him, he implored them to spare his life, offered to accept of any terms which they might propose. Finding supplication vain, he made a violent effort to reach the window, in which he cut his hands ; and being drawn back he knocked down one of the assailants with a chair. The Empress, awakened by the noise and turmoil, would have called for assistance, if a voice had not whispered to her to remain silent on pain of instant death. While the Emperor made a desperate resistance, one of the conspirators brought him to the floor with a blow on the temples ; when, recovering a little, he again supplicated for life. Another, taking off his sash, threw it twice around the neck of the defenceless Czar ; and one end being held by himself, while the other was given to Zuboff, they strangled their sovereign. Having accomplished the horrid deed, the assassins retired without molestation to their respective homes.

Early the next morning the intelligence of the death of Paul (as having been produced by apoplexy) and the accession of the Grand Duke Alexander, were announced to the capital. The principal nobility and the great officers of State being assembled, Alexander was solemnly proclaimed Emperor of all the Russias. As in the case of the murder of Peter III., none of the assassins of Paul were punished, but rewards were heaped upon them. How far his sons were cognizant of what was going on, it is impossible to tell ; but it was generally believed that they were in the secret, and connived at it from a conviction that their father intended to immure them in a fortress. It is also a significant fact that, on the night of the murder, the English fleet under Nelson was sailing into the Baltic for the attack on Copenhagen.

The new Emperor, on the day of his accession, presented himself at the parade on horseback, and was hailed by the troops with loud and cordial acclamations. In the following September his coronation at Moscow took place amid great splendor. Alexander was in his twenty-fourth year when he ascended the throne ; and from his amiable disposition had acquired the love and respect of all his subjects. The first measure which he adopted, his opening proclamation, and his earliest imperial orders, all tended to encourage and confirm the hopes

with which the Russian people beheld him mount the throne of his forefathers. In the same year he recalled the Siberian exiles, suppressed the secret State inquisition which had been re-established by Paul, and remodeled the Senate. He likewise founded, 1804, the University of Kharkoff, and emancipated the Jews.

Alexander appeared desirous to cultivate the friendship of the neighboring States, and especially that of Great Britain. His father, among other projects, had procured himself to be elected Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, and had laid claim to the sovereignty of that island. This claim, which had nearly produced a rupture between the Courts of London and St. Petersburg, Alexander consented to abandon, though he expressed a wish to be elected Grand Master of the Order by the free suffrages of the Knights of St. John.

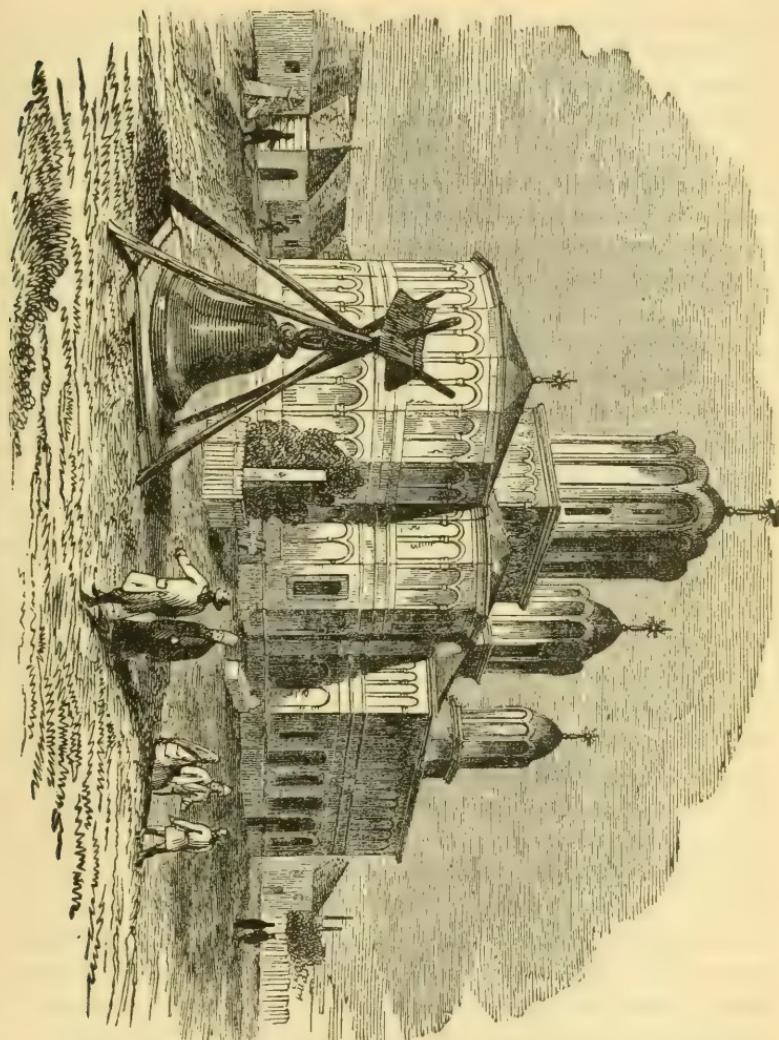
In the meantime a confederacy had been formed among the northern Powers of Europe, as before intimated, with a view to oppose the British claim to the sovereignty of the seas; but by the wanton bombardment of Copenhagen, and the spirited interference of the British Court, especially with the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, the good understanding between Great Britain and the northern States was re-established, and the embargo which had been laid on British vessels in the Russian ports was taken off. A treaty of amity, commerce and navigation between Russia and Sweden was also agreed upon, to continue for twelve years. The most remarkable part of this treaty was the recognition by the Court of St. Petersburg of the northern confederacy, which the amicable adjustment with Britain appeared to have done away.

On the 25th of March, 1802, was signed at Amicus the definitive treaty of peace between the belligerent Powers of Europe, by one material article of which the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, in the Mediterranean, were to be restored to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, under the joint protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia. Some time after the conclusion of this treaty disputes arose among the contracting powers relative to the sovereignty of Malta; and the Emperor of Russia (who now for the first time appeared personally among the potentates of Europe, and in June had an interview with the King of Prussia at Memel) insisted that it should be yielded to Naples, otherwise he would not undertake to guarantee the Order of the Knights, and would separate from it the

priorities of Russia. The retention of this island by the British forces, in direct violation of the treaty above referred to, was one of the chief causes of the renewal of the bloody contest between England and her allies and Napoleon which so long desolated the face of Europe.

Alexander watched with a jealous eye the violence exercised by France among the German States, and the encroachments which she appeared desirous of making on the free navigation of the Baltic. He had, in 1803, offered his mediation between Great Britain and France, but without effect, and both these parties strove to bring over the Russian Emperor to their alliance. The Court of London finally prevailed; and on the 11th of April, 1805, a treaty of concert was concluded between Great Britain and Russia, to which Austria also became a party, in which the three governments agreed to adopt the most efficacious means for forming a general league of the crowned heads of Europe to be directed against the Powers of republican France. The ostensible objects of this league were the evacuation of the country of Hanover (then belonging to the crown of England) and the north of Germany; the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland; the re-establishment of the kingdom of Sardinia in Piedmont (who had first attacked France); the security of the King of Naples; and the complete evacuation of Italy, the island of Elba included, by the French forces; but the principal motive, and underlying all others, was the desire for overthrowing Napoleon, the elective Emperor, and reinstating the Bourbons, to reign by "Divine right," and thus presenting a solid barrier against the future spread of free principles. For the prosecution of the great objects of this treaty, it was proposed that an army of four hundred thousand men should be levied. It was stipulated that these troops should be provided by the Powers of the Continent who should become parties to the league, and that subsidies should be granted by Great Britain in the proportion of over six millions of dollars for every hundred thousand men, besides a considerable additional sum for the necessary expense of bringing them into the field.

About this time, the occupation of Genoa by the French, in order to preserve it from an attack by the English fleet, was communicated to the different sovereigns of Europe, among whom it excited the highest indignation. The Emperor Alexander, incensed at this new act of Napoleon, immediately recalled his envoy; and this appeared to be the signal for hostilities on the part of Russia and Austria against France.



RUSSO-GREEK CHURCH, BUCHAREST.

Napoleon, well knowing the British government and aristocracy to be the main projectors of all the coalitions against him, had collected an immense armament at Boulogne for the invasion of England; but learning that Alexander, at the head of fifty thousand men, was rapidly marching to join the Austrians under the Emperor Francis, for the purpose of secretly attacking France, he resolved to meet them on their

own ground. With surprising celerity he traversed France and Germany, and encountering the superior forces of the allies on the plain of Austerlitz, December 2, 1805, he utterly overthrew them. In their retreat across a lake, a large body of Russians were drowned by the breaking of the ice from the artillery shots of the French. The Emperors Francis and Alexander, from an eminence, beheld with anguish the complete discomfiture of their splendid army, and the latter soon after returned to St. Petersburg. When the news of this decisive battle reached England, the prime minister Pitt remarked, "We may now close the map of Europe for years." His death, soon after, was hastened by chagrin.

The consequence of these disastrous events to the allies was, first, a cessation of hostilities, and finally a treaty of alliance between Russia and France in 1806. Alexander, however, was determined to make one more effort to gain better terms from Napoleon. The Russian envoy at Paris, D'Oubril, had hastily concluded a preliminary treaty of peace between Russia and France. The terms of this convention, when laid before the privy council by Alexander, appeared so derogatory to the interests of Russia, that the Emperor refused them his sanction; but at the same time signified his willingness to renew the negotiations for peace on such terms as were consistent with the dignity of his crown and the interests of his empire. The machinations of the British government, however, broke off the negotiations, and both parties again prepared for war.

In the meantime, the King of Prussia, urged on by the English and Austrian cabinets, prepared to oppose his efforts to the growing power of France. He collected an army of two hundred thousand men near Weimar and Jena, while the French forces assembled in Franconia and on the frontiers of Saxony. The same extraordinary success, however, was still to attend the arms of France. The Prussians were totally defeated by Napoleon at Jena; and the same day was fought the decisive battle of Auerstadt, in which Marshal Davoust, with an inferior French force, completely routed the enemy, who, besides numerous infantry and artillery, had forty thousand splendid cavalry, commanded by the Prince of Prussia. In these two actions the loss of the Prussians amounted to about twenty thousand in killed and wounded, and over thirty thousand prisoners. The lines of fugitives, converging from the fields of Jena and Auerstadt, fled tumultuously



SHOEING CAVALRY HORSES IN RUSSIA.

toward Berlin, which capital Napoleon entered on the 27th of October.

While the French were thus successful over the Prussians, the troops of Alexander entered Prussian Poland, and General Benningsen took up his residence at Warsaw, which, however, he was soon compelled to evacuate by the French under Murat, who entered the city on the 28th of November. After several skirmishes, in which the Prussians were defeated, a dreadful engagement took place between them and the French at Ostralenka, about sixty miles from Warsaw. The fighting continued for three days, and the loss was immense on both sides, though the advantage appears to have been on the side of the French. On the 26th of December the latter were beaten by the Russians at Pultusk, which terminated the campaign of 1806.

On the 7th and 8th of February, 1807, the severely contested battle of Eylau was fought, in which Napoleon commanded in person at the head of the imperial guards. Each side three times lost and won, the deciding move being made by Benningsen, who took Koningsberg by

assault. At one time, while Napoleon was reconnoitering the field of battle from a church a detachment of Cossacks dashed up the streets of the town, and would have captured him, but for a timely charge of French dragoons. On the night of the 8th, Benningsen was reinforced by fifteen thousand Prussians, who wished to renew the battle on the third day, but at a council of war the Russian commander deemed it prudent to retreat, though greatly superior in force to the French.

Several actions succeeded, at Spanden, at Lamitten, at Guttdatsd, and at Heilsberg, in all of which the French had the advantage. On the 28th of May, 1807, they took Dantzic; and on the 14th of June the Russians appeared in considerable force on the bridge of Friedland, whither the French army under Napoleon was advancing. Here, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Russians, they were totally defeated by the French, who carried all before them. In consequence of this victory, the latter became masters of all the country round Koningsberg, and Marshal Soult entered that city in triumph. Thus concluded the campaign in Germany, in which the Russians sustained a loss of at least thirty thousand of their choicest troops.

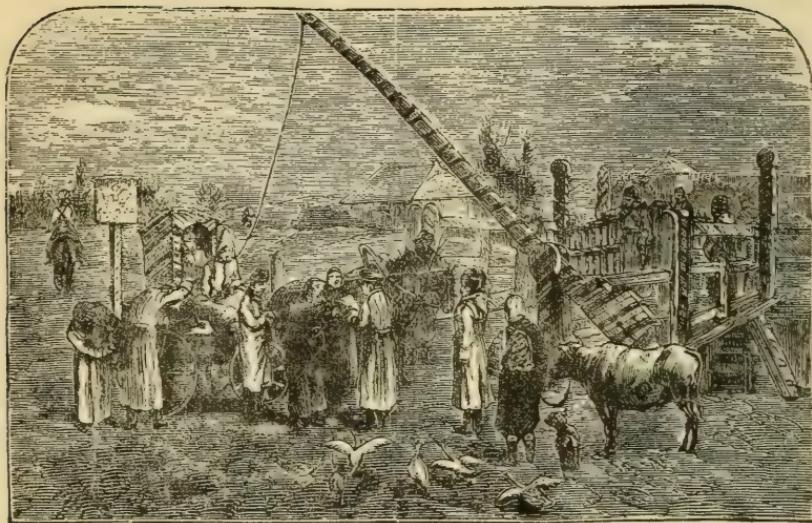
The defeats which the allied armies had suffered in Prussia and Poland rendered peace on almost any terms a desirable object; and Alexander found himself constrained to meet, at least with the appearance of friendship, the conqueror of his armies. Propositions for an armistice had been made by the Prussian General to the Grand Duke of Berg, near Tilsit; and, after the battle of Friedland, the Russian Prince Labanoff had a conference, for the same purpose, with the Prince of Neufchatel, soon after which an armistice was concluded between the French and Russians. On the 25th of June an amicable meeting took place between the Emperors of France and Russia, in a handsome pavilion erected on a raft for the occasion, which was moored in the middle of the river Niemen. The result of this interview was the famous treaty of Tilsit, concluded between the Emperor of the French on the one part, and the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia on the other, on the 7th and 12th of July, 1807.

Alexander, by this compact, became the ally of France, and acknowledged the brothers of Napoleon as kings respectively of Naples, Holland, and Westphalia; he formally recognized also the confederation of the Rhine, and promised to acknowledge all the sovereigns who might hereafter become members of that confederation. He engaged

that hostilities on the part of Russia should immediately cease with the Ottoman Porte. He undertook also to mediate for a peace between England and France. This mediation was declined on the part of the British Government, until it should be made acquainted with the stipulations of the treaty of Tilsit, and should find them not conflicting with its own claims to the free navigation of the Baltic and the introduction of British goods to the continent. The grounds of this declination served as a reason for binding more closely the alliance between Russia and France, by breaking off the connection of the former with Great Britain. Accordingly, Lord Gower, who had succeeded the Marquis of Douglas as envoy, received a note from the Russian Government, intimating that, as a British ambassador, he could be no longer received at the court of St. Petersburg, which he therefore soon after quitted.

An embargo was now laid on all British vessels in the ports of Russia, and it was peremptorily required by Napoleon and Alexander that Sweden should abandon her alliance with Great Britain. An additional cause for the Russian declaration of war against the latter power was furnished by the second bombardment of Copenhagen, and the seizure of the Danish fleet in the harbor by a British squadron; and, although Lord Gower had attempted to justify these measures, on the plea of anticipating the French in the same transaction, the Emperor of Russia expressed in the warmest terms his indignation at this unjust and outrageous attack on a neutral power. A considerable Russian fleet joined the French, but the combined squadrons were compelled to seek for shelter in the Tagus, where they remained blocked up by a superior British armament; and another Russo-French fleet of fifteen sail-of-the-line that proceeded up the Mediterranean, and advanced as far as Trieste, met with a similar fate. In fact, hostilities between Russia and England resulted chiefly in a cessation of trade.

The demand of concurrence in the views of France and Russia made on Sweden, was formally repeated in a declaration of the Emperor Alexander, published at St. Petersburg on the 10th of February, 1808. In this declaration, his Imperial Majesty intimated to the King of Sweden that he was making preparations to invade his territories; but that he was ready to change the measures he was about to take, to measures of precaution only, if Sweden would, without delay, join Russia and Denmark in shutting the Baltic against Great Britain



A RUSSIAN MILITARY POST ON THE PRUTH.

until the conclusion of a maritime peace. He professed that nothing could be more painful to him than to see a rupture take place between Sweden and Russia; but that his Swedish Majesty had it still in his power to avoid this event, by resolving, without delay, to adopt that course which could alone preserve strict union between the two states. The King of Sweden, however, determined to abide by the measures which he had for some time pursued, and accede to the terms of the convention which had just been concluded between him and the King of Great Britain.

In consequence of this determination, a Russian army, under the command of General Buxhowden, entered Finland in the beginning of March, 1808, and advanced against Helsingfors, which was occupied by a single battalion of a Swedish regiment. This small force retired into the fortress of Swealborg, where they maintained themselves with great bravery till the 17th of April, when they were obliged to capitulate. The loss of this fortress, though inconsiderable in itself, so highly enraged the King of Sweden that he dismissed the naval and military commanders who had been concerned in the capitulation. The Russians soon overran nearly all Finland, took

possession of Vasa, old and new Carleby, and reduced to subjection the whole province of which Vasa is the capital. The King of Sweden continued to send reinforcements to his armies in Finland; but no advantages of any importance were obtained, and the Russians remained in possession of a great part of that province until it was permanently ceded to Russia in 1809.

A second meeting between the Emperors of France and Russia took place at Erfurth, in Saxony, on the 27th of September, 1808; Napoleon being anxious to secure the friendship of Alexander previous to his meditated subjection of Spain. The English cabinet had now succeeded in forming another coalition against France, hostilities being commenced by her old ally, Austria, while Sir John Moore was despatched with a strong force to Spain.

Alexander became the ally of France, and took part as such, in the war now opened by Austria; but his want of zeal in the cause was too evident to escape the penetration of the French Emperor, and a growing coldness between the imperial allies began to appear. Austria, completely humbled by the defeat of Wagram, was compelled to form an alliance with Napoleon.

Great injury had, however, been done to Russian commerce, and heavy complaints made by merchants, in consequence of their ports having been shut against the English; they were therefore again opened to them, provided they hoisted American colors, while French goods were very strictly prohibited. This induced Napoleon, in retaliation, to make himself master of the principal northern ports of Germany, and to incorporate the possessions of the Duke of Oldenburg, a near relation of Alexander, with France. Against this proceeding Russia made a very energetic protest; and, in the year 1811, five divisions of the Russian army assumed a position opposite Warsaw. On the other hand, Napoleon caused the fortresses on the Vistula and Oder to be declared in a state of siege, sent thither large masses of troops, and occupied Swedish Pomerania, because Charles XIII. of Sweden adhered to his alliance with England.

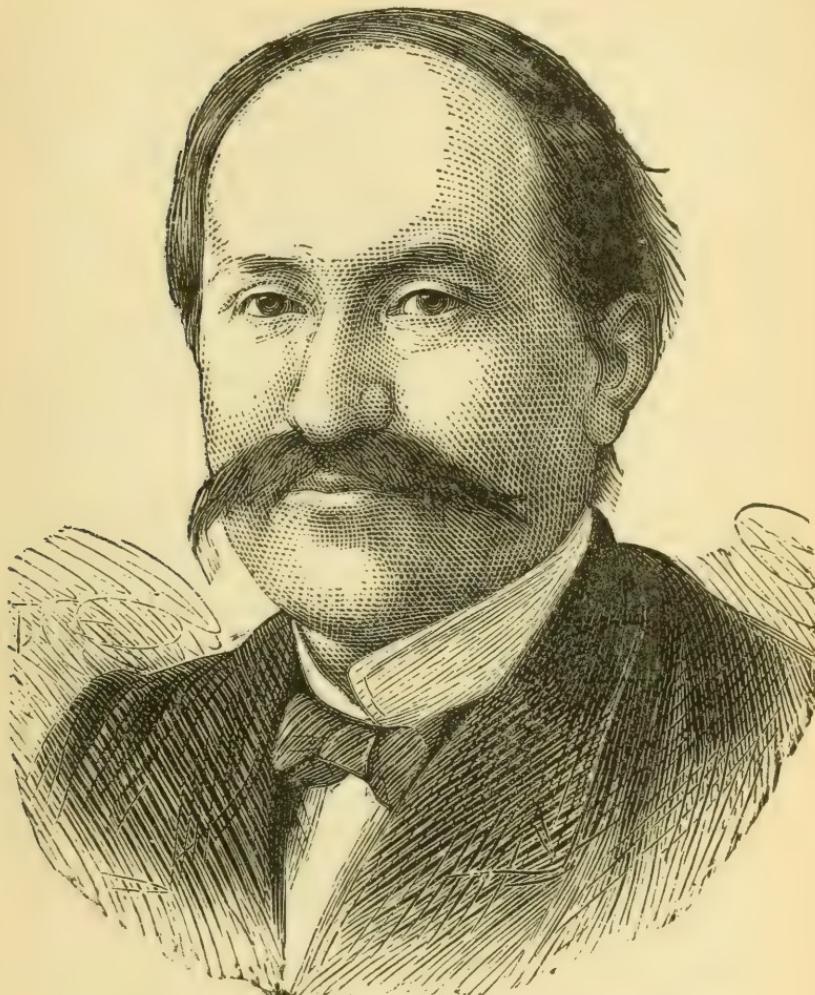
The contest in Spain, where Wellington was operating with a powerful British auxiliary force, was at this time daily growing more obstinate, and the large amount of men and money it consumed might well have appeared to Napoleon a sufficient obstacle to a struggle with Russia; but he calculated that his entire armies, amounting to

nearly a million of effective men, would be sufficient for the conflict in both quarters; and he also relied upon a great mass of auxiliary forces, chiefly promised by the confederation of the Rhine; besides his alliance with Prussia and Austria, which covered him on both flanks, and secured his retreat. He, however, made peaceable offers, through the Count de Narbonne, his ambassador at St. Petersburg; but the object of his mission being unattained, about half a million of soldiers, consisting of French, Germans, Italians, Poles, Swiss, Spaniards, and Portuguese, with more than twelve hundred cannon, were put in motion about the end of July, 1812, to attack the Russians on the other side of the Niemen and the Vistula.

To meet this invasion, Alexander, having reestablished his alliance with Great Britain, made peace with the Sultan, and withdrew his troops from the Turkish frontier. He also issued a ukase, on the 23d of March, ordering a levy of two men out of every five hundred throughout the Empire. The Russians, in three divisions, occupied a line including Kiev and Smolensk to Riga. All the disposable property and records had long before been conveyed into the interior. The first western Russian army in Poland was stationed along the Niemen as far as Grodno. The second western army was in the vicinity of Honiur. Besides these, there were additional corps stationed at other points in the western frontier.

The Russian plan of the campaign was, by retreating, to avoid a decisive battle, until the enemy should be remote from all his resources, and weakened by marches through a desolate region, and the Russian army should be so considerably strengthened by the accession of all the forces that might be meanwhile raised, as to have a decided superiority. Napoleon's scheme, on the contrary, was to use every effort to draw the Russians into battle, to destroy them after the defeat, and pressing forward with haste to the capital, to proffer peace. But he not only entirely mistook the character of his enemy, but he overlooked the important fact that, though the Russians might retreat, they would still be in possession of their resources.

On the 6th of June, 1812, Napoleon crossed the Vistula, and on the 23d the Niemen, and pushed on to Wilna, the Russians carefully retreating. Here the French Emperor remained eighteen days, and then marched on Vitebsk. The Russian General retired to Smolensk. Fatigue had meanwhile operated so disastrously on the French army,



GENERAL IGNATIEFF, RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

that it was obliged to halt for ten days, during which the two Russian armies formed a junction under the walls of Smolensk. Napoleon crossed the Dnieper and marched in pursuit of the enemy. The Russians now began to act on the offensive, and Napoleon ordered his right wing to hasten, by rapid marches, to cut them off from Moscow. At midnight on the 17th the French succeeded in capturing Smolensk,

which was reduced to ruins, its magazines having been destroyed or removed, and the houses set on fire by the departing inhabitants.

The Russian army retired in haste, pursued by Napoleon. The battle of Borodino, near Moscow, was fought on the 1st of September, resulting in a decisive victory for the French. The Russians continued slowly and sullenly to retreat towards Moscow, establishing their batteries wherever they could make a stand. They drove before them the wretched serfs, blew up the bridges behind them, burned the towns as they passed along, and carried away or destroyed all the provisions and forage. For seven days the French pursued their foes over the dreary plains. They were everywhere victorious, and yet they obtained no results from their victories. Count Rostopchin, the Governor, was making effectual preparations for the conflagration of the city of Moscow, and was urging, by every means in his power, the evacuation of the city by the inhabitants.

About noon of the 14th of September, Napoleon descried, from the summit of the Sparrow hills, the glittering domes and minarets of Moscow. He reined in his horse, and exclaimed, "Behold! Yonder is the celebrated city of the Czars." After gazing upon it for a few moments in silence, he remarked, "It was full time." The soldiers, thinking that their sufferings were now at an end, and anticipating good quarters and abundant supplies, gave way to transports of joy. Shouts of "Moscow! Moscow!" spread from rank to rank, and all quickened their pace to gain a view of the object of their wishes. They approached the city, but, to their amazement, they met but silence and solitude. The astounding intelligence was brought to Napoleon that the city was deserted. A few miserable creatures, who had been released from the prisons to fire the city as soon as the French should have taken possession, were found in the streets. They were generally intoxicated, and presented a squalid and hideous spectacle. The soldiers dispersed through the city in search of provisions and quarters. Many of the inhabitants had left in such haste, that the rich ornaments of the ladies were found on their toilets, and the letters and gold of men of business on their desks.

On the morning of the 15th, Napoleon removed his headquarters to the Kremlin. He immediately wrote to Alexander, proposing terms of peace. The day was passed in establishing the army in their new quarters. Some twenty thousand men and women of the lowest class,



ABDUL HAMID II., THE DEPOSED SULTAN OF TURKEY.

fierce and revolting in aspect, gradually stole from their hiding-places and mingled with the French troops. Ten thousand prisoners, who had been liberated by the Governor, were stealthily preparing to convert the magnificent metropolis into a vast "infernal machine" for the destruction of the French army. Immense magazines of powder were placed beneath the Kremlin and other structures that would be filled with soldiers; shells and other destructive engines of war were secreted, in vast quantities, in chambers and cellars; the fountains had also been destroyed, the water-pipes cut, and the fire-engines carried off.

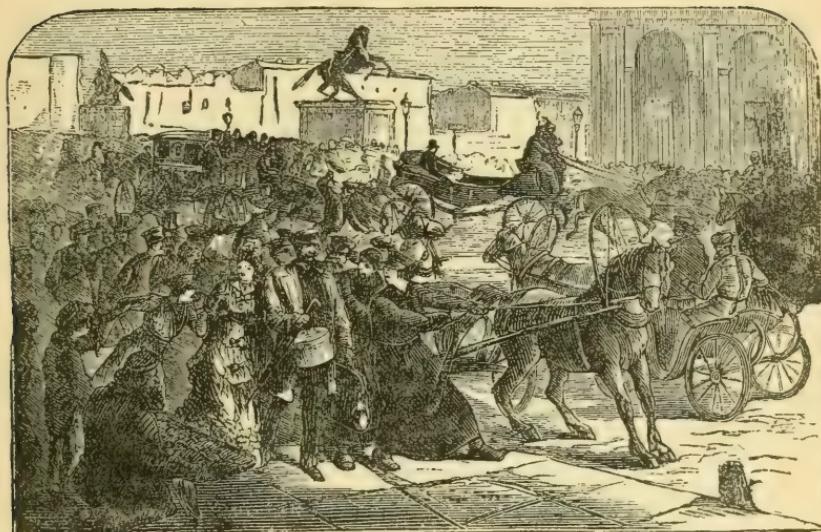
About midnight of the 16th the cry of "Fire!" was suddenly heard in the streets. Far off in the east of the Kremlin, immense volumes of smoke and flame were rolling up into the stormy sky. Loud explosions of bursting shells and upheaving mines scattered death and dismay around. The flames spread in all directions. Mines were sprung, shells burst, cannons discharged, wagons of powder and magazines blew up, and in a few hours of indescribable confusion and terror, the whole vast city was wrapped in an ocean of flame. The French soldiers shot the incendiaries, bayoneted them, tossed them into the fire; but still, like demons, they plied their work. During the whole of the 17th and the ensuing night the fire continued to rage, and at last reached the Kremlin, forcing Napoleon to retire to the castle of Petrowski, about three miles distant; but the flames abating on the 19th, he returned to that portion of the Kremlin which yet remained uninjured.

The confusion and tumult which ensued when the work of pillage commenced cannot be conceived. Soldiers, sutlers, and galley-slaves were seen running through the streets, penetrating into the deserted palaces, and carrying away everything that could gratify their avarice. Some clothed themselves with silks and costly furs; others dressed themselves in women's attire; and even the galley-slaves concealed their rags under the most splendid court dresses; the rest crowded to the cellars, and, forcing open the doors, drank the wine and carried off an immense booty. This horrible pillage was not confined to the deserted houses, but extended to the few which were inhabited, and soon the eagerness and wantonness of the plunderers caused devastations which almost equalled those occasioned by the conflagration.

On the morning of the 19th of October, after a stay of thirty-four

days, Napoleon quitted Moscow and retreated toward Kalouga. And now the picture of the advance to Moscow was to be reversed. Hordes of Cossacks hung upon the rear of the retreating army, cutting off the stragglers and committing every atrocity. Murat was defeated at Malo-Yaroslavitz on the 24th of October, and an unsuccessful stand was made at Viasma on the 3d of November. On the 6th, a winter peculiarly early and severe, even for Russia, set in; the thermometer sank eighteen degrees, the wind blew furiously over the desert country, and the soldiers, vainly struggling with the eddying snow which drove against them with the violence of a whirlwind, could no longer distinguish the road, and, falling into the ditches by the side, were quickly covered with the wintry mantle, and there found a grave. Others crawled on, badly clothed, with nothing to eat or drink, frost-bitten, and groaning with pain. What scenes did not the retreat then present! Discipline was gone; under such horrible sufferings even these tried and veteran soldiers could no longer obey their officers. Thus disorganized, they spread themselves right and left in search of food, and, as the horses fell, seized upon their mangled carcasses and devoured them raw like dogs. Many remained by the dying embers of the bivouac-fire, and, as these expired, an insensibility crept over them which soon became the sleep of death—thus thousands perished.

On the 9th of November Napoleon reached Smolensk, and remained till the 15th, collecting his scattered forces, now reduced to forty thousand effective men, when he set out for Krasnoi. Meantime, the Russian commander, with a hundred thousand troops, advanced by a parallel road, and stationed himself across Napoleon's route; while the French rear-guard, under Ney, was nearly destroyed. The emperor, however, pressing forward, succeeded in cutting his way through the dense masses of the Russians. But from this time to the 26th and 27th, when the French crossed the Beresina, all was utter and hopeless confusion; and in the passage of that river, in the midst of a furious attack from the Russians, one of the frail bridges broke beneath the weight of the artillery, baggage and troops, with which it was burdened. A vast and frenzied crowd, struggling at the heads of the bridges, trampled upon each other, while cannon-balls plowed through the living, tortured mass. Multitudes were forced into the stream, and with shrieks which pierced through the thunders of the battle, sank beneath the floating ice. On the 29th the Emperor resumed his march, and was met by a convoy of provisions from Wilna.



A SCENE IN NEVSKI PROSPECT, NEAR ST. PETERSBURG.

The French were now upon the borders of Poland, and received sympathy and aid from the people. On the 5th of December, Napoleon, attended by a small Polish escort, set out in a sledge for Paris, leaving Murat to command in his stead. On the 18th he entered his capital and the palace of the Tuilleries.

The Russians, meanwhile, pressed hard upon the retreating French, until they reached the Niemen, the ancient boundary of the empire. At Kowno, Marshal Ney, with a handful of men, held the enemy at bay for four days; and seizing a musket, fought like a common soldier, until the last man had retired across the bridge; then deliberately walking backward, he fired the last bullet at the advancing Russians, and threw his gun into the stream. He was the last of the "Grand Army" that left the Russian territory.

The Emperor Alexander, who had hitherto only fought on the defensive, now resolved in his turn to become the aggressor; and, joining his army in Poland, published in February, 1813, the celebrated manifesto which served as a basis for the coalition of the other powers of Europe to destroy Napoleon and overturn the French empire. The King of Prussia at the same time summoned all capable of bearing arms to battle for their country; and, though he did not

then designate his object, his people, who for five years had been humbled and degraded, understood him, and, with unparalleled enthusiasm, thousands poured forth to their places of rendezvous from every section of the country. In vain had the French, with the aid of their last reserves and of troops drawn together in haste, made efforts to remain on the Pregel, on the Vistula, and on the Oder. The Russians advanced everywhere with superior numbers, and the French were obliged to retire behind the Elbe. Prussia now declared war against France, and concluded an alliance with Russia. The confederation of the Rhine was dissolved, and although Austria yet remained neutral, the insurrection was general in northern Germany. Meantime, however, much time was lost in negotiations with the King of Saxony, and Kutusoff, the Russian commander, died of fever at Buntzlaw, upon which Alexander appointed Wittgenstein to the chief command. On the 18th of October occurred the terrible battle of Leipsic, in which the French were overwhelmed by greatly superior numbers. The allies now rapidly advanced to the Rhine; and though Napoleon continued to struggle through the winter, his adversaries gradually environed him with half a million of men, and Alexander entered Paris on the 31st of March, 1814.

The "Holy Alliance," at Vienna in 1815, having settled the affairs of Europe satisfactorily, Alexander devoted himself to the advancement of his own empire. The most opposite traits are found combined in the character of this sovereign. He was at once seen encouraging Bible societies and the education of his people, yet interfering with the spread of political knowledge and liberty in distant states. He was at times firm even to stubbornness, at others vacillating; his character baffles all who endeavor to describe him as he actually was. His disposition, however, was kind and generous, his manners mild and amiable, and his moderation generally prevented him from abusing his unlimited power. He made many judicious alterations in the government; and, under the influence of his mother and the Empress, the levity and extravagance of the Russian court were materially repressed.

Alexander, attended to the last by his wife Elizabeth, died of erysipelas in a small and humble dwelling near Taganrog, December 1, 1825, when on a tour of inspection through the southern provinces of his empire, and was succeeded by Nicholas I. on the 25th of the same month.

CHAPTER III.

NICHOLAS I. TO ALEXANDER II.



RATIONS BEING SERVED TO A DETACHMENT OF RUSSIAN SOLDIERS.

NICHOLAS PAULOVICH, who succeeded Alexander, was born at St. Petersburg on the 7th of July, 1796. Soon after the beginning of his reign a war with Persia broke out, in consequence of disputes arising from the non-settlement of certain boundaries between Russia and that Power. Abbas Mirza, who had just then succeeded to the throne of Persia, thinking the moment propitious for attacking Russia, at once marched over the frontier, and advanced as far as Elizabetpol, in Georgia; but the Persians were defeated, and driven back. War was now immediately declared against them; and General Paskiewitch, being appointed Commander-in-Chief by the Emperor, passed the

Araxes, took several strong fortresses, entered ancient Media with no opposition, and forced the Shah to sue for peace, compelling him to give up an extensive territory on the southwestern shore of the Caspian Sea, with some provinces on the Caucasus, besides making him pay the expenses of the war and the losses by the invasion.

The war with Persia was scarcely ended, when Russia engaged in another—with Turkey. The Porte accused the Russians of having secretly fomented the insurrection of Greece, of having openly attacked and destroyed their fleet in the Bay of Navarino, with having violated the treaties of Bucharest and Ackerman, and established connections with the malcontents in every part of the Empire. The Russians replied by accusing the Porte of having excited the mountaineers of Caucasus to revolt, and incited them to embrace Islamism; with having violated or delayed the execution of all the treaties in favor of its Christian subjects; and arbitrarily closed the Bosphorus on various occasions, and thereby deeply injured the southern provinces of the Empire. A declaration of war was issued by the Emperor of Russia, and on the 7th of May, 1828, the Russian forces passed the Pruth to the number of one hundred thousand, including persons of all distinctions, attached to the camp. The Turks were not in sufficient force to resist such a crusade, and retired as the Russians advanced. In a short time the entire level of the country was overrun; Jassy and Bucharest occupied; Galatz, with its beautiful harbor, taken; and, in brief, the entire left bank of the Danube was occupied by the Muscovite troops.

On the 8th of June the Russians crossed the Danube, attacked and captured several fortresses and fortified towns, and soon overran the whole country between the Danube and the sea. Several engagements took place during July and August, and the Ottomans withdrew into their entrenched camp around Schumla. The Emperor left a sufficient force to observe Schumla, directed the remainder of the army against Varna, which was invested by both land and sea, and after a desperate resistance, taken on the 10th of October.

After the fall of Varna, the Russian commander left sufficient forces to occupy and maintain the captured fortresses, and commenced his retreat with the remainder of his army on the 15th of October; it was conducted with so much secrecy, that the Turks for some days were not aware of what was going on, and he at first sustained very little molestation. But this did not long continue. On the 19th the rear

guard was attacked by eight thousand Turkish cavalry ; but they kept their ground, though at a very heavy loss. After this, the retrograde movement became eminently disastrous. Eye-witnesses of both compared it to the retreat from Moscow. Caissons and baggage were abandoned at every step ; the stragglers nearly all fell into the enemy's hands, by whom they were instantly massacred ; and the Russians experienced, in their turn, the disasters which they had inflicted on Napoleon's army in 1812. At length the wearied columns reached the Danube, which they immediately crossed, and spread themselves in winter quarters over Wallachia. Thus ended in Europe the campaign of 1828, in which the Russians, with the exception of the occupation of Wallachia and Moldavia (which were abandoned by the Turks without resistance) and the reduction of Varna, had made no sensible progress. Both parties, after it was over, found themselves on the banks of the Danube, mutually exhausted by the most urgent efforts.

The campaign in Asia during the same year was attended with more decisive results. The Russian force pushed its way from Caucasus and Ararat into Asiatic Turkey, and took by storm the strong fortress of Kars, with all its arms and ammunition. After this, several other fortresses fell into the hands of the Russians ; so that, besides obtaining possession of Mingrelia and Imeritia, the whole pachalic of Bajazid, as far as the banks of the Euphrates, was conquered.

The winter of 1828–29 was actively employed by both the Russians and the Turks in preparing for the opening of the next campaign. On the 8th of May, 1829, the Russian army crossed the Danube, in two columns, at Hirchova and Kalavatsh, immediately below Silistria. The latter place was at once invested by thirty-five thousand Russians, while a reserve army of forty thousand was stationed in advance towards Schumla. The siege of Silistria was prosecuted with the utmost vigor, while a powerful flotilla, issuing from the upper part of the river, cut the besieged off from all communication by water on the west. But the Turks made a vigorous resistance, and recourse was of necessity had to the tedious processes of sap and mine.

During the investment of Silistria, a battle was fought, on the 11th of June, at Kulewtscha, about midway between Silistria and Schumla, between the Russian reserve and forty thousand Turks. This engagement continued for eight hours, and finally resulted in the discomfiture of the Turks, who retreated in confusion, and by a circuitous route succeeded in reëntering Schumla.

After this battle, the operations before Silistria were resumed. The garrison, however, continued to hold out till the night of the 30th of June, when a great mine under the rampart having been exploded, made a yawning breach in it, which, by the concentric fire of the Russian artillery, was soon rendered practicable for storming. Seeing further resistance hopeless, the commander agreed to surrender. The troops, to the number of eight thousand, laid down their arms, and were made prisoners of war. The armed inhabitants were allowed to retire without their arms, but none of them availed themselves of the permission.

The Russian commander now determined on the daring step of passing the Balkan, in preference to the alternative of undertaking another siege to secure more effectually his line of communication. His plan being formed accordingly, he invested Schumla with ten thousand men under Krasowsky. Reshid Pacha, the Grand Vizier, in expectation of an immediate assault, recalled a portion of his troops from the mountain passes, to aid in the defence of a position on which, in his opinion, everything depended. The defenders of the Balkan being thus seriously diminished, the Russian forces were enabled to force their passage across the mountains. The figurative comparison of the number of the Russian army to the leaves of the forest, which had been spread by the Bulgarians, acted like magic. The Turkish army, deceived by these exaggerated accounts, retired to the ridge of low hills, twenty-five miles in front of Constantinople, which had so often in ancient times served as a barrier against the northern barbarians. The Russian general thus having an unobstructed route, resolved on pushing on to Adrianople. Leaving a force at different points to secure his line of communications, he advanced by forced marches, and encamped before that ancient city on the 19th of August. No preparations for the defence of Adrianople had been made, and a hasty capitulation enabled the Russians to enter the town on the following morning.

The better to subsist, and also to augment the report of the magnitude and invincibility of his forces, the Russian general spread them out from the centre at Adrianople, like a fan, in every direction. While the advanced guards were pushed on the high-road to within eighty miles of Constantinople, the left wing advanced and took Midiah, within sixty-five miles of the Bosphorus, where it entered into communication with Admiral Greig's squadron; and the right moved forward



SOLDIERS OF THE LINE AFTER THEIR UNIFORMS.

by Trajanopolis on Enos, in the Mediterranean, and met the fleet of Admiral Heiden, which was at anchor, expecting them, in the bay. At the same time, Krasowsky, by repeated attacks, so imposed upon the garrison at Schumla, that, so far from thinking of disquieting these movements, they deemed themselves fortunate to be able to preserve their own redoubts. Thus the Russian army extended from the Euxine to the Mediterranean, across the entire breadth of Turkey, and was supported by a powerful fleet at the extremity of either flank; while at the same time its reserve blockaded eighteen thousand men in Schumla, and its advanced guard menaced Constantinople. But the strength of their army was not equal to so great an expansion of its force, and was in reality on the verge of a most terrible catastrophe. In the middle of September the Russian force at Adrianople did not exceed fifteen thousand men.

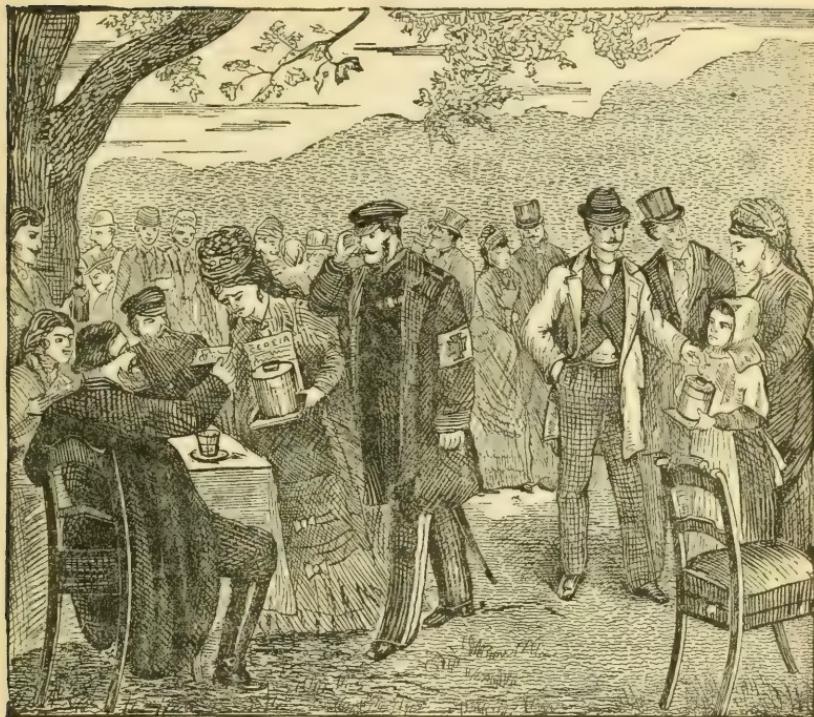
An extraordinary impression was produced by these decisive events, both at Constantinople and over Europe. The terror in the Turkish capital was extreme; and the grand seignior, with tears in his eyes, agreed to the treaty of Adrianople, one of the most renowned in the Russian as it was one of the most disastrous in the Turkish annals.

By this celebrated treaty the Emperor of Russia restored to the

Sublime Porte the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and all the conquered places in Bulgaria and Roumania, with the exception of the islands at the mouth of the Danube, which were reserved to Russia. All the conquests in Asia Minor were in like manner restored to Turkey, excepting the fortress of Anapa, Poli, Akhalzikh, Abzkow, and Akhalkalaki, which, with a considerable territory around them, were ceded to Russia, and, in a military point of view, constituted most important acquisitions. All the privileges and immunities secured by former treaties were ratified in their fullest extent. An entire and unqualified amnesty was provided for all political offenders in every part of the Turkish dominions. The passage of the Dardanelles was declared open to all Russian merchant vessels, as well as those of nations at peace with the Sublime Porte, with all guarantees requisite to secure to Russia the undisturbed navigation of the Black Sea.

Another convention, signed the same day, determined the respective rights of the parties to Wallachia and Moldavia. It provided that the *hospodars* of these provinces should be elected for life, and not, as heretofore, for seven years; that the pachas and officers of the Porte in the adjoining provinces were not at liberty to intermingle in any respect in their concerns; that the middle of the Danube was to be the boundary between them to the junction of that river with the Pruth; and "the better to secure the future inviolability of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Sublime Porte engaged not to maintain any fortified post or any Mussulman establishment on the north of the Danube; that the towns situated on the left bank should be restored to Wallachia, and their fortifications never repaired; and all Mussulmans holding possessions on the left bank were to be bound to sell them to the natives in the space of eighteen months. The government of the *hospodars* was to be entirely independent of Turkey; and they were to be liberated from the quota of provisions they had hitherto been bound to furnish to Constantinople and the fortresses on the Danube."

The Polish revolution is the next important event in the history of Russia. Although the immediate cause of this revolution was severe punishment inflicted on pupils of the military academy at Warsaw, there is no doubt that the Poles were encouraged to make the attempt by the success that attended the Parisians in July, 1830, to secure to themselves a constitutional government. Accordingly, on the 19th of November following, the military cadets and students of Warsaw,



FRIENDS OF THE SERVIAN CAUSE MAKING CONTRIBUTIONS.

joined by the Polish troops, seized the arsenal with forty thousand stand of arms, and the insurrection became general. On the next morning forty thousand troops and citizens were in arms, and the Russians were expelled from the capital. January 24, 1831, the Polish Diet, which had been opened on the 18th of December, declared the absolute independence of Poland, and the termination of the Russian dominion ; and on the 25th, that the Polish throne was vacant. The object of the Polish revolutionists, however, was not to withdraw themselves entirely from the authority of the Russian emperor, but only to maintain the privileges that were guaranteed to them at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and to get rid of the tyrannous viceroyship of the Grand Duke Constantine. Nevertheless, they had now drawn the sword, and although two commissioners were sent to St. Petersburg to endeavor to effect an arrangement, the Emperor refused to listen to

them, and denounced the revolted Poles as traitors to whom no lenity would be shown.

Marshal Diebitch, who had successfully conducted the war with the Turks, entered Poland at the head of a large army. He advanced as far as Warsaw, and was victorious over the Poles near the walls of their capital, February 25, 1831; but with a change of commanders the Polish cause gained strength. On the 31st of March they were victorious over the Russians in a night attack at Dembe Wielski. Another important victory was afterwards gained near Zelechow. During this action the Lithuanians and Valhynians, who served in the Russian army, turned their arms against the Russians, and materially contributed to the success of the Poles.

The peasants in various quarters of Poland now took an active part in the war, and hastened, with whatever weapons they could obtain, to the army. Insurrections broke out in Lithuania, Valhynia, Kowno, Wilna, in the Ukraine, and even in ancient Poland as far as Smolensk. On the other hand, General Dwernicki, who had been sent to make a demonstration in the rear of the Russians, and who had been victorious over them, was at last compelled to pass into the Austrian dominions, where he surrendered to the authorities of that country, April 27, with five thousand Poles. The ardor of the people, however, still continued, and hopes were entertained in every country that the manly resistance of the Poles would induce other governments to interfere; but, unfortunately, Prussia and Austria, being themselves in possession of a part of the spoils of Poland, did all in their power to prevent interference for fear of popular risings in Posen and Salicia, while France was too timid and cautious, and Great Britain was too much absorbed with domestic politics and the spirit of trade to render essential aid. The military operations on the part of the Russians were now prosecuted with new vigor; and the Emperor, who, in a manifesto addressed to the Russians, had called them the legitimate masters of the Poles, was ready to make every sacrifice to regain the Polish throne.

The fate of the revolutionists was soon afterward decided. After two days' fighting, Warsaw was taken by the Russians (September 7, 1831), and the confiscation of their property and exile to Siberia followed. Though many found an asylum in France, England, and other countries, they were mostly in extreme poverty, and were dependent

on the benevolence of those who pitied their hard fate while they admired their patriotism. An imperial ukase, issued March 17, 1832, abolished the kingdom of Poland and its constitution, and incorporated it with Russia as a province. The University of Warsaw was also suppressed as a punishment for the part taken by the students in the insurrection.

From this period until 1849 no important act marked the influence of Russia in the world's affairs. An occasion soon presented itself in which the Muscovite Czar was called upon to employ a portion of his troops in support of the "divine right of kings." On the appeal of the young Emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph, for aid against the armies of Kossuth, Nicholas sent his Cossacks into Hungary, who, with overwhelming numbers, finally vanquished the valiant Maygars. The chief reason given by the Czar for his intervention in this contest was the danger to which the Russian dominions must themselves be exposed from the triumph of the Maygars, with the large number of Polish refugees said to be engaged in their forces. Another motive was, however, also assigned, namely, the mission of Russia to restore religious and political orthodoxy to the bewildered and disorganized nations of Europe. The Russian forces were put in motion simultaneously with the ukase of the Czar, which was dated April 26, 1849. One corps passed through Moravia by the northern railway, and entered Hungary northwest of Presburg; two other corps entered the country through the northwestern defiles of the Carpathians; the main body came through the central pass of the same range, and marched down on the main road toward Pesth. Transylvania was invaded on the southeast, and at the same time a Russian corps came into that province on the northeast. The Austrian armies were also recruited; and the entire force thus marshalled against this heroic nation scarcely fell short of three hundred thousand men.

The popular enthusiasm was roused to an extraordinary pitch by the crisis. Governor Kossuth and his friends traversed every part of the country as apostles of the crusade for liberty, and the clergy of all denominations vied with each other in zeal against the invaders. The contest, however, was prolonged for some three months only after the entry of the Russians, and was virtually ended on the 13th of August at Villagos by the treacherous surrender of the Hungarian Görgey, with his entire army, to the Russian commander. This was followed

by the surrender of all the strongholds in the hands of the Hungarians. Kossuth and other eminent officers, with some five thousand troops, found an asylum in Turkey.

These events bring us down to the period of the Crimean War. The relations between Russia and the Ottoman Porte had been for some years assuming a threatening aspect. Among the disturbing elements was the question of the "holy places" in Jerusalem, where certain privileges had been granted by the Turkish Government to Roman Catholics, at the cost, as the Court of St. Petersburg believed, of the Orthodox Greek Church. A conflict between the Montenegrins and the Turks, at the beginning of 1853, increased the difficulty, as the hardy mountaineers of Montenegro had for some time enjoyed the special protection of Russia. Several other events of inferior importance thickened the cloud; and finally it was decided by Nicholas to make an imposing demonstration at Constantinople.

In February, 1853, Prince Menchikoff left St. Petersburg on a mission to Stamboul. He reached his destination on the 28th, and on the 2d of March communicated to the Porte his credentials. The other Courts of Europe, and especially France, became uneasy at the demonstrations of Russia, and a French fleet appeared at about the end of the month in the waters of Greece.

The first point debated between the Russian ambassador and the Porte was that of the holy places in Palestine. After many circumlocutions, Prince Menchikoff laid down his *ultimatum*. This contained sundry claims never before preferred by Russia, as that the Porte should bind itself for the future never to encroach upon any immunities anciently enjoyed by the Greek Church in Turkey, nor ever to allow any other Christian creed to predominate over it. The Porte refused to make such a treaty. On the 18th of May the Russian envoy broke off all further communications with the Porte, and retired to a steamer waiting for him in the harbor, and left Constantinople on the 21st of May.

Russia now began to gather bodies of troops about Odessa and in Bessarabia. Turkey also began to arm. On the 25th of June the Czar issued a manifesto to his people, announcing his purpose to sustain the religious rights of the Eastern Church, which he said were endangered in Turkey. The Russian troops accordingly crossed the Pruth, and entered the Danubian principalities. France and England seemed



RUSSIAN SOLDIERS BEING REVIEWED BY THE CZAR.

more united at this juncture. Austria and Prussia remained neutral, and the first offered her friendly mediation. Conferences were opened at Constantinople and at Vienna between the ministers of the four courts, and on the 1st of August a note was sent from Vienna to St. Petersburg and Constantinople offering terms of pacification. The Czar accepted them, but the Sultan introduced some changes and modifications, which were disapproved at St. Petersburg, and destroyed the first conciliatory attempts at diplomacy. Russia having taken possession of Jassy and Bucharest, the capitals of the principalities, Prince Gortchakoff, the Russian Commander-in-Chief, suspended all legal relations between the two vassals of the Porte and their sovereign.

Turkey, in the meantime, concentrated her army along the Danube in Europe, and on the frontiers of Georgia in Asia; and in October the Sultan issued a declaration of war. Omar Pasha, the commander of the Turkish forces in Europe, addressed a letter to the Russian commander, requiring him to evacuate the principalities within two weeks; otherwise he would proceed to attack the Russian army. Gortchakoff

replied that he was under the imperial commands to maintain his position. Omar kept his word. In the latter part of October he crossed the Danube at several points. The Ottomans seized the island of Kalavatsh, as well as the strong point of Oltenitza on the left side of the river. In Asia they seized Nicolaiev and several other fortified places; and fought a battle at Batrum, in which both parties claimed a victory.

On the water, the Ottoman cause suffered a great disaster. On the 30th of November, a Turkish fleet, conveying warlike stores to the Asiatic coast, entered the harbor of Sinope, where they were attacked by a Russian squadron. After a contest of about three hours, the Turkish vessels were destroyed. The guns of the Russian squadron were then turned upon the town of Sinope, which they reduced to ashes.

The intelligence of this affair created great excitement, not only at Constantinople, but in Paris and London. The allied fleets were immediately ordered to enter the Black Sea for the purpose of affording protection to the Porte.

On the Danube fresh engagements took place, which resulted favorably for the Turks. On the 6th of January, 1854, they attacked the advanced guard of the Russian army near Citale, and followed up the advantage there gained for three days in succession, finally routing their adversaries entirely, and driving them back upon Krajova. The Turks then retired to Kalavatsh.

War was now fairly enkindled between Russia and the Porte. The Emperor Nicholas calculated on the subserviency of Germany, the disturbed state of France, and the connivance of England, to which he offered Egypt as her share of “the sick man’s” inheritance, for the success of his plans. But England was not ambitious of further acquisitions; Turkey claimed her assistance on the faith of treaties; and France, now under the absolute sway of Napoleon III., united with Great Britain to crush out the designs of Russia. Austria and Prussia stood aloof; but a combined English and French fleet proceeded to the Black Sea, and shut up the Russians in the harbor of Sebastopol.

Negotiations with Russia were continued during the winter, but, having failed, war was declared against her by England and France in the spring, when a French army under Marshal St. Arnaud, and an English one under Lord Raglan, assembled at Varna in Turkey, while an English fleet under Sir Charles Napier was despatched to the Baltic. The gallant defence of the Turks on the banks of the Danube having



AN AMBULANCE TRAIN IN SERVIA ATTACKED BY WOLVES.

dissipated all alarm in that quarter, it was determined, toward the end of summer, to transport the allied army from Varna to the Crimea, and to attack Sebastopol. They were landed without opposition, September 14th, at Eupatoria, on the west coast of the Crimea. Prince Menchikoff, who had command of Sebastopol, had posted a force of about sixty thousand men on the heights which crown the left bank of the little river Alma, in order to oppose their advance on that fortress, and he had fortified this naturally strong position with great care, so that he confidently reckoned on holding it at least three weeks; but it was carried after a few hours' fight, on September 20th, by the allied armies, though with considerable loss. The Russians flung away their arms and fled; many of their guns were captured, together with Menchikoff's carriage and despatches, and nothing saved their army from annihilation but the want of cavalry to pursue it. It is probable that, had the allies been in a condition to move forward immediately, they might have entered Sebastopol along with the flying enemy; but the care of the wounded and the burial of the dead occasioned some delay. The march was then directed toward the harbor of Balaklava, the ancient Portus Symbolon to the south of Sebastopol, which enabled

the army to derive its supplies from the sea. The southern heights of Sebastopol were occupied, and preparations made for a siege. This was rendered difficult by the rocky nature of the soil, and it was not till October 17th that the allies were able to open their fire upon the place. The Russians had availed themselves of the interval to fortify it with great skill, and the large fleet shut up in the harbor assisted them with the means of defence.

This siege lasted nearly a year, and became one of the most memorable in history. Soon after its commencement a Russian army of 30,000 men, under Liprandi, endeavored to raise it by an attack upon Balaklava (October 25th), but which, after a severe struggle, was repulsed.

On November 5th, the Russians having been reinforced, made an assault upon the British position at Inkermann. Advancing early in the morning under cover of a fog, they took the garrison by surprise; but the British held their ground till General Canrobert, who had succeeded to the command of the French army after the death of St. Arnaud, sent a division to their assistance. The Russians were now hurled down the heights, while the artillery made terrible havoc in their serried ranks. After this catastrophe the Russians were cautious of venturing another battle; but the defence of the town was conducted with skill and obstinacy, and many desperate sorties took place. Attempts were made by the fleet upon the seaward batteries, but they were found to be impregnable.

It was thought that the death of the Emperor Nicholas, which occurred somewhat suddenly, might have led to the reëstablishment of peace; but the war was continued under his son and successor, Alexander. Its interest was principally concentrated at Sebastopol. The Baltic fleet, under Admiral Napier, though reinforced by a French squadron, had effected nothing except the destruction of the fortress of Bomarsund in the Aland Islands. The Black Sea fleet was more successful. A squadron, under Lyons, proceeded into the Sea of Azov, captured Kertch, Yenikale, and other towns, destroying vast granaries from which the Russians chiefly derived their supplies, thus hastening the surrender of Sebastopol.

On the 5th of September the general and final bombardment took place. On the 8th an assault was deemed practicable, and the French effected a lodgment in the fort or tower called the Malakoff. The

English storming-party also succeeded in gaining possession of the fort called the Redan, but were obliged ultimately to retire. The possession of the Malakoff, however, which commanded the town, decided its fate, and in the course of the night the Russians evacuated the place.

The allied armies established their winter quarters amid the ruins of Sebastopol, and, had the war proceeded, there can be little doubt that the whole of the Crimea would have fallen into their hands; but negotiations for peace, begun under the mediation of Austria, were brought to a conclusion in January, 1856. The Russian Protectorate in the Danubian principalities was abolished; the freedom of the Danube and its mouths was established; both Russian and Turkish ships of war were banished from the Black Sea, except a few small vessels necessary as a maritime police; and the Christian subjects of the Porte were placed under the protection of the contracting powers. On these bases a definitive treaty of peace was signed with Russia at Paris, March 30, 1856.

The most creditable act of the present Czar was the emancipation of the serfs—an act which he performed in 1861 in the face of the most intense opposition. To him thirty millions of people owe their deliverance from a servitude which they had suffered for two and a half centuries.

Czar Alexander II. has during his administration displayed most commendable courage and persistency in carrying out great reforms. He has encouraged the advancement of the arts and sciences, fostered the building of railway and telegraph lines in his dominions, and has steadily kept in view the happiness and prosperity of his people. Without granting absolute civil and religious liberty, he has yet abolished many of the restrictions which existed during his father's reign.

The recent events which have precipitated the present war will be fully detailed in their appropriate place.

CHAPTER IV.**THE RUSSIAN PEASANTRY.**

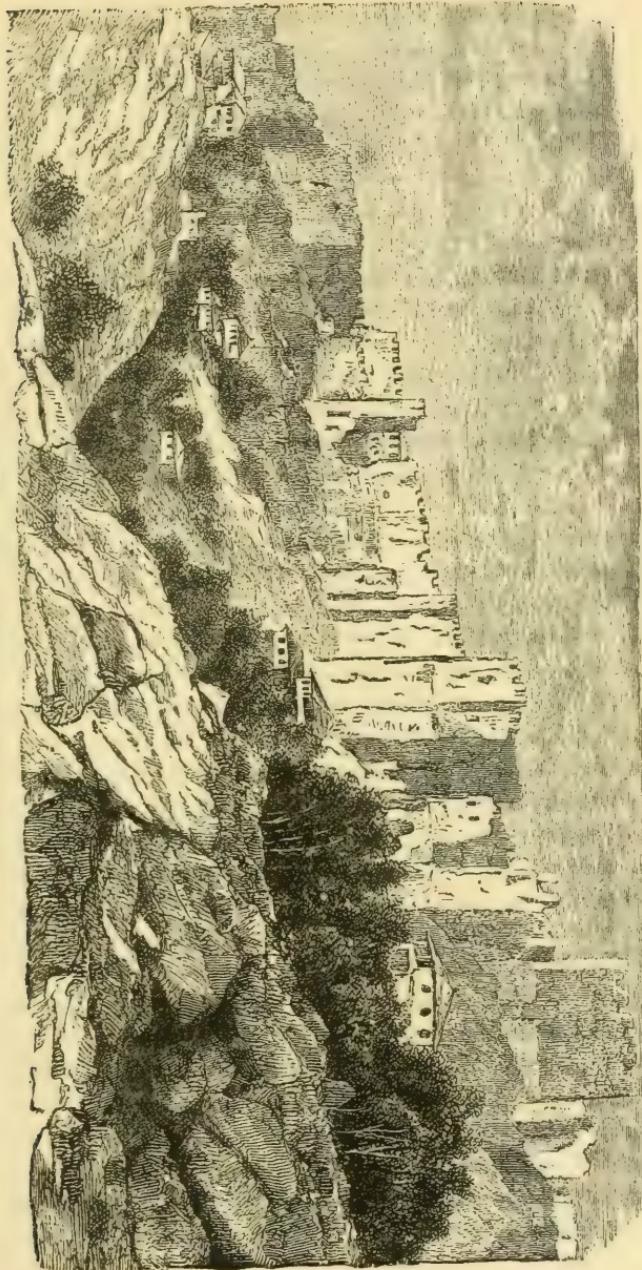
If it were possible to get a bird's-eye view of European Russia, the spectator would perceive that the country is composed of two halves, widely differing from each other in character. The northern half is a land of forest and morass, plentifully supplied with water in the form of rivers, lakes, and marshes, and broken up by numerous patches of cultivation. The southern half is, as it were, the other side of the pattern—an immense expanse of rich arable land, broken up by occasional patches of sand or forest. The imaginary undulating line separating those two regions starts from the western frontier about the fiftieth parallel of latitude, and runs in a northeasterly direction till it enters the Ural range at about fifty-six degrees north latitude.

In the present chapter we shall endeavor to give a brief description of the inhabitants of the northern half of the country.

Nearly the whole of the female population, and about one-half of the male inhabitants, are habitually engaged in cultivating the Communal land. The arable part of this land is divided in each village into three large fields, each of which is cut up into long narrow strips. The first field is reserved for the winter grain—that is to say, rye, which forms, in the shape of black bread, the principal food of the peasantry. In the second are raised oats for the horses, and buckwheat, which is largely used for food. The third lies fallow, and is used in the summer as pasture for the cattle.

All the villagers divide the arable land in this way, in order to suit the triennial rotation of crops. This triennial system is extremely simple. The field which is used this year for raising winter grain will be used next year for raising summer grain, and in the following year will lie fallow. Before being sown with winter grain it ought to receive a certain amount of manure. Every family possesses in each of the two fields under cultivation one or more of the long, narrow strips or belts into which they are divided.

The annual life of the peasantry is that of simple husbandmen, inhabiting a country where the winter is long and severe. The agricul-



THE FORTRESS OF TREBIZOND, ASIA MINOR.

tural year begins in April with the melting of the snow. Nature has been lying dormant for some months. Awaking now from her long sleep, and throwing off her white mantle, she strives to make up for lost time. No sooner has the snow disappeared than the fresh young grass begins to shoot up, and very soon afterwards the shrubs and trees begin to bud. The rapidity of this transition from winter to spring astonishes the inhabitants of more temperate climes.

On St. George's Day (April 23d), the cattle are brought out for the first time and sprinkled with holy water by the priest. The cattle of the Russian peasantry are never very fat, but at this period of the year their appearance is truly lamentable. During the winter they have been cooped up in small unventilated cow-houses, and fed almost exclusively on straw; now, when they are released from their imprisonment, they look like the ghosts of their former emaciated selves. All are lean and weak, many are lame, and some cannot rise to their feet without assistance.

Meanwhile the peasants are impatient to begin the field labor. An old proverb which they all know says: "Sow in mud and you will be a prince;" and they always act in accordance with this dictate of traditional wisdom. As soon as it is possible to plow they begin to prepare the land for the summer grain, and this labor occupies them probably till the end of May. Then comes the work of carting out manure and preparing the fallow field for the winter grain, which will last probably till about St. Peter's Day (June 29th), when the hay-making generally begins. After the hay-making comes the harvest, by far the busiest time of the year. From the middle of July until the end of August, the peasant may work day and night, and yet he will find that he has barely time to get all his work done. In little more than a month he has to reap and stack his grain—rye, oats, and whatever else he may have sown either in spring or in the preceding autumn—and to sow the winter grain for next year. To add to his troubles, it sometimes happens that the rye and the oats ripen almost simultaneously, and his position is then still more difficult than usual.

Whether the seasons favor him or not, the peasant has at this time a hard task, for he can rarely afford to hire the requisite number of laborers, and has generally the assistance merely of his wife and family; but he can at this season work for a short time at high pressure, for he has the prospect of soon obtaining a good rest and an abundance of

food. About the end of September the field labor is finished, and on the first day of October the harvest festival begins—a joyous season, during which the parish fêtes are commonly celebrated.

To celebrate a parish fête in true orthodox fashion it is necessary to prepare beforehand a large quantity of *braga*—a kind of home-brewed small beer—and to bake a plentiful supply of *piroghi* or pies. Oil, too, has to be procured, and vodka (rye spirit) in goodly quantity. At the same time the big room of the *izbá*, as the peasant's house is called, has to be cleared, the floor washed, and the table and benches scrubbed. The evening before the fête, while the piroghe are being baked, a little lamp burns before the Icon in the corner of the room, and perhaps one or two guests from a distance arrive in order that they may have on the morrow a full day's enjoyment.

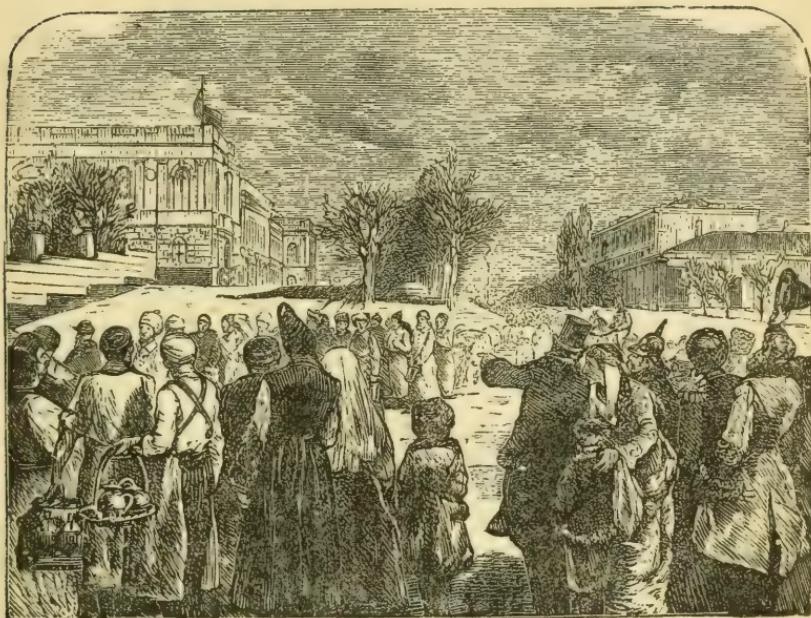
On the morning of the fête the proceedings begin by a long service in the church, at which all the inhabitants are present in their best holiday costumes, except those matrons and young women who remain at home to prepare the dinner. About mid-day dinner is served in each *izbá* for the family and their friends. In general the Russian peasant's fare is of the simplest kind, and rarely comprises animal food of any sort—not from any vegetarian proclivities, but merely because beef, mutton, and pork are too expensive; but on a holiday, such as a parish fête, there is always on the dinner-table a considerable variety of dishes. In the house of a well-to-do peasant there will be not only greasy cabbage-soup and *kasha*—a dish made from buckwheat—but also pork, mutton, and perhaps even beef. Braga will be supplied in unlimited quantities, and more than once vodka will be handed round. When the repast is finished, all rise together, and turning towards the Icon in the corner, bow and cross themselves repeatedly. The guests then say to their host, “*Spazibo za khleb za sol*”—that is to say, “Thanks for your hospitality,” or more literally, “Thanks for bread and salt;” and the host replies, “Do not be displeased, sit down once more for good luck”—or perhaps he puts the last part of his request in the form of a rhyming couplet to the following effect: “Sit down, that the hens may brood, and that the chickens and bees may multiply!” All obey this request, and there is another round of vodka.

After dinner some stroll about, chatting with their friends, or go to sleep in some shady nook, whilst those who wish to make merry go to

the spot where the young people are singing, playing, and amusing themselves in various ways. As the sun sinks towards the horizon, the more grave, staid guests wend their way homewards, but many remain for supper; and as evening advances the effect of the vodka becomes more and more apparent. Sounds of revelry are heard more frequently from the houses, and a large proportion of the inhabitants and guests appear on the road in various degrees of intoxication. Some of these vow eternal affection to their friends, or with flaccid gestures and in incoherent tones harangue invisible audiences; others stagger about aimlessly in besotted self-contentment, till they drop down in a state of complete unconsciousness. There they will lie tranquilly till they are picked up by their less intoxicated friends, or more probably till they awake of their own accord on the next morning.

If the Russian peasant's food were always as good and plentiful as at this season of the year, he would have little reason to complain; but this is by no means the case. Gradually, as the harvest-time recedes, it deteriorates in quality, and sometimes diminishes in quantity. Besides this, during a great part of the year the peasant is prevented from using much that he possesses by the rules of the Church.

In southern climes, where these rules were elaborated and first practiced, the prescribed fasts are perhaps useful not only in a religious, but also in a sanitary sense. Having abundance of fruit and vegetables, the inhabitants do well, perhaps, in abstaining occasionally from animal food. But in countries like Northern and Central Russia, the influence of these rules is very different. The Russian peasant cannot obtain as much animal food as he requires, whilst sour cabbage and cucumbers are probably the only vegetables he can procure, and fruit of any kind is for him an unattainable luxury. Under these circumstances, abstinence from eggs and milk in all their forms during several months of the year seems to the secular mind a superfluous bit of asceticism. If the Church would direct her maternal solicitude to the peasant's drinking, and leave him to eat what he pleases, she might exercise a beneficial influence on his material and moral welfare. Unfortunately she has a great deal too much inherent immobility to do anything of the kind, and there is no reasonable probability of her ever arriving at the simple truth, for which there is very high authority, that rules and ordinances were made for man, and not man for the rules and ordinances. Meanwhile, the Russian peasant must fast



ASIATIC RESERVES AT TIFLIS.

during the seven weeks of Lent, during two or three weeks in June, from the beginning of November till Christmas, and on all Wednesdays and Fridays during the remainder of the year.

From the festival time till the following spring there is no possibility of doing any agricultural work, for the ground is hard as iron, and covered with a deep layer of snow. The male peasants, therefore, who remain in the villages, have very little to do, and may spend the greater part of their time in lying idly on the stove, unless they happen to have learned some handicraft that can be practiced at home. Formerly, many of them were employed in transporting the grain to the market town, which might be several hundred miles distant; but now this species of occupation has been greatly diminished by the extension of railways.

For the female part of the population winter is a busy time, for it is during these four or five months that the spinning and weaving have to be done.

In many of the northern villages the tedium of the long winter

evenings is relieved by so-called Besyedy, a word which signifies literally *conversazioni*. A Besyeda, however, is not exactly a *conversazione* as we understand the term, but resembles rather what is by some ladies called a Dorcas meeting, with this essential difference, that those present work for themselves and not for any benevolent purpose. In some villages as many as three Besyedy regularly assemble about sunset: one for the children, the second for the young people, and the third for the matrons. Each of the three has its peculiar character. In the first, the children work and amuse themselves under the superintendence of an old woman, who trims the torch and endeavors to keep order. The little girls spin flax in a primitive way without the aid of a "jenny," and the boys, who are, on the whole, much less industrious, make rude shoes of plaited bark, or simple bits of wicker-work. These occupations do not prevent an almost incessant hum of talk, frequent discordant attempts to sing in chorus, and occasional quarrels requiring the energetic interference of the old woman who sits by the torch. To amuse her noisy flock she sometimes relates to them, for the hundredth time, one of those wonderful old stories that lose nothing by repetition, and all listen to her attentively, as if they had never heard the story before. The second Besyeda is held in another house by the young people of a riper age. Here the workers are naturally more staid, less given to quarreling, sing more in harmony, and require no one to look after them. Some people, however, might think that a chaperon or inspector of some kind would be by no means out of place, for a good deal of flirtation goes on, and, if village scandal is to be trusted, strict propriety in thought, word and deed is not always observed. How far these reports are true I cannot pretend to say, for the presence of a stranger always acts on the company like the presence of a severe inspector. In the third Besyeda there is always at least strict decorum. Here the married women work together and talk about their domestic concerns, enlivening the conversation occasionally by the introduction of little bits of village scandal.

Such is the ordinary life of the peasants who live by agriculture; but many of the villagers live occasionally or permanently in the towns. Probably a majority of the peasants in this part of Russia have at some period of their lives gained a living in some other part of the country. Many of the absentees spend regularly a part of the year at home, whilst others visit their families only occasionally, and

it may be, at long intervals. In no case, however, do they sever their connection with their native village. The artisan who goes to work in a distant town never takes his wife and family with him, and even the man who becomes a rich merchant in Moscow or St. Petersburg remains probably a member of the Village Commune, and pays his share of the taxes, though he does not enjoy any of the corresponding privileges.

In respect to these non-agricultural occupations, each district has its specialty. The province of Yaroslaff, for instance, supplies the large towns with waiters for the lower class of restaurants, whilst the best hotels in Petersburg are supplied by the Tartars of Kasimof, celebrated for their sobriety and honesty. One part of the province of Kostramá has a special reputation for producing carpenters and stove-builders, whilst another part sends yearly to Siberia—not as convicts, but as free laborers—a large contingent of tailors and workers in felt!

Very often the peasants find industrial occupations without leaving home, for various industries which do not require complicated machinery are practiced in the villages by the peasants and their families. Textile fabrics, wooden vessels, wrought iron, pottery, leather, rush-matting, and numerous other articles are thus produced in enormous quantities. Occasionally will be found not only a whole village, but even a whole district occupied almost exclusively with some one kind of manual industry. In the province of Vladimir, for example, a large group of villages live by Icon-painting; in one locality near Nizhni, nineteen villages are occupied with the manufacture of axes; round about Pavlovo, in the same province, eighty villages produce almost nothing but cutlery; and in a locality called Ouloma, on the borders of Novgorod and Tver, no less than two hundred villages live by nail-making.

These domestic industries have long existed, and have hitherto been an abundant source of revenue—providing a certain compensation for the poverty of the soil. But at present they are in a very critical position. They belong to the primitive period of economic development, and that period in Russia is now rapidly drawing to a close. Formerly the Head of a Household bought the raw material, and sold with a reasonable profit the manufactured articles at the "Bazaars," as the local fairs are called, or perhaps at the great annual Fair of Nizhni-Novgorod. This primitive system is now rapidly becoming obsolete. Great factories are quickly multiplying, and it is difficult for manual labor, unassisted by machinery, to compete with them. Besides this,

the periodical Bazaars and Fairs at which producers and consumers transacted their affairs without mediation, are being gradually replaced by permanent stores and various classes of middle-men, who facilitate the relations between consumers and producers. In a word, capital and wholesale enterprise have come into the field, and are revolutionizing the old methods of production and trade. Many of those who formerly worked at home on their own account are now forced to enter the great factories and work for fixed weekly or monthly wages; and nearly all who still work at home now receive the raw material on credit, and deliver the manufactured articles to wholesale merchants at a stipulated price.

If we draw a wavy line eastward from a point a little to the north of St. Petersburg, we shall have between that line and the Polar Ocean what may be regarded as a distinct, peculiar region, differing in many respects from the rest of Russia. Throughout the whole of it the climate is very severe. For about half of the year the ground is covered by deep snow, and the rivers covered with ice. By far the greater part of the surface is occupied by forests of pine, fir, larch, and birch, or by vast, unfathomable morasses. The arable land and pasturage taken together form only about one and a half per cent. of the area. The population is scarce—little more than one to the square mile—and settled chiefly along the banks of the rivers. The peasantry support themselves by fishing, hunting, felling and floating timber, preparing tar and charcoal, cattle-breeding, and, in the extreme north, by breeding reindeer.

These are their chief occupations, but they do not entirely neglect agriculture. Their summer is short, but they make the most of it by means of a peculiar and ingenious mode of farming, which, though it may seem strange, not to say absurd, to the American farmer, is well adapted to the peculiar local conditions. The peasant knows of course nothing about agricultural chemistry, but he, as well as his fore-fathers, have observed that if wood be burnt on a field, and the ashes be mixed with the soil, the probable result is a good harvest. On this simple principle his system of farming is based. When spring comes round and the leaves begin to appear on the trees, a band of peasants, armed with their hatchets, proceed to some spot in the woods previously fixed upon. Here they begin to make a clearing. This is no easy matter, for tree-felling is hard and tedious work; but the process does



THE CZAR DESIGNATING ADDITIONS TO THE REGULAR ARMY.

not take so much time as might be expected, for the workmen have been brought up to the trade, and wield their axes with marvelous dexterity. Besides this, they contrive, it is said, to use fire as an assistant. When they have felled all the trees, great and small, they return to their homes, and think no more about their clearing till the autumn, when they return, in order to strip the fallen trees of their branches, to pick out what they require for building purposes or firewood, and to pile up the remainder in heaps. The logs for building or firewood are dragged away by horses as soon as the first fall of snow has made a good slippery road, but the piles are allowed to remain till the following spring, when they are stirred up with long poles and ignited. The flames first appear at several points, and then, with the help of the dry grass and chips, rapidly spread in all directions till they join together, and form a gigantic bonfire, such as is never seen in more densely populated countries. If the fire does its work properly, the whole of the space is covered with a layer of ashes;

and when these have been slightly mixed with soil by means of a light plow, the seed is sown.

On the field prepared in this original fashion is sown barley, rye, or flax; and the harvests, nearly always good, sometimes border on the miraculous. Barley or rye may be expected to produce about sixfold in ordinary years, and they may produce as much as thirty-fold under peculiarly favorable circumstances. The fertility is, however, short-lived. If the soil is poor and stony, not more than two crops can be raised; but if it is of a better quality, it may give tolerable harvests for six or seven successive years. In most countries this would be an absurdly expensive way of manuring, for wood is much too valuable a commodity to be used for such a purpose; but in this northern region the forests are boundless, and in the districts where there is no river or stream by which timber may be floated, the trees not used in this way rot from old age. Under these circumstances the system is reasonable, but it must be admitted that it does not give a very large return for the amount of labor expended, and in bad seasons it gives almost no return at all.

The other sources of revenue are scarcely less precarious. With his gun and a little parcel of provisions, the peasant wanders about in the trackless forests, and too often returns after many days with a very light bag; or he starts in autumn for some distant lake, and comes back after five or six weeks with nothing better than perch and pike. Sometimes he tries his luck at deep-sea fishing. In this case he starts in February—probably on foot—for Kcm, situated on the shore of the White Sea, or perhaps for the more distant Kola, situated on a small river which falls into the Arctic Ocean. There, in company with three or four others, he starts on a fishing cruise along the Murman coast, or, it may be, off the coast of Spitzbergen. His gains will depend on the amount caught, for it is a joint-venture; but in no case can they be very great, for three-fourths of the fish brought into port belong to the owner of the craft and tackle. Of the sum realized he brings home perhaps only a small part, for he has a strong temptation to buy rum, tea, and other luxuries, which are very dear in those northern latitudes. If the fishing is good and he resists temptation, he may save as much as one hundred roubles—about sixty dollars—and thereby live comfortably all winter; but if the fishing season is bad, he may find himself at the end of it not only with empty pockets, but

in debt to the owner of the boat. This debt he may pay off, if he has a horse, by transporting the dried fish to Kargopol, St. Petersburg, or some other market.

Perhaps the best way to convey an idea of peasant life in this region is to give a family budget which we happen to have at hand. The family consisted of five members: two able-bodied males, one boy, and two women. The year was, on the whole, a good one; for though the fishing was not as successful as it might have been, the harvest was much more plentiful than usual, and supplied the family with food for five months. The following table shows the revenue and expenditure in United States money:

REVENUE.

Sold 100 pairs of Gelinottes and other Game, at $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pair	\$12.50
Sold 200 lbs. of Caviar, at $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents per lb.	12.50
Sold Dried Fish	6.25
Sold Herrings and other Sea Fish	16.25
Miscellanea (perhaps from felling timber)	<u>13.75</u>
	\$61.25

EXPENDITURE.

Rye Meal (2,240 lbs.), to supply the deficit of the harvest	\$35.00
Taxes	11.25
Clothes and Boots	12.50
Fishing Tackle, Powder and Shot, etc.	2.50
	<u>\$61.25</u>

The above budget must not be regarded as anything more than a possibility, but it may perhaps assist the reader who desires to gain at least a vague notion of peasant life throughout a large part of Northern Russia.

CHAPTER V.

TRAVELLING IN RUSSIA.

TRAVELLING in Russia is no longer what it was. During the last quarter of a century a vast network of railways has been constructed, and one can now travel in a comfortable first-class carriage from Berlin to St. Petersburg or Moscow, and thence to Odessa, Sebastopol, the lower Volga, or even the foot of the Caucasus; and, on the whole, the railways are tolerably comfortable, and the cars are kept warm by small iron stoves, assisted by double windows and double doors—a very necessary precaution in a land where the thermometer often descends to thirty degrees below zero. The trains never attain, it is true, a high rate of speed; but then we must remember that Russians are rarely in a hurry, and like to have frequent opportunities of eating and drinking. In Russia time is *not* money; if it were, nearly all the subjects of the Czar would always have a large stock of ready money on hand, and would often have great difficulty in spending it. In reality, a Russian with a superabundance of ready money is a phenomenon rarely met with in actual life.

In conveying passengers at the rate of from fifteen to thirty miles an hour, the railway companies do at least all that they promise; but in one very important respect they do not always strictly fulfill their engagements. The traveller takes a ticket for a certain town, and on arriving at what he imagines to be his destination, he may find merely a railway station surrounded by fields. On making inquiries, he finds, to his disappointment, that the station is by no means identical with the town bearing the same name, and that the railway has fallen several miles short of fulfilling the bargain, as he understood the terms of the contract. Indeed, it might almost be said that as a general rule railways in Russia, like camel-drivers in certain Eastern countries, studiously avoid the towns. This seems at first a strange fact. It is possible to conceive that the Bedouin is so enamored of tent life and nomadic habits, that he shuns a town as he would a man-trap; but surely civil engineers and railway contractors have no such dread of brick and mortar. The true reason, probably, is that land within or



NICHOLAS SHISHKIN, RUSSIAN MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES.

immediately outside the municipal barrier is relatively dear, and that the railways, being completely beyond the invigorating influence of healthy competition, can afford to look upon the comfort and convenience of passengers as a secondary consideration.

In one celebrated instance neither engineers nor railway contractors were to blame. From St. Petersburg to Moscow the locomotive runs for a distance of four hundred miles, almost as “the crow” is supposed to fly, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left. For fifteen weary hours the passenger in the express train looks out on forest and morass, and rarely catches sight of human habitation. And why was the railway constructed in this extraordinary fashion? For the best of all reasons—because the Czar so ordered it. When the preliminary survey was being made, Nicholas learned that the officers intrusted with the task were being influenced more by personal than technical considerations, and he determined to cut the Gordian knot in true Imperial style. When the Minister laid before him the map with the intention of explaining the proposed route, he took a ruler, drew a straight line from the one terminus to the other and remarked in a tone that precluded all discussion, “ You will construct the line so!” And the line was so constructed—remaining to all future ages, like St. Petersburg and the Pyramids, a magnificent monument of autocratic power.

Formerly this well-known incident was often cited to illustrate the evils of the autoocratic form of government. Imperial whims, it was said, over-ride grave economic considerations. In recent years, however, this so-called Imperial whim is regarded as an act of far-seeing policy. As by far the greater part of the goods and passengers are carried the whole length of the line, it is well that the line should be as short as possible, and that branch lines should be constructed to the towns lying to the right and left. Apart from political considerations, it must be admitted that a good deal may be said in support of this view.

In the development of the railway system there has been another disturbing cause. In America, individuals and companies habitually act according to their private interests, and the State interferes only when the authorities can prove that important bad consequences will necessarily result. In Russia, the burden of proof lies on the other side; private enterprise is allowed to do nothing until it gives guaran-

tees against all possible bad consequences. When any great enterprise is projected, the first question is—"How will this new scheme affect the interests of the State?" Thus, when the course of a new railway has to be determined, the military authorities are always consulted, and their opinion has a great influence on the ultimate decision. The consequence of this is that the railway-map of Russia presents to the eye of the tactician much that is quite unintelligible to the ordinary observer—a fact that will become apparent to the uninitiated as the war in Eastern Europe progresses. Russia is no longer what she was in the days of the Crimean War, when troops and stores had to be conveyed hundreds of miles by the most primitive means of transport. At that time she had only about seven hundred and fifty miles of railway; now she has more than eleven thousand miles, and every year new lines are constructed.

The water-communication has likewise in recent years been greatly improved. On all the principal rivers there are now tolerably good steamers. Unfortunately, the climate puts serious obstructions in the way of navigation. For nearly half of the year the rivers are covered with ice, and during a great part of the open season navigation is difficult. When the ice and snow melt, the rivers overflow their banks and lay a great part of the low-lying country under water, so that many villages can only be approached in boats; but very soon the flood subsides, and the water falls so rapidly, that by midsummer the larger steamers have great difficulty in picking their way among the sand-banks.

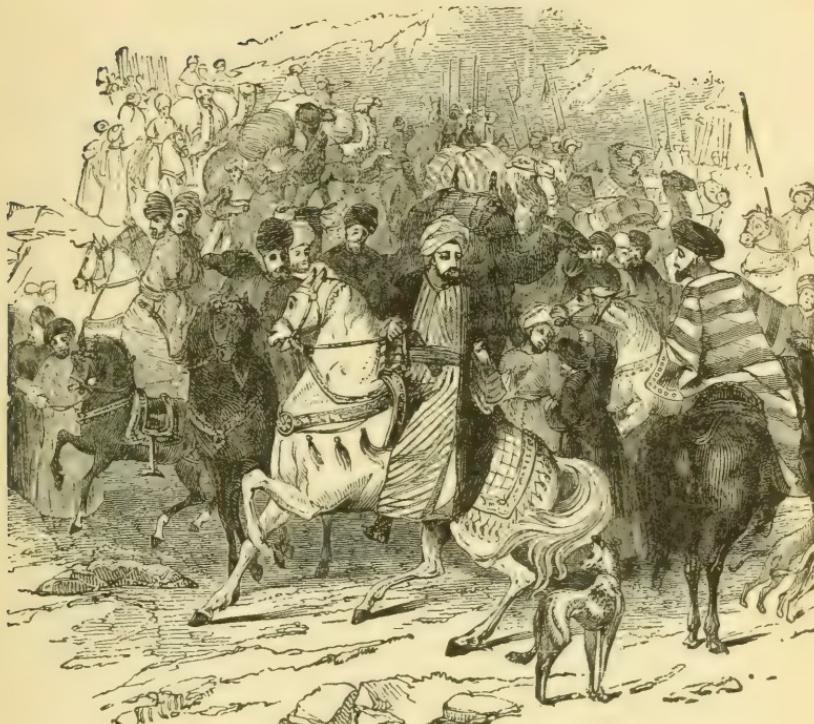
On these steamers one meets with curious travelling companions. The majority of the passengers are Russian peasants, who are always ready to chat freely without demanding a formal introduction, and to relate to a new acquaintance the simple story of their lives. Many weary hours may thus be whiled away both pleasantly and profitably, and one is impressed with the peasant's homely common sense, good-natured kindliness, half-fatalistic resignation, and strong desire to learn something about foreign countries. This last peculiarity makes him question as well as communicate, and his questions, though sometimes apparently childish, are generally to the point. Among the passengers might also be seen some representatives of the various Finnish tribes inhabiting this country, but they are far less sociable than the Russians. Nature seems to have made them silent and

morose, whilst their conditions of life have made them shy and distrustful. The Tartar, on the other hand, is almost sure to be a lively and amusing companion. Most probably he is a peddler or small trader of some kind. The bundle on which he reclines contains his stock in trade, composed of cotton, printed goods and bright colored handkerchiefs. He himself is enveloped in a capacious greasy *khalat*, or dressing-gown, and wears a fur cap, though the thermometer may be at ninety degrees in the shade. The roguish twinkle in his small piercing eyes contrasts strongly with the sombre, stolid expression of the Finnish peasants sitting near him. He has much to relate about St. Petersburg, Moscow, and perhaps Astrakhan; but, like a genuine trader, he is very reticent regarding the mysteries of his own craft. Towards sunset he retires with his companions to some quiet spot on the deck to recite the evening prayers. Here all the good Mahometans on board assemble and stroke their beards, kneel on their little strips of carpet and prostrate themselves, all keeping time as if they were performing some new kind of drill under the eye of a severe drill-sergeant.

If the voyage is made about the end of September, when the traders are returning home from the fair at Nizhni-Novgorod, the traveller will then find not only representatives of the Finnish and Tartar races, but also Armenians, Circassians, Persians, Bokhariots, and other Orientals—a motley and picturesque but decidedly unsavory cargo.

In the item of hotel accommodations, the Russians are far behind the other nations of Europe. The cities where foreigners most do congregate—St. Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa—possess hotels that will bear comparison with those of Western Europe, and some of the more important provincial towns can offer very respectable accommodation; but there is still much to be done before those accustomed to the usages of civilized society can travel with comfort even on the principal routes. Cleanliness, the first and most essential element of comfort, is a rare commodity, and often cannot be procured at any price.

Even in good hotels, when they are of the genuine Russian type, there are certain peculiarities which, though not in themselves objectionable, strike a foreigner as peculiar. Thus, when you alight at such an hotel, you are expected to examine a considerable number of rooms, and to inquire about the respective prices. When you have fixed upon a suitable apartment, you will do well, if you wish to practice economy,



MOUNTED ORIENTAL SOLDIERS.

to propose to the landlord considerably less than he demands; and you will generally find, if you have a talent for bargaining, that the rooms may be hired for somewhat less than the sum first stated. You must be careful, however, to leave no possibility of doubt as to the terms of the contract. Perhaps you assume that, as in taking a cab a horse is always supplied without special stipulation, so in hiring a bedroom the bargain includes a bed and the necessary appurtenances. Such an assumption will not always be justified. The landlord may perhaps give you a bedstead without extra charge, but if he be uncorrupted by foreign notions, he will certainly not spontaneously supply you with bed-linen, pillow, blankets, and towels. On the contrary, he will assume that you carry all these articles with you, and if you do not, you must pay for those which you borrow from him.

This ancient custom has produced among certain Russians a curious

kind of fastidiousness to which we are strangers. They strongly dislike using sheets, blankets, and towels which are in a certain sense public property, just as we should strongly object to putting on clothes which had been already worn by other people.

The inconvenience of carrying about these essential articles of bedroom furniture is by no means so great as may at first sight be supposed. Bedrooms in Russia are always heated during cold weather, so that one light blanket, which may be used also as a railway rug, is quite sufficient, whilst sheets, pillow-cases, and towels take up very little space in a portmanteau. The most cumbrous object is the pillow, for air-cushions, having always a disagreeable odor, are not well suited for the purpose. But Russians are accustomed to this incumbrance. In former days—as at the present time in those parts of the country where there are neither railways nor macadamized roads—people travelled in carts or carriages without springs, and in these instruments of torture a huge pile of cushions or pillows is necessary to avoid contusions and dislocations. On the railways, the jolts and shakings are not deadly enough to require such an antidote; but, even in unconservative Russia, customs outlive the conditions that created them; and at every railway station may be seen men and women carrying about their pillows with them as we carry wraps and hat-boxes. A genuine Russian merchant who loves comfort and respects tradition may travel without a portmanteau, but he considers his pillow as an indispensable accompaniment.

The negotiations with the landlord being completed, the waiter prepares to perform the duties of *valet de chambre*. Formerly, every well-born Russian had a valet always in attendance, and never dreamed of doing for himself anything which could by any possibility be done for him. It will be noticed that there is no bell in the room, and no mechanical means of communicating with the world below stairs. That is because the attendant is supposed to be always within call, and it is so much easier to shout than to get up and ring the bell.

When the toilet operations are completed, and tea is ordered—one always orders tea in Russia—the guest will be asked whether he has his own tea and sugar with him. If he is an experienced traveller he will be able to reply in the affirmative, for good tea can be bought only in certain well-known shops, and can never be found in hotels. A huge steaming tea-urn, called a “Samovar”—etymologically, a “self-

boiler"—will be brought in, and he can make his tea according to his taste.

These and similar remnants of old customs are now rapidly disappearing, and will, doubtless, in a very few years be things of the past—things to be picked up in out-of-the-way corners, and chronicled by social archæology; but they are still to be found in the best hotels in some of the Russian towns.

Many of these old customs, and especially the old method of travelling, may still be studied in all their pristine purity throughout a great part of the country. Though railway construction has been pushed forward with great energy during the last twenty years, the fire-horse has not yet crossed the Ural; and in what may be called Cis-Uralia, there are still vast regions where the ancient solitudes have never been disturbed by the shrill whistle of the locomotive, and roads have remained in their primitive condition. Even in the central region one may still travel hundreds of miles without ever encountering anything that recalls the name of Macadam.

The roads are nearly all of the unmade, natural kind, and are so conservative in their nature that they have at the present day precisely the same appearance as they had many centuries ago. The only perceptible change that takes place in them during a series of generations is that the ruts shift their position. When these become so deep that fore-wheels can no longer fathom them, it becomes necessary to begin making a new pair of ruts to the right or left of the old ones; and as the roads are commonly of gigantic breadth, there is no difficulty in finding a place for the operation. How the old ones get filled up cannot easily be explained; but as in no part of the country are workmen seen engaged in road-repairing, it may be assumed that beneficent Nature somehow accomplishes the task without human assistance, either by means of alluvial deposits, or by some other cosmical action best known to physical geographers.

The reader who has heard of the gigantic reforms that have been recently effected in Russia, may naturally be astonished to learn that the roads are still in such a disgraceful condition. But for this, as for everything else in the world, there is a good and sufficient reason. The country is still, comparatively speaking, thinly populated, and in many regions it is difficult, or practically impossible, to procure in sufficient quantity stone of any kind, and especially hard stone fit for road-making.

Besides this, when roads are made, the severity of the climate renders it difficult to keep them in good repair.

When a long journey has to be undertaken through a region in which there are no railways, there are several ways in which it may be effected. In former days, when time was of still less value than at present, many landed proprietors travelled with their own horses, and carried with them, in one or more spacious, lumbering vehicles, all that was required for the degree of civilization which they had attained; and their requirements were often considerable. The *grand seigneur*, for instance, who spent the greater part of his life amidst the luxury of the court society, naturally took with him all the portable elements of civilization. His baggage included, therefore, camp-beds, table-linen, silver plate, cooking utensils, and a French cook. The pioneers and part of the commissariat force were always sent on in advance, so that his Excellency found at each halting-place everything prepared for his arrival. The poor owner of a few dozen serfs dispensed, of course, with the elaborate commissariat department, and contented himself with such modest fare as could be packed in the holes and corners of a single Tarantass.

It will be well to explain here, parenthetically, what a Tarantass is, for we shall often have occasion to use the word. It may be briefly defined as a phaeton without springs. The function of springs is imperfectly fulfilled by two parallel wooden bars, placed longitudinally, on which is fixed the body of the vehicle. It is commonly drawn by three horses—a strong, fast trotter in the shafts, flanked on each side by a light, loosely-attached horse that goes along at a gallop. The points of the shaft are connected by the “Duga,” which looks like a gigantic, badly-formed horseshoe rising high above the collar of the trotter. To the top of the Duga is attached the bearing-rein, and underneath the highest part of it is fastened a big bell, which may often be distinctly heard a mile off. The use of the bell is variously explained. Some say it is in order to frighten the wolves, and others that it is to avoid collisions on the narrow forest paths. But neither of these explanations is entirely satisfactory. It is used chiefly in summer, when there is no danger of an attack from wolves; and the number of bells is greater in the south, where there are no forests. Perhaps the original intention was to frighten away evil spirits; and the practice has been retained partly from unreasoning conservatism, and partly with a

view to lessen the chances of collisions. As the roads are noiselessly soft, and the drivers not always vigilant, the dangers of collision are considerably diminished by the ceaseless peal. Altogether, the Tarantass is well adapted to the conditions in which it is used. By the curious way in which the horses are harnessed it recalls the war-chariot of ancient times. The horse in the shafts is compelled by the bearing-rein to keep his head high and straight before him—though the movement of his ears shows plainly that he would very much like to put it somewhere further away from the tongue of the bell—but the side horses gallop freely, turning their heads outwards in classical fashion. This position is assumed not from any sympathy on the part of these animals for the remains of classical art, but rather from the natural desire to keep a sharp eye on the driver. Every movement of his right hand they watch with close attention, and as soon as they discover any symptoms indicating an intention of using the whip, they immediately show a desire to quicken the pace. Now that the reader has gained some idea of what a Tarantass is, we may return to the modes of travelling through the regions which are not yet supplied with railways.

However enduring and long-winded horses may be, they must be allowed sometimes, during a long journey, to rest and feed. Travelling with one's own horses is therefore necessarily a slow operation, and is already antiquated. People who value their time prefer to make use of the Imperial Post-organization. On all the principal lines of communication there are regular post-stations, at from ten to twenty miles apart, where a certain number of horses and vehicles



AN ORIENTAL TRAVELLER.

are kept for the convenience of travellers. To enjoy the privileges of this arrangement, one has to apply to the proper authorities for a "Podorozhnaya"—a large sheet of paper stamped with the Imperial Eagle, and bearing the name of the recipient, the destination, and the number of horses to be supplied. In return for this document a small sum is paid for imaginary road-repairs; the rest of the sum is paid by installments at the respective stations. Armed with this document, the traveller goes to the post-station, and demands the requisite number of horses. The vehicle is a kind of Tarantass, but not such as we have just described. The essentials in both are the same, but those which the Imperial Government provides resemble an enormous cradle on wheels, rather than a phaeton. An armful of hay spread over the bottom of the wooden box is supposed to play the part of cushions. The traveller is expected to sit under the arched covering, and extend his legs so that the feet lie beneath the driver's seat; but he will do well, unless the rain happens to be coming down in torrents, to get this covering unshipped, and travel without it. When used, it painfully curtails the little freedom of movement that one enjoys, and when he is shot upwards by some obstruction on the road, it is apt to arrest his ascent by giving him a violent blow on the top of the head.

Any one who undertakes a journey of this kind should possess a well-knit, muscular frame and good tough sinews, capable of supporting an unlimited amount of jolting and shaking; at the same time, he should be well inured to all the hardships and discomfort incidental to what is vaguely termed "roughing it." When he wishes to sleep in a post-station, he will find nothing softer than a wooden bench, unless he can induce the keeper to put for him on the floor a bundle of hay, which is perhaps softer, but on the whole more disagreeable than the deal board. Sometimes he will not even get the wooden bench, for in ordinary post-stations there is but one room for travellers, and the two benches—there are rarely more—may be already occupied. When he does obtain a bench, and succeeds in falling asleep, he must not be astonished if he is disturbed once or twice during the night by people who use the apartment as a waiting-room whilst the post-horses are being changed. These passers-by may even drink tea, chat, laugh, smoke, and make themselves otherwise disagreeable, utterly regardless of the sleepers.

Another requisite for a journey in unfrequented districts is a know-

ledge of the language. It is popularly supposed that if one is familiar with French and German, he may travel anywhere in Russia. So far as the great cities are concerned, this is true, but beyond that it is a delusion. The Russian has not received from Nature the gift of tongues. Educated Russians often speak one or two foreign languages fluently, but the peasants know no language but their own, and it is with the peasantry that one comes in contact. And to converse freely with the peasant requires a considerable familiarity with the language—far more than is required for simply reading a book. Though there are few provincialisms, and all classes of the people use the same word—except the words of foreign origin, which are used only by the upper classes—the peasant always speaks in a more laconic and more idiomatic way than the educated man.

In the winter months travelling is in some respects pleasanter than in summer, for snow and frost are great macadamizers. If the snow falls evenly, there is for some time the most delightful road that can be imagined. No jolts, no shaking, but a smooth, gliding motion, like that of a boat in calm water, and the horses gallop along as if totally unconscious of the sledge behind them. Unfortunately, this happy state of things does not last long. The road soon gets cut up, and deep transverse furrows are formed; and the sledge, as it crosses over them, bobs up and down like a boat in a chopping sea, with this important difference, that the boat falls into a yielding liquid, whereas the sledge falls upon a solid substance, unyielding and unelastic. The shaking and jolting which result may readily be imagined.

There are other discomforts, too, in winter travelling. So long as the air is perfectly still, the cold may be very intense without being disagreeable; but if a strong head wind is blowing, and the thermometer ever so many degrees below zero, driving in an open sledge is a very disagreeable operation, and noses may get frost-bitten without their owners perceiving the fact in time to take preventive measures. Then why not take covered sledges on such occasions? For the simple reason that they are not to be had; and if they could be procured, it would be well to avoid using them, for they are apt to produce something very like sea-sickness.

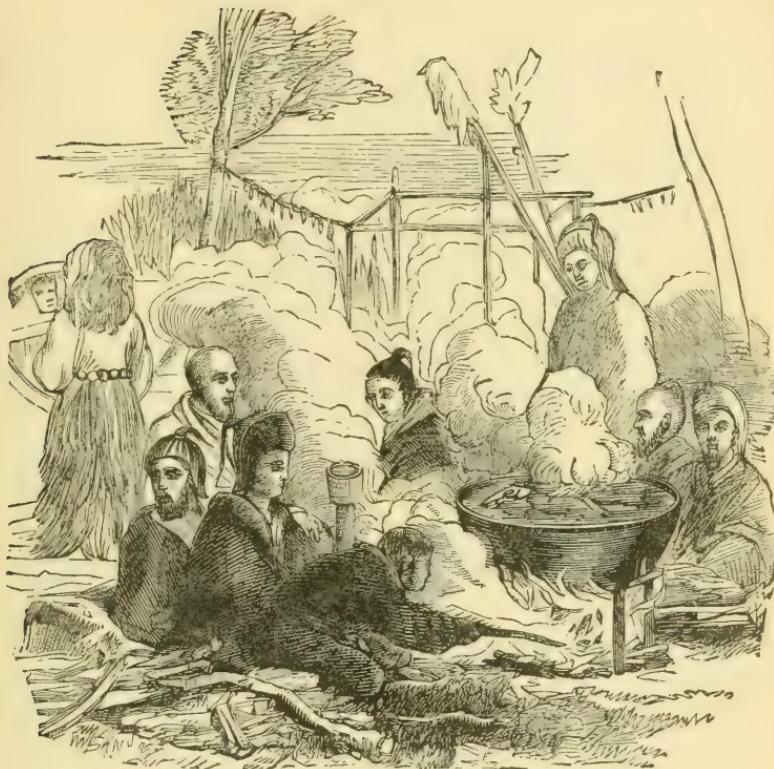
CHAPTER VI.

THE NATIONAL CHURCH.

THE Russians, though often described as an intensely religious people, are singularly indifferent to religious matters. Though uncompromising adherents of the Greek Orthodox Church and accustomed to observe to a certain extent its rites and ceremonies, they appear to be free alike from deep religious feeling and from shallow religious cant.

The educated classes, though warmly attached to their Church, are in general not at all "religious" in the sense in which we commonly use the word. In Moscow, however, especially among those who are more or less tinged with Slavophil sentiment, there are many persons who evidently take a deep interest in ecclesiastical affairs, and regard Orthodoxy as one of the most essential elements of Russian nationality. According to this class, it is not possible to understand the past history and present condition of Russia without knowing the past history and actual condition of the National Church. We deem it advisable, therefore, to devote some attention to the subject in the present chapter.

If the Popes did not succeed in realizing their grand design of creating a vast European empire based on theocratic principles, they succeeded at least in inspiring with a feeling of brotherhood and a vague consciousness of common interest all the nations which acknowledged their spiritual supremacy. These nations, whilst remaining politically independent and frequently coming into hostile contact with each other, all looked to Rome as the capital of the Christian world, and to the Pope as the highest terrestrial authority. Though the Church did not annihilate nationality, it made a wide breach in the political barriers, and formed a channel for international communication, by which the social and intellectual progress of each nation became known to all the other members of the great Christian confederacy. Throughout the length and breadth of the Papal Commonwealth, educated men had a common language, a common literature, a common scientific method, and to a certain extent a common jurisprudence. Western Christen-



KALMUK SACRIFICE.

dom was thus not merely an abstract conception or a geographical expression; if not a political, it was at least a religious and intellectual unit.

For centuries Russia stood outside of this religious and intellectual confederation, for her Church connected her not with Rome but with Constantinople, and Papal Europe looked upon her as belonging to the barbarous East. When the Tartar hosts swept over her plains, burnt her towns and villages, and finally incorporated her into the Great Mongol Empire, the so-called Christian world took no interest in the struggle except in so far as its own safety was threatened. And as time wore on, the barriers which separated the two great sections of Christendom became more and more formidable. The aggressive pretensions and ambitious schemes of the Vatican produced in the Greek

Orthodox world a profound antipathy to the Roman Catholic Church and to Western influence of every kind. So strong was this aversion, that when the nations of the West awakened in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from their intellectual lethargy and began to move forward on the path of intellectual and material progress, Russia not only remained unmoved, but looked on the new civilization with suspicion and fear as a thing heretical and accursed. We have here one of the chief reasons why Russia, at the present day, is in many respects less civilized than the nations of Western Europe.

But it is not merely in this negative way that the acceptance of Christianity from Constantinople has affected the fate of Russia. The Greek Church, whilst excluding Roman Catholic civilization, exerted at the same time a powerful positive influence on the historical development of the nation.

The Church of the West inherited from old Rome something of that logical, juridical, administrative spirit which had created the Roman law, and something of that ambition and dogged, energetic perseverance that had formed nearly the whole known world into a great centralized empire. The Bishops of Rome early conceived the design of reconstructing that old Empire on a new basis, and have ever striven to create a universal Christian theocratic State, in which kings and other civil authorities should be the subordinates of Christ's Vicar upon earth. The Eastern Church, on the contrary, has remained true to her Byzantine traditions, and has never dreamed of such lofty pretensions. Accustomed to lean on the civil power, she has always been content to play a secondary part, and has never strenuously resisted the formation of national churches.

For about two centuries after the introduction of Christianity—from 988 till 1240—Russia formed, ecclesiastically speaking, part of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The metropolitans and the Bishops were Greeks by birth and education, and the ecclesiastical administration was guided and controlled by the Byzantine Patriarchs. But from the time of the Tartar invasion, when the communications with Constantinople became more difficult, and educated native priests had become more numerous, this complete dependence on the Patriarch ceased. The Princes gradually arrogated to themselves the right of choosing the Metropolitan of Kiev—who was at that time the chief ecclesiastical dignitary in Russia—and merely sent their nominees to

Constantinople for consecration. About 1448 this formality came to be dispensed with, and the Metropolitan was commonly consecrated by a council of Russian bishops. A further step in the direction of ecclesiastical autonomy was taken in 1589, when the Czar succeeded in procuring the consecration of a Russian Patriarch, equal in dignity and authority to the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria.

In all matters of external form the Patriarch of Moscow was a very important personage. He exercised a considerable influence in civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs, bore the official title of "great lord," which had previously been reserved for the civil head of the State, and habitually received from the people scarcely less veneration than the Czar himself. But in reality he possessed very little independent power. The Czar was the real ruler in ecclesiastical as well as in civil affairs.

The Russian Patriarchate came to an end in the time of Peter the Great. Peter wished among other things to reform the ecclesiastical administration, and to introduce into his country many novelties which the majority of the clergy and of the people regarded as heretical; and he clearly perceived that a bigoted, energetic Patriarch might throw considerable obstacles in his way, and cause him infinite annoyance. Though such a Patriarch might be deposed without any flagrant violation of the canonical formalities, the operation would necessarily be attended with great trouble and loss of time. Peter was no friend of roundabout, tortuous methods, and preferred to remove the difficulty in his usual violent fashion. When the Patriarch Adrian died, the customary short interregnum was prolonged for twenty years, and when the people had thus become accustomed to having no Patriarch, it was announced that no more Patriarchs would be elected. Their place was supplied by an ecclesiastical council or Synod, in which, as a contemporary explained, "the mainspring was Peter's power, and the pendulum his understanding." The great autocrat justly considered that such a council could be much more easily managed than a stubborn Patriarch, and the wisdom of the measure has been duly appreciated by succeeding sovereigns. Though the idea of reestablishing the Patriarchate has more than once been raised, it has never been carried into execution. The Holy Synod remains, and is likely to remain, the highest ecclesiastical authority.

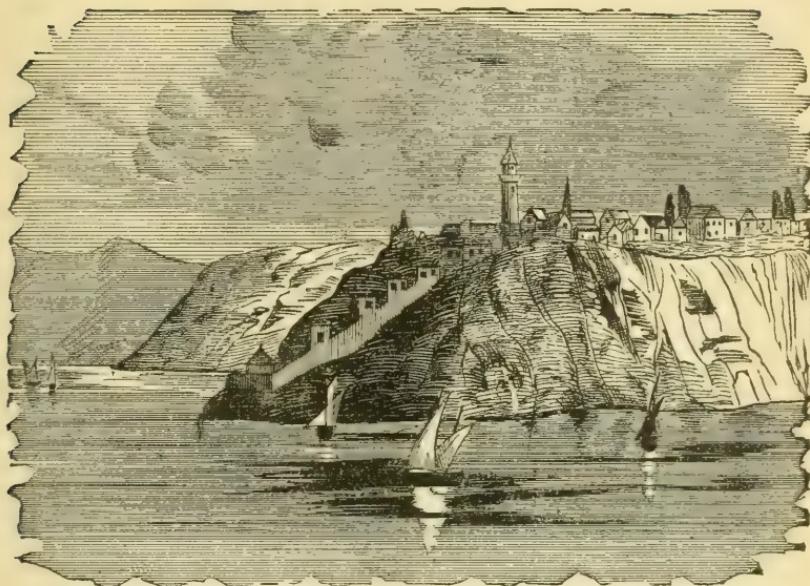
But the Emperor? What is his relation to the Synod and to the Church in general?

This is a question about which zealous Orthodox Russians are extremely sensitive. If a foreigner ventures to hint in their presence that the Emperor seems to have a considerable influence in the Church, he may inadvertently produce a little outburst of patriotic warmth and virtuous indignation. The truth is that many Russians have a pet theory on this subject, and have at the same time a dim consciousness that the theory is not quite in accordance with reality. They hold theoretically that the Orthodox Church has no "Head" but Christ, and is in some peculiar, undefined sense entirely independent of all terrestrial authority. In this respect it is often compared with the Anglican Church, and the comparison is made a theme for semi-religious, semi-patriotic exultation, which finds expression not only in conversation, but also in the literature. Khomiakóf, for instance, in one of his most vigorous poems, predicts that God will one day take the destiny of the world out of the hands of England in order to give it to Russia, and he adduces as one of the reasons for this transfer the fact that England "has chained, with sacrilegious hand, the Church of God to the pedestal of the vain earthly power." So far the theory. As to the facts, it is unquestionable that the Church enjoys much more liberty in England than in Russia, and that the Czar exercises a much greater influence in ecclesiastical affairs than the Queen and Parliament. All who know the internal history of Russia are aware that the Government does not draw a clear line of distinction between the temporal and the spiritual, and that it occasionally uses the ecclesiastical organization for political purposes.

What, then, are the relations between Church and State?

To avoid confusion, we must carefully distinguish between the Eastern Orthodox Church as a whole, and that section of it which is known as the Russian Church.

The Eastern Orthodox Church (or Greek Orthodox Church) is, properly speaking, a confederation of independent churches without any central authority—a unity founded on the possession of a common dogma and on the theoretical but now unrealizable possibility of holding Ecumenical Councils. The Russian National Church is one of the members of this ecclesiastical confederation. In matters of faith, it is bound by the decisions of the ancient Ecumenical Councils,



LIGHT HOUSE ON THE BLACK SEA, NEAR THE BOSPHORUS.

but in all other respects it enjoys complete independence and autonomy.

In relation to the Orthodox Church as a whole, the Emperor of Russia is nothing more than a simple member, and can no more interfere with its dogmas or ceremonial than a King of Italy or an Emperor of the French could modify Roman Catholic theology; but in relation to the Russian National Church his position is peculiar. He is described in one of the fundamental laws as "the supreme defender and preserver of the dogmas of the dominant faith," and immediately afterwards it is said, "the autocratic power acts in the ecclesiastical administration by means of the most Holy Governing Synod, created by it." This describes very fairly the relations between the Emperor and the Church. He is merely the defender of the dogmas, and cannot in the least modify them; but he is at the same time the chief administrator, and uses the Synod as an instrument.

Some ingenious people who wish to prove that the creation of the Synod was not an innovation, represent the institution as a resuscitation of the ancient Local Councils; but this view is utterly untenable.

The Synod is not a council of deputies from various sections of the Church, but a permanent college, or ecclesiastical senate, the members of which are appointed and dismissed by the Emperor as he thinks fit. It has no independent legislative authority, for its legislative projects do not become law till they have received the Imperial sanction; and they are always published, not in the name of the Church, but in the name of the Supreme Power. Even in matters of simple administration it is not independent, for all its resolutions require the consent of the Procureur, a layman nominated by his Majesty. In theory this functionary protests only against those resolutions which are not in accordance with the civil law of the country; but as he alone has the right to address the Emperor directly on ecclesiastical concerns, and as all communications between the Emperor and the Synod must pass through his hands, he possesses in reality considerable power. Besides this, he can always influence the individual members by holding out prospects of advancement and decorations, and if this device fails, he can make the refractory members retire, and fill up their places with men of more pliable disposition. A council constituted in this way cannot, of course, display much independence of thought or action, especially in a country like Russia, where no one ventures to oppose openly the Imperial will.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Russian ecclesiastics regard the Imperial authority with jealousy or dislike. They are all most loyal subjects, and warm adherents of autoocracy. Those ideas of ecclesiastical independence which are so common in Western Europe, and that spirit of opposition to the civil power which animates the Roman Catholic clergy, are entirely foreign to their minds. If a bishop sometimes complains to an intimate friend that he has been brought to St. Petersburg and made a member of the Synod, merely to append his signature to official papers and to give his consent to foregone conclusions, his displeasure is directed, not against the Emperor, but against the Procureur. He is full of loyalty and devotion to the Czar, and has no desire to see his Majesty excluded from all influence in ecclesiastical affairs; but he feels saddened and humiliated when he finds that the whole government of the Church is in the hands of a lay functionary, who may be a military man, and who certainly looks at all matters from a layman's point of view.

A foreigner who hears ecclesiastics grumble or laymen express dis-

satisfaction with the existing state of things is apt to imagine that a secret struggle is going on between Church and State, and that a party favorable to Disestablishment is at present being formed. In reality there is no such struggle and no such party. Russians propose and discuss every conceivable kind of political and social reforms, but they never speak about disestablishing the Church. Indeed, we do not know how the idea could be expressed in Russian, except by a lengthy circumlocution. So long as the autocratic power exists, no kind of administration can be exempted from Imperial control.

This close connection between Church and State and the thoroughly national character of the Russian Church is well illustrated by the history of the local ecclesiastical administration. The civil and the ecclesiastical administration have always had the same character and have always been modified by the same influences. The terrorism which was largely used by the Muscovite Czars and brought to a climax by Peter the Great appeared equally in both. In the episcopal circulars, as in the Imperial ukases, we find frequent mention of "most cruel corporal punishment," "cruel punishment with whips, so that the delinquent and others may not acquire the habit of practising such insolence," and much more of the same kind. And these terribly severe measures were sometimes directed against very venial offences. The Bishop of Vologda, for instance, in 1748 decrees "cruel corporal punishment" against priests who wear coarse and ragged clothes; and the records of the Consistorial courts contain abundant proof that such decrees were rigorously executed. When Catherine II. introduced a more humane spirit into the civil administration, corporal punishment was at once abolished in the Consistorial courts, and the procedure was modified according to the accepted maxims of civil jurisprudence. But we will not weary the reader with tiresome historical details. Suffice it to say that, from the time of Peter the Great downwards, the character of all the more energetic sovereigns is reflected in the history of the ecclesiastical administration.

Each province, or "government," forms a diocese, and the bishop, like the civil governor, has a council which theoretically controls his power, but practically has no controlling influence whatever. The Consistorial council, which has in the theory of ecclesiastical procedure a very imposing appearance, is in reality the bishop's *chancellerie*, and its members are little more than secretaries, whose chief object is to

make themselves agreeable to their superior. And it must be confessed that so long as they remain what they are, the less power they possess, the better it will be for those who have the misfortune to be under their jurisdiction. The higher dignitaries have at least larger aims and a certain consciousness of the dignity of their position; but the lower officials, who have no such healthy restraints and receive ridiculously small salaries, grossly misuse the little authority which they possess, and habitually pilfer and extort in the most shameless manner. The Consistories are in fact what the public offices were in the time of Nicholas.

The ecclesiastical administration is entirely in the hands of the monks, or "Black Clergy," as they are commonly termed, who form a large and influential class.

The monks who first settled in Russia were men of the earnest, ascetic, missionary type. Filled with zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, they took little or no thought for the morrow, and devoutly believed that their Heavenly Father, without whose knowledge no sparrow falls to the ground, would provide for their humble wants. Poor, clad in rags, eating the most simple fare, and ever ready to share what they had with any one poorer than themselves, they performed faithfully and earnestly the work which their Master had given them to do. But this ideal of monastic life soon gave way to practices less simple and severe. By the liberal donations and bequests of the faithful the monasteries became rich in gold, in silver, in precious stones, and above all in land and serfs. Troitsa, for instance, possessed at one time one hundred and twenty thousand serfs, and a proportionate amount of land, and it is said that at the beginning of the last century more than a fourth of the entire population had fallen under the jurisdiction of the Church. Many of the monasteries engaged in commerce, and the monks were the most intelligent merchants of the country.

During the last century the Church lands were secularized, and the serfs of the Church became serfs of the State. This was a severe blow for the monasteries, but it did not prove fatal, as many people predicted. Some monasteries were abolished and others were reduced to extreme poverty, but many survived and prospered. These could no longer possess serfs, but they had still three sources of revenue: a limited amount of real property, government subsidies, and the voluntary



PRINCESS OF MONTENEGRO.

offerings of the faithful. At present there are about five hundred monastic establishments, and the great majority of them, though not wealthy, have revenues more than sufficient to satisfy all the requirements of an ascetic life.

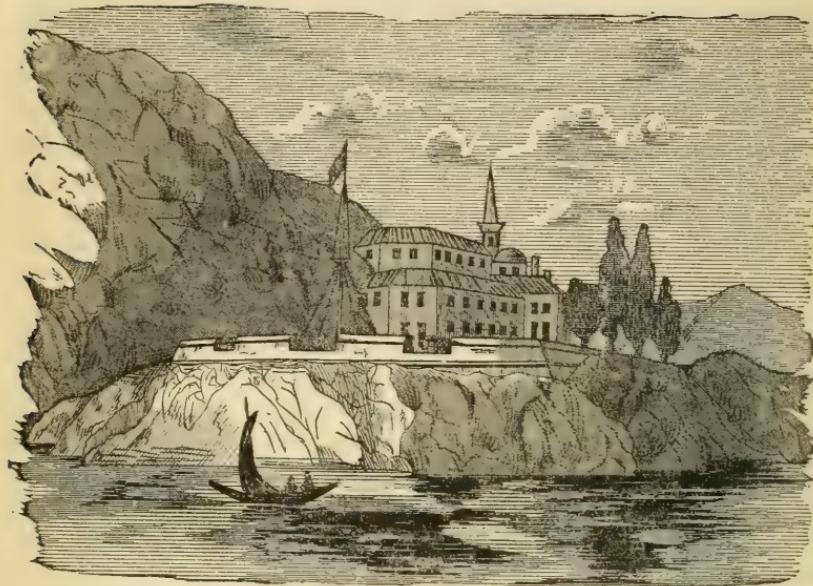
Thus in Russia, as in Western Europe, the history of monastic institutions is composed of three chapters, which may be briefly entitled: asceticism and missionary enterprise; wealth, luxury, and corruption; secularization of property and decline. But between Eastern and Western monasticism there is at least one marked difference. The monasticism of the West made at various epochs of its history a vigorous, spontaneous effort at self-regeneration, which found expression in the foundation of separate orders, each of which proposed to itself some special aim—some special sphere of usefulness. In Russia we find no similar phenomenon. Here the monasteries never deviated from the rules of St. Basil, which restrict the members to religious ceremonies, prayer, and contemplation. From time to time a solitary individual raised his voice against the prevailing abuses, or retired from his monastery to spend the remainder of his days in ascetic solitude; but neither in the monastic population as a whole, nor in any particular monastery, do we find at any time a spontaneous, vigorous movement toward reform. During the last two hundred years reforms have certainly been effected, but they have all been the work of the civil power, and in the realization of them the monks have shown little more than the virtue of resignation. Here, as elsewhere, we have evidence of that inertness, apathy, and want of spontaneous vigor which form one of the most characteristic traits of Russian national life. In this, as in other departments of national activity, the spring of action has lain not in the people but in the Government.

If there is anything that may be called party-feeling in the Russian Church, it is the feeling of hostility which exists between the White and the Black Clergy—that is to say, between the parish priests and the monks. The parish priests consider it very hard that they should have nearly all the laborious duties and none of the honors of their profession. The monks, on the other hand, look on the parish priest as a kind of ecclesiastical half-caste, and think that he ought to obey his superiors without grumbling.

This antagonism, together with the general enthusiasm for every

species of reform which has characterized the present reign, has produced a certain appearance of movement in the Russian clerical world, and has induced some sanguine persons to believe that there is a movement in the deep waters, and that the Church is about to throw off her venerable lethargy. Such expectations cannot be entertained by any one who has studied carefully and dispassionately her past history and present condition. Anything at all resembling what we understand by a religious revival is in flagrant contradiction of all her traditions. Immobility and passive resistance to external influences have always been, and are still, her fundamental principles of conduct. She prides herself on being above terrestrial influences. During the last two centuries Russia has undergone an uninterrupted series of profound modifications—political, intellectual, and moral—but the spirit of the National Church has remained unchanged. The modifications that have been made in her administrative organization have not affected her inner nature. In spirit and character she is now what she was under the Patriarchs in the time of the Muscovite Czars, holding fast to the promise that no jot or tittle shall pass from the law till all be fulfilled. To all that is said about the requirements of modern life and modern science she turns a deaf ear. Partly from the predominance which she gives to the ceremonial element, partly from the fact that her chief aim is to preserve unmodified the doctrine and ceremonial as determined by the early Ecumenical Councils, and partly from the low state of general culture among the clergy, she has ever remained outside of the intellectual movements. The attempts of the Roman Catholic Church to develop the traditional dogmas by definition and deduction, and the efforts of the Protestant Churches to reconcile their teaching with progressive science and the ever-varying intellectual currents of the time, are alike foreign to her nature. Hence she has produced no profound theological treatises conceived in a philosophical spirit, and has made no attempt to combat the spirit of infidelity in its modern forms. Profoundly convinced that her position is impregnable, she has “let the nations rave,” and scarcely deigned to cast a glance at their intellectual and religious struggles. In a word, she is “in the world, but not of it.”

If we wish to see represented in a visible form the peculiar characteristics of the Russian Church, we have only to glance at Russian religious art, and compare it with that of Western Europe. In the



FORT BORNEO, BLACK SEA.

West, from the time of the Renaissance downwards, religious art has kept pace with the intellectual development. Gradually it emancipated itself from archaic forms and childish symbolism, converted the lifeless typical figures into living individuals, lit up their dull eyes and expressionless faces with human intelligence and human feeling, and finally affected archaeological accuracy in costume and other details. Thus in the West the practiced eye can at once decide to what period a religious picture belongs. In Russia, on the contrary, no such development has taken place in religious art. The old Byzantine forms have been faithfully and rigorously preserved, and we can see reflected in the Icons—stiff, archaic, expressionless—the immobility of the Eastern Church in general, and of the Russian Church in particular.

To the Roman Catholic, who struggles against science as soon as it contradicts traditional conceptions, and to the Protestant, who strives to bring his religious beliefs into accordance with his scientific knowledge, the Russian Church may seem to resemble an antediluvian petrifaction, or a cumbrous line-of-battle ship that has been long stranded—"stuck on a bank, and beaten by the flood." It must be

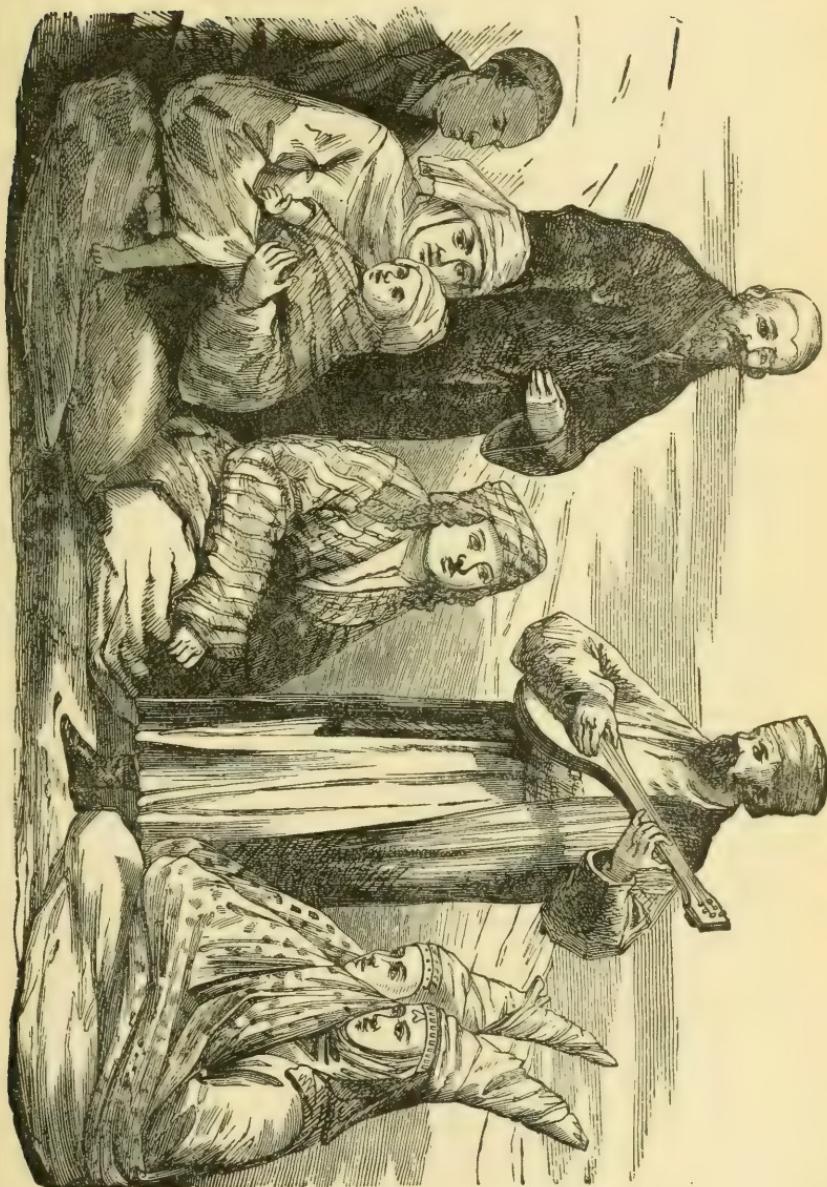
confessed, however, that the serene inactivity for which she is distinguished has had very valuable practical consequences. The Russian clergy have neither that haughty, aggressive intolerance which characterizes their Roman Catholic brethren, nor that narrow-minded, bitter, uncharitable, sectarian spirit which is too often to be found among Protestants. They allow not only to heretics, but also to members of their own communion, the most complete intellectual freedom, and never think of anathematizing any one for his scientific or unscientific opinions. All that they demand is that those who have been born within the pale of Orthodoxy should show the Church a certain nominal allegiance; and in this matter of allegiance they are by no means very exacting. So long as a member refrains from openly attacking the Church and from passing over to another confession, he may entirely neglect all religious ordinances and publicly profess scientific theories logically inconsistent with any kind of religious belief, without the slightest danger of incurring ecclesiastical censure. Until recently, it is true all Orthodox Russians were obliged to communicate once a year, under pain of incurring various disagreeable consequences of a temporal nature; but this obligation proceeded in reality from the civil government, and the priests, in so far as they insisted on its fulfillment, were actuated by pecuniary rather than religious considerations. In short, if the Russian clergy has done little for the advancement of science and enlightenment, it has at least done nothing to suppress them.

This apathetic tolerance may be partly explained by the national character, but it is at the same time to some extent due to the peculiar relations between Church and State. The Government vigilantly protects the Church from attack, and at the same time prevents her from attacking her enemies. Hence religious questions are never discussed in the press, and the ecclesiastical literature is all historical, homiletic, or devotional. The authorities allow public oral discussions to be held during Lent in the Kremlin of Moscow, between members of the State Church and Old Ritualists; but these debates are not theological in our sense of the term. They turn exclusively on details of Church History, and on the minutiae of ceremonial observance. The disputants discuss, for instance, the proper position of the fingers in making the sign of the cross, and found their arguments, not on Scripture, but on the ancient Icons, the decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, and the writings of the Greek Fathers.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PRIESTHOOD.

NEARLY all competent authorities have admitted that the present condition of the Russian clergy is highly unsatisfactory, and that the parish priest rarely enjoys the respect of his parishioners. In a semi-official report to the Grand Duke Constantine, written by Mr. Melnikof, the facts are stated in the following plain language: "The people do not respect the clergy, but persecute them with derision and reproaches, and feel them to be a burden. In nearly all the popular comic stories, the priest, his wife, or his laborer is held up to ridicule, and in all the proverbs and popular sayings where the clergy are mentioned it is always with derision. The people shun the clergy, and have recourse to them not from the inner impulse of conscience, but from necessity. . . . And why do the people not respect the clergy? Because it forms a class apart; because, having received a false kind of education, it does not introduce into the life of the people the teaching of the Spirit, but remains in the mere dead forms of outward ceremonial, at the same time despising these forms even to blasphemy; because the clergy itself continually presents examples of want of respect to religion, and transforms the service of God into a profitable trade. Can the people respect the clergy when they hear how one priest stole money from below the pillow of a dying man at the moment of confession, how another was publicly dragged out of a house of ill fame, how a third christened a dog, how a fourth, whilst officiating at the Easter service was dragged by the hair from the altar by the deacon? Is it possible for the people to respect priests who spend their time in the gin-shop, write fraudulent petitions, fight with the cross in their hands, and abuse each other in bad language at the altar? One might fill several pages with examples of this kind—in each instance naming time and place—without overstepping the boundaries of the province of Nizhni-Novgorod. Is it possible for the people to respect the clergy when they see everywhere amongst them simony, carelessness in performing the religious rites, and disorder in administering the sacraments? Is it possible for the people to respect



TWO BRIDES WITH A GROUP OF KIRGHIS, OF SIBERIA.

the clergy when they see that truth has disappeared from it, and that the consistories, guided in their decisions not by rules, but by personal friendship and bribery, destroy in it the last remains of truthfulness? If we add to all this the false certificates which the clergy give to those who do not wish to partake of the Eucharist, the dues illegally extracted from the Old Ritualists, the conversion of the altar into a source of revenue, the giving of churches to priests' daughters as a dowry, and similar phenomena, the question as to whether the people can respect the clergy requires no answer."

As these words were written by an orthodox Russian, celebrated for his extensive and intimate knowledge of Russian provincial life, and were addressed in all seriousness to a member of the Imperial family, we may safely assume that they contain a considerable amount of truth. The reader must not, however, imagine that all Russian priests are of the kind above referred to. Many of them are honest, respectable, well-intentioned men, who conscientiously fulfill their humble duties, and strive hard to procure a good education for their children. If they have less learning, culture, and refinement than the Roman Catholic priesthood, they have at the same time infinitely less fanaticism, less spiritual pride, and less intolerance towards the adherents of other faiths. Both the good and the bad qualities of the Russian priesthood at the present time can be easily explained by its past history, and by certain peculiarities of the national character.

The Russian White Clergy—that is to say, the parish priests, as distinguished from the monks, who are called the Black Clergy—have had a curious history. In early times they were drawn from all classes of the population, and freely elected by the parishioners. When a man was elected by the popular vote, he was presented to the Bishop, and if he was found to be a fit and proper person for the office, he was at once ordained. But very soon this custom fell into disuse. The Bishops, finding that many of the candidates presented were illiterate peasants, gradually assumed the right of appointing the priests, with or without the consent of the parishioners; and their choice generally fell on the sons of the clergy as the men best fitted to take orders. The creation of Bishops' schools, afterwards called seminaries, in which the sons of the clergy were educated, naturally led, in the course of time, to the total exclusion of the other classes. At the same time, the policy of the civil Government led to the same end. Peter the Great

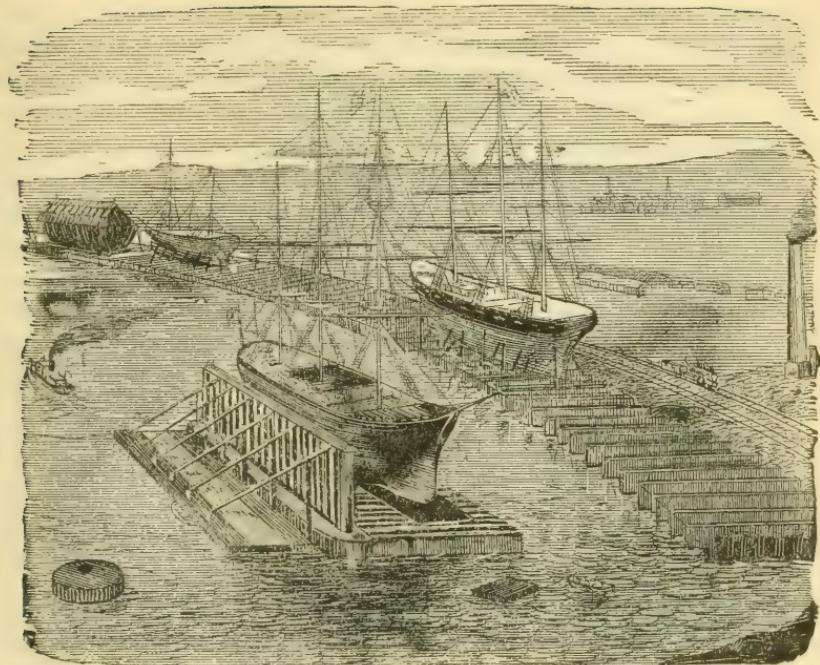
laid down the principle that every subject should in some way serve the State—the nobles as officers in the army or navy, or as officials in the civil service; the clergy as ministers of religion; and the lower classes as soldiers, sailors, or tax-payers. Of these three classes, the clergy had by far the lightest burdens to bear, and consequently many nobles and peasants would willingly have entered its ranks. But this species of desertion the Government could not tolerate, and accordingly the priesthood was surrounded by a legal barrier which prevented all outsiders from entering it. Thus by the combined efforts of the ecclesiastical and the civil Administration the clergy became a separate class or caste, legally and actually incapable of mingling with the other classes of the population.

The simple fact that the clergy became an exclusive caste, with a peculiar character, peculiar habits, and peculiar ideals, would in itself have had a prejudicial influence on the priesthood; but this was not all. The caste increased in numbers by the process of natural reproduction much more rapidly than the offices to be filled, so that the supply of priests and deacons soon far exceeded the demand; and the disproportion between supply and demand became every year greater and greater. Thus was formed an ever-increasing clerical Proletariate, which—as is always the case with a Proletariate of any kind—gravitated towards the towns. In vain the Government issued ukases prohibiting the priests from quitting their places of domicile, and treated as vagrants and runaways those who disregarded the prohibition; in vain successive sovereigns endeavored to diminish the number of these supernumeraries by drafting them wholesale into the army. In Moscow, St. Petersburg, and all the larger towns, the cry was still, “They come!” Every morning, in the kremlin of Moscow, a large crowd of them assembled for the purpose of being hired to officiate in the private chapels of the rich nobles, and a great deal of hard bargaining took place between the priests and the lackeys sent to hire them—conducted in the same spirit, and in nearly the same forms, as that which simultaneously took place in the bazaar close by between extortionate traders and thrifty housewives. “Listen to me,” a priest would say, as an ultimatum, to a lackey who was trying to beat down the price; “if you don’t give me seventy-five kopeks without furthor ado, I’ll take a bite of this roll, and that will be an end to it!” And that would have been an end to the proceedings, for, according to the rules of the Church,

a priest cannot officiate after breaking his fast. The ultimatum, however, could be used with effect only to country servants who had recently come to town. A sharp lackey, experienced in this kind of diplomacy, would have laughed at the threat, and replied coolly, "Bite away, Bátuska ; I can find plenty more of your sort!"

The condition of the priests who remained in the villages was not much better. Those of them who were fortunate enough to find places were raised at least above the fear of absolute destitution, but their position was by no means enviable. They received little consideration or respect from the peasantry, and still less from the nobles. When the church was situated not on the State Demesnes, but on a private estate, they were practically under the power of the proprietor—almost as completely as his serfs ; and sometimes that power was exercised in a most humiliating and shameful way. We have heard, for instance, of one priest who was ducked in the pond on a cold winter day for the amusement of the proprietor and his guests—choice spirits, of rough, jovial temperament ; and of another who, having neglected to take off his hat as he passed the proprietor's house, was put into a barrel and rolled down a hill into a river at the bottom !

In citing these incidents, we do not at all mean to imply that they represent the relations which usually existed between proprietors and village priests, for it is quite true that wanton cruelty was not among the ordinary vices of Russian serf-owners. The object in mentioning the incidents is to show how a brutal proprietor—and it must be admitted that there were not a few brutal individuals in the class—could treat a priest without much danger of being called to account for his conduct. Of course such conduct was an offence in the eyes of the criminal law ; but the criminal law of that time was very short-sighted, and strongly disposed to close its eyes completely when the offender was an influential proprietor, and the victim merely a village priest. Had the incidents reached the ears of the Emperor Nicholas, he would probably have ordered the culprit to be summarily and severely punished ; but, as the Russian proverb has it, "the Heaven is high, and the Czar is far off." A village priest treated in this barbarous way could have little hope of redress, and, if he were a prudent man, he would make no attempt to obtain it ; for any annoyance which he might give the proprietor by complaining to the ecclesiastical authorities would be sure to be paid back to him with interest in some indirect way.



THE RUSSIAN NEW FLOATING DOCK AT NICOLAIFF.

The sons of the clergy who did not succeed in finding regular sacerdotal employment were in a still worse position. Many of them served as scribes of intermediate officials in the public offices, where they commonly eked out their scanty salaries by unblushing extortion and pilfering. Those who did not succeed in gaining even modest employment of this kind had to keep off starvation by less lawful means, and not unfrequently found their way into the prisons or to Siberia.

In judging of the Russian priesthood of the present time, we must call to mind this severe school through which it has passed, and we must also take into consideration the spirit which has been for centuries predominant in the Eastern Church—we mean the strong tendency both in the clergy and in the laity to attribute an inordinate importance to the ceremonial element of religion. Primitive mankind is everywhere and always disposed to regard religion as simply a mass of mysterious rites, which have a secret magical power of averting evil in this world and securing felicity in the next. To this general rule the

Russian peasantry are no exception, and the Russian Church has not done all it might have done to eradicate this conception and to bring religion into closer association with ordinary morality. Hence such incidents as the following are still possible. A robber kills and rifles a traveller, but refrains from eating a piece of cooked meat which he finds in the cart, because it happens to be a fast-day! A peasant prepares to rob a young *attaché* of the Austrian Embassy in St. Petersburg, and ultimately kills his victim, but before going to the house he enters a church and commends his undertaking to the protection of the saints! A housebreaker, when in the act of robbing a church, finds it difficult to extract the jewels from an Icon, and makes a vow that if a certain saint assists him he will place a rouble's-worth of tapers before the saint's image!

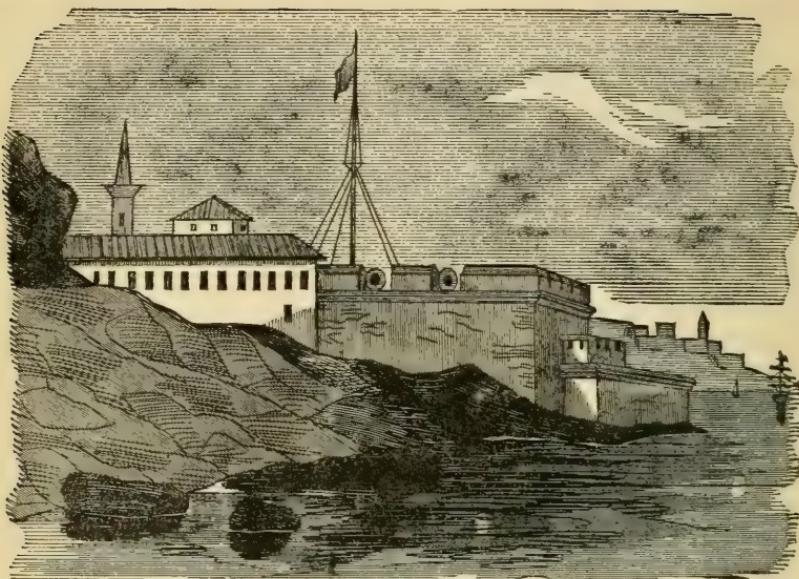
All these are of course extreme cases, but they illustrate a tendency which in its milder forms is only too general amongst the Russian people—the tendency to regard religion as a mass of ceremonies which have a magical rather than a spiritual significance. The poor woman who kneels at a religious procession in order that the Icon may be carried over her head, and the rich merchant who invites the priest to bring some famous Icon to his house, illustrate this tendency in a more harmless way.

According to a popular saying, “as is the priest, so is the parish,” and the converse proposition is equally true—as is the parish, so is the priest. The great majority of priests, like the great majority of men in general, content themselves with simply striving to perform what is expected of them, and their character is consequently determined to a certain extent by the ideas and conceptions of their parishioners. This will become more apparent if we contrast the Russian priest with the Protestant pastor.

According to Protestant conceptions, the village pastor is a man of grave demeanor and exemplary conduct, and possesses a certain amount of education and refinement. He ought to expound weekly to his flock, in simple, impressive words, the great truths of Christianity, and exhort his hearers to walk in the paths of righteousness. Besides this, he is expected to comfort the afflicted, to assist the needy, to counsel those who are harassed with doubts, and admonish those who openly stray from the narrow path. Such is the ideal in the popular mind, and nearly all pastors seek to realize it, if not in very deed, at least in ap-

pearance. The Russian priest, on the contrary, has no such ideal set before him by his parishioners. He is expected merely to conform to certain observances and to perform punctiliously the rites and ceremonies prescribed by the Church. If he does this without practising extortion, his parishioners are quite satisfied. He rarely preaches or exhorts, and neither has nor seeks to have a moral influence over his flock. There are occasional instances of Russian priests who approach what we have termed the Protestant ideal, but their number is comparatively small.

It must be admitted that the Russian people are in a certain sense religious. They go regularly to church on Sundays and holy days, cross themselves repeatedly when they pass a church or Icon, take the Holy Communion at stated seasons, rigorously abstain from animal food—not only on Wednesdays and Fridays, but also during Lent and the other long fasts—make occasional pilgrimages to holy shrines, and, in a word, fulfill punctiliously all the ceremonial observances which they suppose necessary to salvation. But here their religiousness ends. They are generally profoundly ignorant of religious doctrine, and know little or nothing of Holy Writ. A peasant, it is said, was once asked by a priest if he could name the three Persons of the Trinity, and replied without a moment's hesitation, “How can one not know that, Bátushka? Of course it is the Saviour, the Mother of God, and Saint Nicholas the miracle-worker!” That answer represents fairly enough the theological attainments of a very large section of the peasantry. The anecdote is so well known and so often repeated that it is probably an invention, but it is not a calumny. Of theology and of what Protestants term the “inner religious life,” the Russian peasant has no conception. For him the ceremonial part of religion suffices, and he has the most unbounded, childlike confidence in the saving efficacy of the rites which he practices. If he has been baptized in infancy, has regularly observed the fasts, has annually partaken of the Holy Communion, and has just confessed and received extreme unction, he feels death approach with the most profound tranquility. He is tormented with no doubts as to the efficacy of faith or works, and has no fears that his past life may possibly have rendered him unfit for eternal felicity. Like a man in a sinking ship who has buckled on his life-preserver, he feels perfectly secure. With no fear for the future and little regret for the present or the past, he awaits calmly the dread



FORTRESS KAVIBEH, ON THE BOSPHORUS.

summons, and dies with a resignation which a Stoic philosopher might envy.

In the above paragraph we have used the word Icon, and perhaps the reader may not clearly understand the word. Let us explain then, briefly, what an Icon is—a very necessary explanation, for the Icons play an important part in the religious observances of the Russian people.

Icons are pictorial half-length representations of the Saviour, of the Madonna, or of a saint, executed in archaic Byzantine style, on a yellow or gold ground, and varying in size from a square inch to several square feet. Very often the whole picture, with the exception of the face and hands of the figure, is covered with a metal *plaque*, embossed so as to represent the form of the figure and the drapery. When this *plaque* is not used, the crown and costume are often adorned with pearls and other precious stones—sometimes of great price.

A careful examination of Icons belonging to various periods leads to the conclusion that they were originally simple pictures, and that the metallic *plaque* is a modern innovation. The first departure from

purely pictorial representation seems to have been the habit of placing on the head of the painted figure a piece of ornamental gold-work, sometimes set with precious stones, to represent a nimbus or a crown. This strange, and to our minds barbarous, method of combining painting with *haut-relief*—if such a term may be applied to this peculiar kind of decoration—was afterwards gradually extended to the various parts of the costume, until only the face and hands of the figure remained visible, when it was found convenient to unite these various ornaments with the gilt background into a single embossed plate.

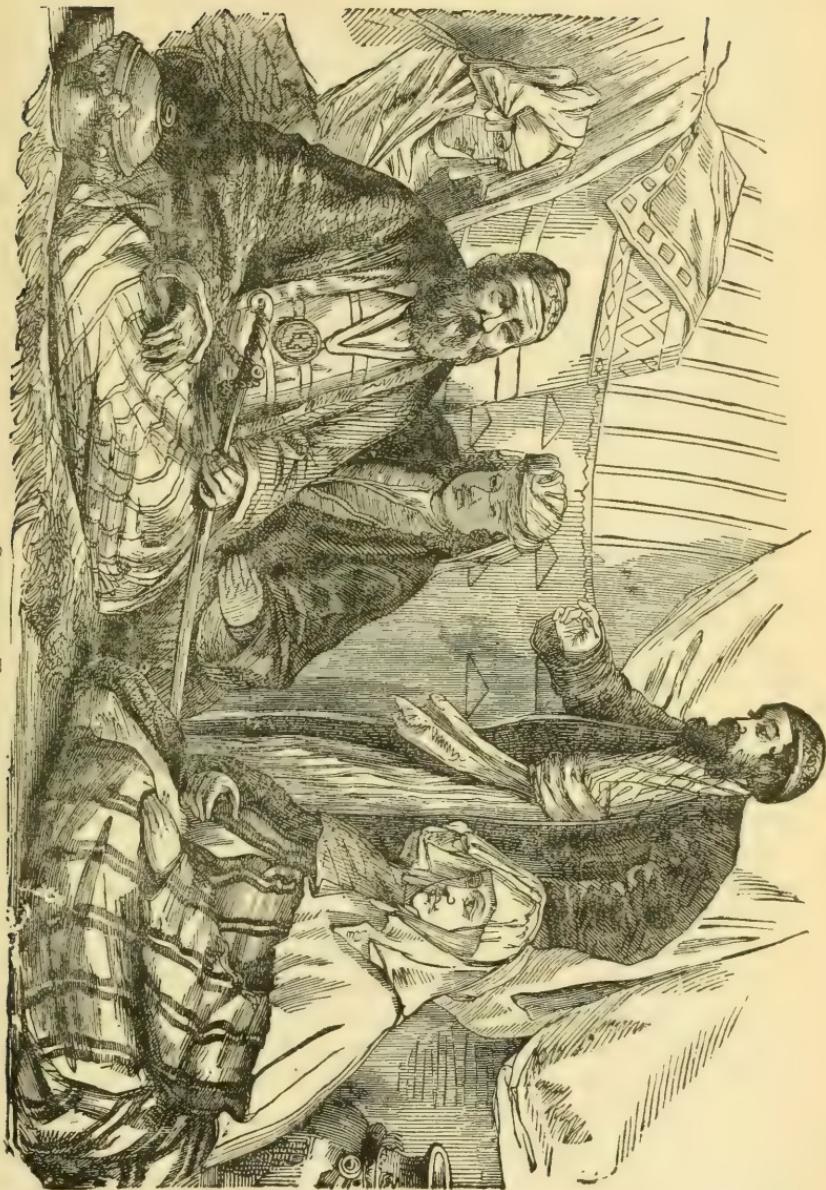
In respect of religious significance, Icons are of two kinds: simple, and miraculous or miracle-working (*tchvdotvorni*). The former are manufactured in enormous quantities—chiefly in the province of Vladimir, where whole villages are employed in this kind of work—and are to be found in every Russian house, from the hut of the peasant to the palace of the Emperor. They are generally placed high up in a corner facing the door, and good Orthodox Christians on entering bow in that direction, making at the same time the sign of the cross. Before and after meals the same short ceremony is always performed. On the eve of fête days a small lamp is kept burning before at least one of the Icons in the house.

The wonder-working Icons are comparatively few in number, and are always carefully preserved in a church or chapel. They are commonly believed to have been “not made with hands,” and to have appeared in a miraculous way. A monk, or it may be a common mortal, has a vision, in which he is informed that he may find a miraculous Icon in such a place, and on going to the spot indicated he finds it, sometimes buried, sometimes hanging on a tree. The sacred treasure is then removed to a church, and the news spreads like wildfire through the district. Thousands flock to prostrate themselves before the heaven-sent picture, and some of them are healed of their diseases—a fact that plainly indicates its miracle-working power. The whole affair is then officially reported to the Most Holy Synod—the highest ecclesiastical authority in Russia under the Emperor—in order that the existence of the miracle-working power may be fully and regularly proved. The official recognition of the fact is by no means a mere matter of form, for the Synod is well aware that wonder-working Icons are always a rich source of revenue to the monasteries where they are kept, and that zealous Superiors are consequently apt

in such cases to lean to the side of credulity, rather than that of over-severe criticism. A regular investigation is therefore made, and the formal recognition is not granted till the testimony of the finder is thoroughly examined and the alleged miracles duly authenticated. If the recognition is granted, the Icon is treated with the greatest veneration, and is sure to be visited by pilgrims from far and near.

Some of the most revered Icons—as, for instance, the Kazan Madonna—have annual fête days instituted in their honor; or, more correctly speaking, the anniversary of their miraculous appearance is observed as a religious holiday. A few of them have an additional title to popular respect and veneration: that of being intimately associated with great events in the national history. The Vladimir Madonna, for example, once saved Moscow from the Tartars; the Smolensk Madonna accompanied the army in the glorious campaign against Napoleon in 1812; and when in that year it was known in Moscow that the French were advancing on the city, the people wished the Metropolitan to take the Iberian Madonna, which may still be seen near one of the gates of the Kremlin, and to lead them out armed with hatchets against the enemy.

Though the unsatisfactory condition of the parochial clergy is generally recognized by the educated classes, very few people take the trouble to consider seriously how it might be improved. During the Reform enthusiasm which raged at the commencement of the present reign, ecclesiastical affairs received almost no attention; and at present, when the storm has passed and apathy prevails, they receive still less. The truth is that educated Russians, as a rule, take no interest in Church matters, and not a few of them are so very “far advanced” that they regard religion in all its forms as an old-world superstition, which should be allowed to die as tranquilly as possible. The Government has, however, done something towards improving the condition of the parish priests. Many of the barriers which tended to make the priesthood a caste have been broken down, and hundreds of priests’ sons are now making their way in the Civil Service, in the Judicial Administration, as Professors in the Universities, and in various industrial undertakings. In addition to this, an attempt is at present being made to diminish the number of parishes, and thereby to ameliorate the condition of the incumbents. These changes will, we believe, ultimately produce beneficial results.



SOUK AND FAMILY.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GRAND TOUR.

If we were asked to describe Russia by a single epithet we should say that it was flat. Flatness is by far the most prominent feature of the country which stretches from the Polar Ocean to the Black Sea and the Caspian. One may travel many thousand miles by road and rail in that region without ever going up a steep hill or passing through a tunnel. If he is fortunate enough to discover a hill or hillock and takes the trouble of ascending it, he is pretty sure to find that the horizon on all sides is a straight line. Some of the rivers, it is true, have on the one side a high bank, and, as you look up at it from the deck of a steamer or small boat, you may be disposed to call it a low range of hills; but if you go to the top you will probably discover that you have been the victim of an optical delusion. What seemed a range of hills turns out to be simply the edge of a table-land stretching away far as the eye can reach, and the secluded little valley which you expected to see behind the summit has no existence in reality.

After flatness, the most prominent characteristic of Russian scenery is monotony. Russians often boast of the unexampled variety of scenery, climate, vegetation, and races which their country contains, and all they say on this point may be literally true. A land which stretches from the Arctic circle to the latitude of Rome cannot be monotonous to the eye of the geographer, botanist, zoologist, and ethnologist, when they sit in their study and survey the whole on a map. But it is not with such wide-seeing people that we have at present to do. The ordinary traveller who uses his own eyes and employs merely the ordinary means of locomotion cannot see more than a few square miles at a time, and cannot jump at a bound from Archangel to Tiflis. Even if he travels by express trains, at the rate of five-and-twenty miles an hour, he will probably after an hour or two begin to long for a newspaper or a novel; and, if he sums up his impressions at the end of the day's journey, he will find very little variety in them. The truth is that in order to get the impression of

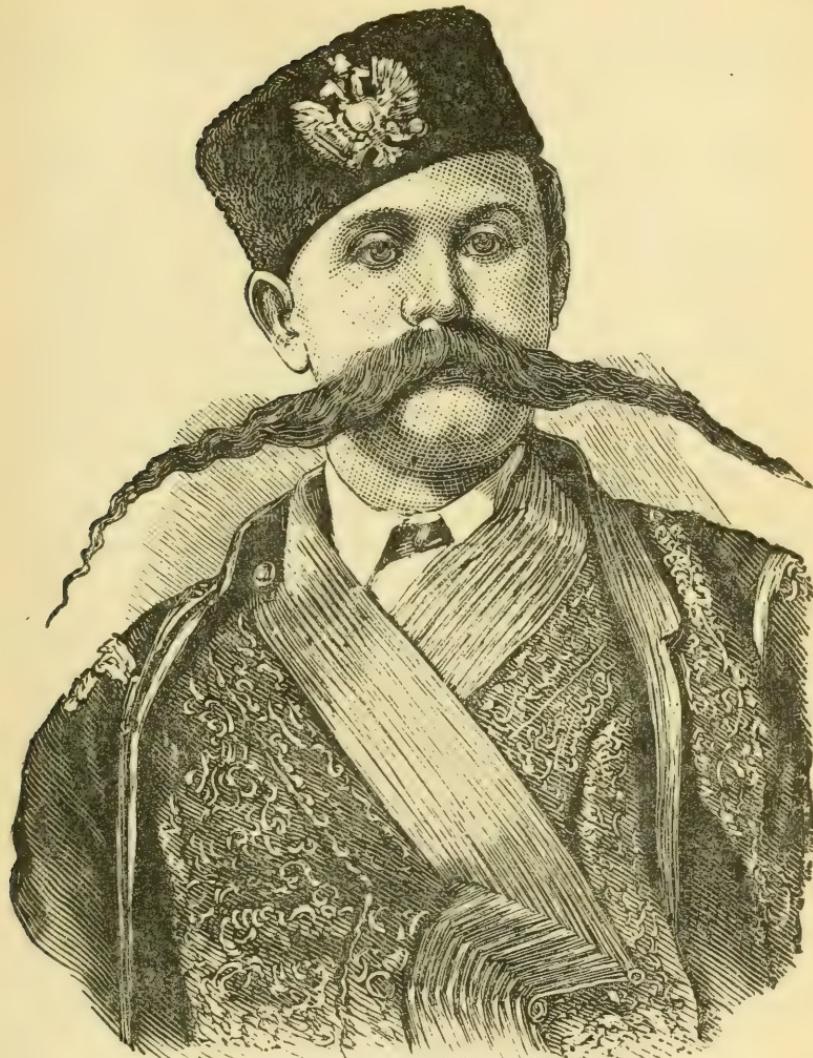
variety we must bring the various things together. It is of no use to be told that within the limits of the Empire there are ice-fields and luxuriant gardens, forests and prairies, reindeer and antelopes, cranberries and vines, fur-covered Samoyeds and swarthy Georgians, the stern grandeur of the Arctic regions and the soft beauty of the sunny south. We do not feel in travelling the variety which these words suggest. A hundred thousand people, when scattered over a large area, do not constitute a crowd.

On the whole, then, it may be said that Russia is not a country for tourists. Even when, in the course of time, it comes to be supplied with good roads, comfortable hotels, and all the other conveniences of civilized nomadic life, it will never be part of "the playground of Europe." Still, it ought not to be excluded entirely from the tourist world. If a route be chosen so as to include the most interesting parts and to omit as far as possible the regions in which flatness and monotony reign supreme, a summer vacation may be spent both pleasantly and profitably in the dominions of the Czar. We propose now to make such a tour in the European part of the Empire; and, if the reader will kindly accompany us, we shall endeavor to fulfill the duties of guide and interpreter.

Arriving in the Empire of the Czar by way of Finland, we have some difficulty in believing that we are in Russia, for we hear no Russian spoken around us. In the towns the common language is Swedish, and in the country the people commonly speak Finnish, a very euphonious language of the so-called Turanian family. We do not require to go far to discover that the institutions are as little Russian as the language. Having regularly read the newspapers since the outbreak of the Eastern Question, we know that Russia is behind the Ottoman Empire in having no Parliamentary institutions; but Finland has evidently already had its Midhat Pasha, for it possesses both a Parliament and a Constitution. And a very curious Parliament it is, consisting of no less than four Chambers, each of which is composed of deputies from one of the four officially recognized social classes—the Nobles, the Clergy, the Burghers, and the Peasantry. For ordinary affairs the consent of three of the chambers is sufficient; but in all matters relating to the fundamental laws, the rights of the various classes, and the raising of new taxes, all the four Chambers must agree. All this is very non-Russian, and shows

plainly that Finland, though officially a Russian province, is not a part of Russia in the ordinary sense of the term. What is it, then? We will endeavor to explain the anomaly.

Finland was long a Swedish province, and the towns are still thoroughly saturated with the Swedish spirit. In 1809 it was conquered by Russia, and soon afterwards formally annexed to the Empire; but the Emperor of that time, Alexander I., instead of sweeping away the existing institutions and putting genuine Russian institutions in their stead, endeavored to preserve as far as possible what actually existed; and adopted the title of Grand Prince of Finland. Hence arose all the anomalies which now exist. Finland enjoys many privileges which it ought not to possess, and escapes many burdens which it ought to bear, and, consequently, its inhabitants form a kind of privileged class in the Empire. Though they enjoy all the protection afforded to Russian subjects, both at home and abroad, they do not contribute to the expenses of diplomatic and consular agents, and, until quite recently, gave only one battalion to the army instead of thirty thousand men, as they ought to have done. They have their own coinage, their own post-office, their own national bank, and their own custom-houses, which do not admit many kinds of Russian goods. Above all, they treat Russians who live amongst them not as masters, or even fellow-countrymen, but as foreigners. During the first quarter of the present century the Government, it is true, did show a certain partiality to its non-Russian subjects. It not only preserved the institutions of Finland and the Baltic Provinces, but gave a kind of constitution to the Poles, and accorded many valuable privileges to foreign colonists from Germany and other foreign countries. These measures were based on apparently sound considerations of State policy, but they were none the less galling to the self-respect of genuine Russians. The Russian found himself less privileged than foreigners in his own country! And in many respects the system did not produce the desired result. The Swedes in Finland and the Germans in the Baltic provinces became more and more exclusive, and resolutely resisted all Russifying influence; expressing, often in a very inconsiderate way, their want of respect and admiration for the Russian character and institutions. The foreign colonists exercised little or no civilizing influence on the surrounding peasantry, and remained foreigners even in the third and fourth generation; whilst



GENERAL IGNATIEFF'S ORDERLY.

the Poles did all in their power to transform their local autonomy into political independence, and to bring about the dismemberment of the empire. In consequence of these unpleasant facts the Government has in recent years reversed its policy, and now strives to

assimilate all heterogeneous elements. Of course, this attempt at assimilation, or "Russification," as it is termed, produces obstinate resistance. Finlanders, Poles, and Germans feel that they are more civilized than Russians, and consider Russification to be what an ingenious Irishman once termed "retrograde progression." And, unfortunately, in this work of assimilation the religious element comes into play. In Russia, religion and nationality are so intimately interwoven, both in the minds of the people and in many of the forms of daily life, that they are practically almost identical. However we may explain this curious circumstance, the fact is undeniable. A man may be born in Russia and be educated in Russian schools, he may be a loyal subject of the Czar and occupy a high position in the public service, but he will never be a genuine Russian in the full sense of the term if he remains a Protestant or Roman Catholic. Pure Russian nationality is only to be found in conjunction with Greek Orthodoxy; and, accordingly, the Government would very much like to see all its heretical and schismatic subjects enter the pale of the official Church. How far it endeavors to *drive* them in is a question which is at present attracting considerable attention, and the reader may naturally desire to know how far the current accusations are well founded. It is, however, by no means easy to arrive at the truth. When a Consular agent like Colonel Mansfield relates what he has seen with his own eyes, we may regard the fact as duly proved; but when he relates from hearsay what is said to have taken place at a considerable distance, his testimony must be accepted with extreme caution. In Poland especially this caution requires to be exercised. Any one who has come much in contact with Poles must be aware that whenever their patriotic feelings and their hatred of the Muscovite come into play their statements are not remarkable for accurate truthfulness. Whatever may be the truth in this particular case, certain it is that the persecuting tendencies of the Russian Government are in general greatly exaggerated. So long as Russians, or foreigners resident in Russia, adhere nominally to the faith in which they were born, and allow others to do likewise, they enjoy the most complete religious liberty. The Greek Orthodox, the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, and the Mussulman enjoy equally the protection of the State, and are free to worship God after the manner of their forefathers. But they are not all equally free to make converts. A

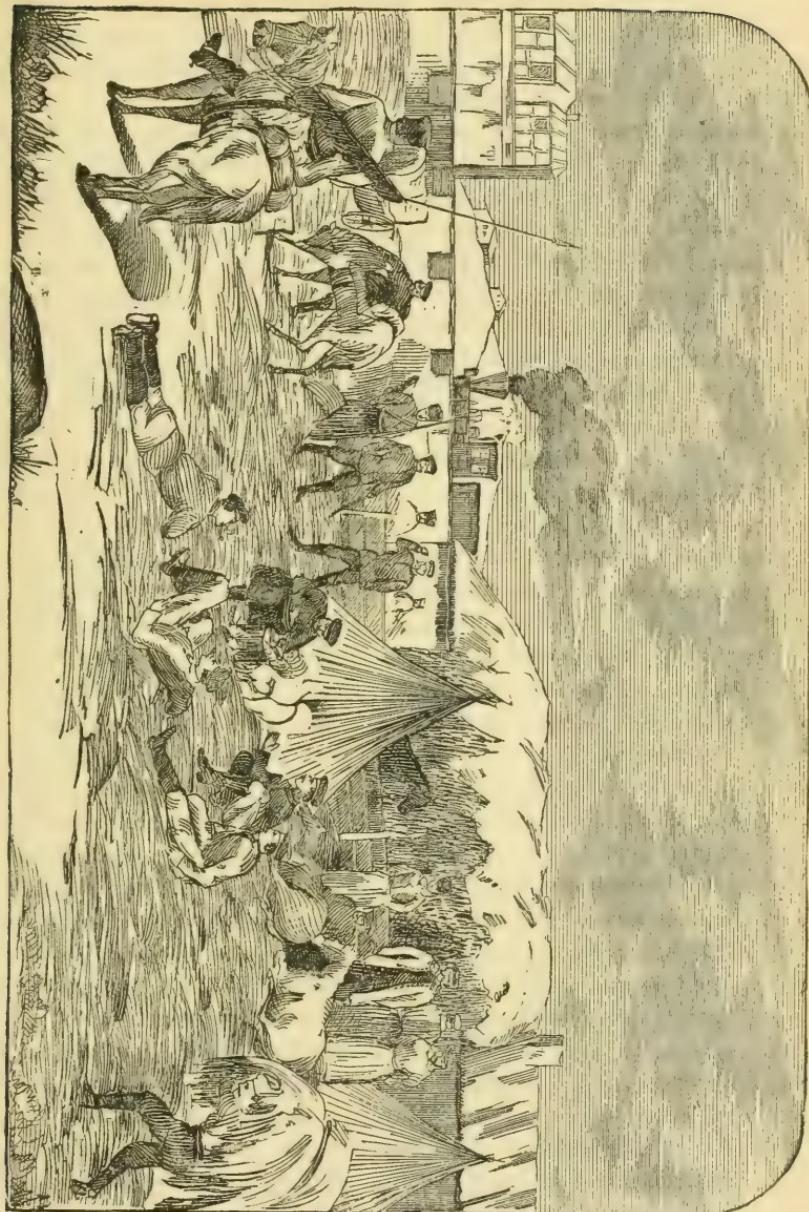
distinction is made between converts and perverts. A Roman Catholic or Protestant may pass over to the Greek Orthodox Church, but a member of the national Church may not become a Roman Catholic or Protestant. Though the Government is, under ordinary circumstances, strongly tinged with religious indifferentism, and makes no strenuous efforts to convert unbelievers, it does not allow the official fold to be diminished. Of course this is a very serious infringement on complete liberty of conscience; but, as comparatively few people desire openly to change their religion, it has not so much practical significance as might be supposed. Still, it is a blot, and a very serious blot, on Russian legislation; and it is to be hoped that the present Emperor, who has accomplished so many beneficent reforms, will see fit to remove this remnant of old religious intolerance. To protect orthodoxy by the criminal code indicates surely a strange want of faith in the inherent excellency and power of Mother Church.

But we have inadvertently wandered a long way from our tour. The first object of interest which the traveller sees from the steamer is Cronstadt. From the distance it seems an insignificant island, but it is in reality one of the strongest fortresses in the world. So, at least, Russians say, and we are not in a position to contradict them. Certainly, it kept at bay during the Crimean War a great British fleet, and since that time it has been immensely strengthened; so that now, if report speaks true, it could defend St. Petersburg against all the iron-clads in the world. Shortly after passing it, we may discover on the southern shore of the gulf two Imperial palaces, imbedded in trees—Peterhof and Strelna; and soon afterwards, right ahead near the horizon, a peculiar quivering light which looks like a great yellow meteor, but which, on closer inspection, proves to be the sun's rays reflected on the burnished dome of St. Isaac's Cathedral, the largest church in St. Petersburg.

It may be stated as a general rule that Russian, like Oriental cities, look very grand and beautiful from a distance, but lose very much of their grandeur and beauty by closer inspection. St. Petersburg exemplifies only the first half of this rule. Seen from a distance it is grand and beautiful; but, unlike the great majority of Russian towns, it does not lose its grandeur and beauty when you enter it—at least if you enter it by steamer. The deep, rapid river, on which skim perpetually swift steam-launches and small rowing-boats—the far-

stretching quays of massive masonry, half concealed behind barges and steamers—the big, solid houses lining the quays on either side—the long, elegant stone bridge with iron parapet, behind which is seen the Academy of Arts, the Fortress and the Winter Palace—the gilded domes of the churches rising above the whole and glittering red in the rays of the setting sun—all this forms a picture of which the Petersburgians are justly proud. And the impression produced by this scene is not by any means dispelled by entering into the heart of the city. Here and there we may experience a sensation of barrenness, and occasionally we may be reminded of “the city of magnificent distances;” but this is probably because we are unaccustomed to cities laid out by an autocratic architect on land of no value. On the whole, the city is grandiose in style and proportion. The streets are for the most part wide and straight, and run at right angles to each other. They always start with the intention of going in a perfectly straight line, and this intention never encounters any opposition from elevations or depressions; but occasionally, when they meet with one of the numerous meandering canals, they forget for a moment their rigid principles and become flexible. The size of the houses, many of which contain a score of independent apartments, is in keeping with the length and breadth of the streets, and the squares, palaces, theatres, and churches are on the same colossal scale. The Nefski Prospect is certainly one of the finest streets in the world.

In our character of tourists we naturally “do the sights.” They are, fortunately, not very numerous. First we may visit the Hermitage, which contains a second-rate collection of Italian and Spanish paintings and a first-rate collection of the old Dutch masters. Then we may look into one or two collections of modern Russian pictures, showing very tolerable work, but nothing of striking originality. If we care to see big halls and rich modern upholstery, we may walk through the Winter Palace; and, if our tastes be literary we may spend an hour or two in the Imperial Public Library, which contains, among other curiosities, the library of Voltaire. The interior of the great cathedral and the other churches must be seen, but we shall find there nothing to detain us long. Indeed, the whole work of sightseeing may be got through in a single day, and in the cool of the evening we can spend an hour or two in driving about the islands or gazing at the sunset from “the Point,” a favorite rendezvous for those



who are compelled to spend the summer on the banks of the Neva. We commonly associate St. Petersburg with ideas of snow and ice, costly furs and warm sheepskins; but in reality its inhabitants suffer quite as much from heat as from cold. During the long winter the ground is always covered with snow, the thermometer sinks occasionally to thirty degrees below zero, and, when a cutting east wind blows, the noses and ears of foreigners and natives alike are in danger of being frost-bitten. Then every house must have double windows and double doors, and every room must be heated with hot air or by an enormous stove. When you open a pane in the double windows, the cold air rushes into the room in the form of steam, and makes you modify your American ideas about the necessity of frequently airing an apartment. When you go out to walk or drive you must put on a long, high-collared fur coat, and cumbrous galoches to protect the feet. You perhaps feel inclined to have a run to get up the circulation; but, if the weather is very cold and bright, you had better check that impulse and content yourself with simply drawing your fur cloak closer around you, for any violent exertion in the very cold, bright days leads almost instantaneously to loss of breath, precisely as on the top of a high mountain. The lungs, it would seem, can bear only a certain amount of very cold atmosphere, and, unlike over-zealous, unconscientious trades-people, they refuse to undertake more work than they can perform. You imagine, perhaps, that you will indemnify yourself for all these discomforts by an unlimited amount of skating; but in this you will probably be disappointed. The Russians are not a skating people. Snow falls almost as soon as the rivers and lakes are covered with ice, so that any long journey on skates is impossible. In St. Petersburg, indeed, a skating club was started many years ago, and now the Russians have learned to make skating rinks; but the amusement has never become very popular among the natives, and St. Petersburg is, so far as we are aware, the only town in the Empire where good rinks are to be found. And even here in the very cold weather skating cannot be had, for when the thermometer falls to a certain extent the ice becomes hard as glass, and the skates, however sharp, will not bite. During the festivities which took place at the time of the Duke of Edinburgh's marriage, fears were entertained that the skating fête prepared by the English colony might be prevented in this way; nature, however, showed herself more propitious than

was expected, and the fête proved one of the most brilliant ever given on the Neva. Many people prefer the excitement of the ice hills to the tamer pleasures of the skating rink. If made sufficiently high and steep, these "hills" enable one to enjoy all the pleasure which can be derived from being pitched out of a high window, without the absolute certainty of breaking one's neck. Men of sporting tendencies can have a still more exciting kind of amusement in the form of a bear hunt. It must, however, be admitted that bear hunting is not quite such an heroic amusement as the name seems to indicate. There are, indeed in some of the outlying provinces, a few peasants who may fairly be called "mighty hunters," men who can go out alone into the forest and face old Bruin with nothing more deadly in their hands than a heavy wooden club and a long knife. Report says that somewhere in the Ural there is even a woman who regularly seeks such dangerous encounters, and always succeeds in bagging the game. But that is not the kind of bear hunting which is practised by the amateur-sportsmen of St. Petersburg. We may tell you, gentle reader, in strict confidence, that the bear is always *bought* before it is shot. When peasants discover one of the shaggy fraternity enjoying his winter siesta, their first care is to find a purchaser, and for this purpose they send a deputy to some member of the sporting world in the city. A bargain is made (the sum depending on the distance of the lair from a railway station), and on the appointed day a party of sportsmen, armed with rifles, proceed to the spot. The beaters then go into the forest and endeavor, by howling and yelling, to rouse the bear and drive him to the point where the sportsmen are waiting to receive him. If the affair has been well arranged he has little chance of escape. Being of a naturally pacific disposition, he tries to get away from his howling persecutors, and runs unsuspectingly "into the jaws of death." Thus, you see, gentle reader, amateur bear shooting is not a very dangerous amusement. Still, if you have had no experience of the kind, you will do well to be cautious. Though your contract with the peasant may have been made in due form, remember that the bear has not signed it, and consequently does not consider himself bound to act as he is desired. He will make off if he possibly can; but, if he cannot, he may show in a very disagreeable way his instinct of self-preservation and his means of self-defence. The rule you have to follow is—either make a good hit or a good miss. In the one case you disable your

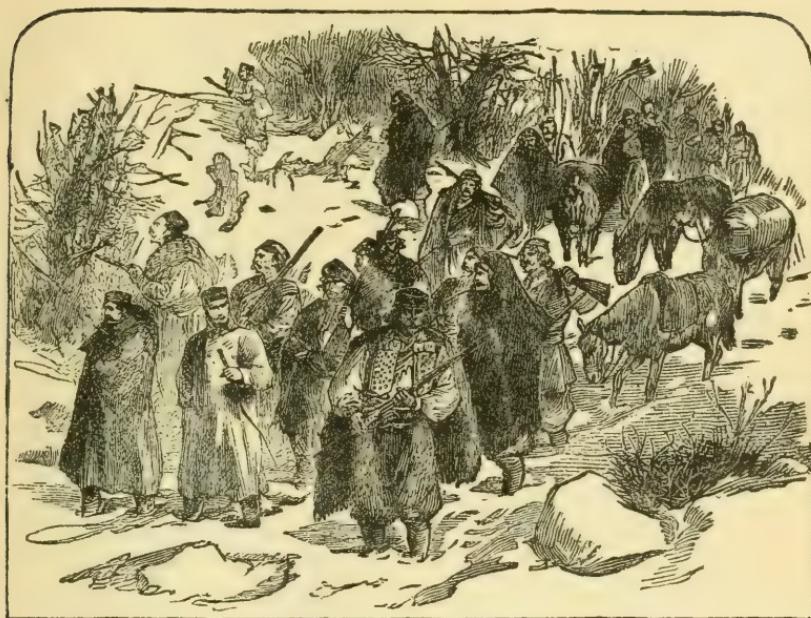
enemy, and in the other you enable him to escape. If you adopt a middle course and wound him, look out for your scalp! Before you have time to think of a second shot you may find yourself in the savage brute's embrace. Perhaps you may be released by a well-aimed, well-timed shot from one of your companions; otherwise your plight will be miserable indeed. The Autocrat of All the Russias himself, in his own dominions, had a few years ago a very narrow escape of the kind. But for the timely aid of the two spearmen who always accompany his Majesty on such occasions, the bear would have caused some alterations to be made in the *Almanach de Gotha*, and have exercised a considerable and lasting influence on European history.

There is something at once solemnizing and ridiculous in the thought that a humble quadruped, belonging to a family whose name has never been mentioned in connection with the suffrage, should be able—or almost able—in a moment of blind rage to modify the destinies of a great empire! Yet so it is. In America bears might swallow half a dozen Presidents, and even two or three Cabinet Ministers, without materially modifying the policy of the country; but in Russia the case is quite different. There the Sovereign can do as he or she pleases, and the Imperial decision may be determined by a very insignificant item in the chapter of accidents. There is a capital illustration of this in the anecdote told of the Empress Elizabeth. She was about to sign a very important treaty, which would have compelled her to declare war, when an indiscreet fly, regardless of the divinity that doth hedge an Empress, alighted near her pen and made a blot. The incident seemed to her Majesty an evil omen, and made such an impression upon her that she laid the paper aside and never finished her signature. Thus a common little fly, with no more intellectual ability than is required to make a blot, had more political influence than the sixteen millions of inhabitants which at that time formed the population of the Empire!

We have recently heard a good deal about the popular pressure to which the Czar is supposed to yield; and some Russians even go as far as to assert that his Majesty never does anything contrary to the popular will. "Our Government," say these, "though autocratic in form, is in reality representative. Though we have no Parliament, we have other means of expressing our wishes, and the Emperor



COSTAN PASHA, CIVIL GOVERNOR OF HERZEGOVINA.



A RUSSIAN ESCORT EN ROUTE TO MILITARY CAMP AT PIVA.

cannot disregard them." Certain Russians love to speak in this tone to foreigners; but they would never think of doing so to their own countrymen. If they really believe what they say, then it is a case of the wish being father to the thought. The Emperor is himself a Russian, and consequently to some extent under the same influences as his people; but he is quite capable of having an independent opinion or of adopting the opinions of a small minority, as he has done in the question of classical *versus* scientific education, and no amount of popular clamor can in such a case shake his determination. But is he not, as certain other people, forced to yield to pressure of another kind? The whole country, say these, is undermined by revolutionary propaganda. The Czar sits, as it were, on a volcano, and is obliged to let out from time to time a little of the explosive material, lest he and his whole family should be blown into the air. At the present moment, for instance, he has adopted the Napoleonic ruse of making war, so that the attention of his more patriotic than loyal subjects should be withdrawn from home affairs. All this is utterly false. There does

exist a certain revolutionary propaganda, which causes the Government a great deal of unnecessary trouble, but it has not the slightest chance of overthrowing the existing order of things. The great mass of the nation are devotedly and unreservedly attached to the reigning dynasty, and would strongly disapprove of anything which tended to limit the autocratic power. Not only the revolutionary tendencies, but even the legitimate constitutional aspirations are confined to a very small minority of the people, and whatever the Czar commands is certain to meet with no serious resistance.

But to return. We were saying that the Petersburgians have to suffer as much from heat as from cold. Though the winter is long and dreary, it does not last all the year round. Some time in April or the beginning of May the warm weather comes. The snow melts, leaving oceans of slush in the streets, the sledges are replaced by wheeled vehicles, the ice on the river begins to move, the steamers and sailing craft which have been imprisoned for six months prepare for work, and the sun sends down a flood of heat, as if anxious to make up for lost time. Soon the grass, the shrubs, and the trees show signs of reviving, and in the space of a few days the bare branches and twigs cover themselves with the fresh, bright foliage of spring. This is the most delightful time of year in Northern Russia. Unfortunately, it is as short as delightful. Ere a few weeks have passed, the sunshine that was so pleasant after the long black winter, becomes oppressive. The bright verdure of the foliage becomes sickly gray, the air becomes heavy, the odors that glide about the streets remind one that the drainage of the city is far from perfect, the pleasant houses that one frequented during the winter months are one after another shut up, the accustomed faces are no longer met with in the streets, and those who are obliged to remain in the city feel like the poor orphan schoolboy who does not go home for the holidays. Among the upper classes there are few such unfortunates. Those who cannot go to estates in the country or make a foreign tour find for the most part summer quarters in the islands, or at Tsarskoe Selo, Pavlofsk, Strelna, Peterhof, or some other place in the immediate neighborhood. Then come the long, long midsummer days, when the night brings neither darkness nor coolness. How different from the ordinary conception of St. Petersburg—the city of ice and snow! All extremes of temperature are objectionable, but in St. Petersburg, where every-

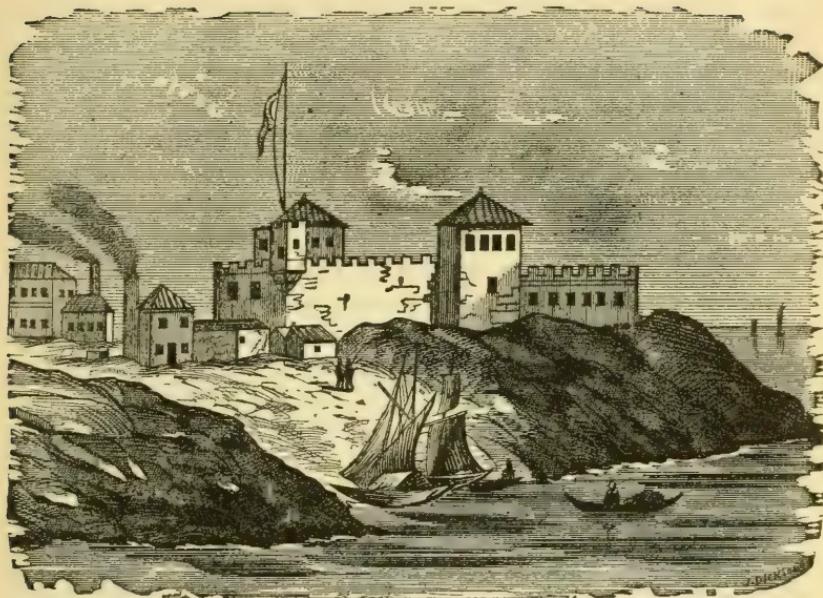
thing is arranged for winter, extreme heat is much more disagreeable than extreme cold. Let us, then, tarry no longer. We have "done the sights" as conscientiously as can be expected, so we may join the southeastward exodus and pay a flying visit to Moscow.

The railway by which we travel is one of the oldest in the country, and was constructed under the personal supervision of the Emperor Nicholas. That explains the massive style of construction. Nicholas was a man who loved to do everything in the grand style, and was not in the habit of accurately counting the cost. The Moscow Railway reflects his character truly in this respect. It runs almost in a straight line, because the Czar so ordered it, and the principal stations are built in a massive—one might almost say a grandiose—style. At each of these the train stops long enough to enable the passengers to dine or sup copiously—an arrangement that necessarily causes considerable delay, but has some corresponding advantages. The whole distance is about four hundred miles, and the journey is made by express train in about fifteen hours.

The tourist's first impressions of Moscow do not prepossess him favorably. The railway station is in the outskirts of the town, and the streets which lead to the central quarter are narrow, winding, dirty, and execrably paved. The jerks and jolting would certainly prove too much for the springs of any American carriage, and try severely the traveller's muscles, sinews, and good nature. But when he reaches the central part, if he have aught of the picturesque and antiquarian instincts in him, he will immediately forget any little personal inconveniences. There before him rises the Kremlin in all its quaint originality. He gazes with wonder, not unmixed with admiration, at the high stone walls, the curious old towers, the venerable Cathedral with its gilded cupolas, and the grotesque Church of St. Basil, one of the most fantastic architectural conceptions that ever issued from human brain. And when he examines the details he finds most interesting objects that recall every period of Russian history. There are still remains of the time when Moscow was but one among many independent Principalities, when all "the Russian land," and Moscow as part of it, paid tribute to the Tartar Khan. Much more numerous are the remains of the period when the ancient city had risen high above her rivals, had thrown off the Tartar yoke, and had combined all the independent Principalities into the Czardom of Mus-

covy. That was the period when Ivan III. ordered an Italian architect to construct the fantastic Church of St. Basil—when Ivan IV., surnamed the Terrible, broke the power of the proud old Muscovite aristocracy and quenched the republican spirit of Novgorod in the blood of eighty thousand of its inhabitants—when the Poles and Cossacks overran the country, and ruthlessly pillaged, murdered and desecrated in a way that Bashi-Basouks might have been proud of—when the mild, pious Alexis invited to his dominions all manner of cunning foreign artificers and soldiers skilled in the art of war, thereby paving the way for his energetic son, who was afterwards to be known as Peter the Great. Peter loved not the conservative Muscovites, and the conservative Muscovites loved him not. In order to carry out his vast reforms he was obliged to build a new capital and to transport thither the seat of Government; but Moscow retained, and still retains, the first place in the hearts of the Russian people; and once, at least, in modern times she has shown herself worthy of that affection. When, in 1812, Napoleon invaded the country, and fondly imagined that from the Kremlin he could dictate his own terms of peace, she forgot all selfish interests and nobly sacrificed herself on the altar of the Fatherland.

Moscow and St. Petersburg represent in a very graphic way the two great periods of Russian history. The old capital has a look of antiquity and irregularity which show that, like the famous Topsy, it “growed;” whilst the new capital is regularly built, and bears everywhere traces of having been constructed according to a clearly-conceived plan. Russian history before Peter the Great closely resembles Moscow. Down to the time of the Great Reformer the country had a natural spontaneous life, struggling with difficulties as they arose and solving them more or less successfully by its own traditional wisdom. If the old Muscovite Czars had any grand definite policy, it was to extend their dominions as rapidly as possible, and to retain all political power in their own hands. They had no idea of civilizing their subjects or of constructing a symmetrical Administration according to the principles of political science. They were not averse to having in their service a few foreigners who knew something of architecture, artillery, and other useful arts; but they did not go much further in that direction, and even that little was very distasteful to their subjects. The ordinary Russian of that day regarded everything foreign as



FORT MIVEANITZIA, BLACK SEA.

heretical and dangerous to salvation. He did not object to hard drinking, because that was a good old national institution, sanctified by immemorial custom; but he was very much scandalized by the sight of a tobacco pipe, because smoking was a foreign invention patronized by Papists and Protestants. And in this, as in all similar matters, he could give a reason for the faith that was in him. The distinction between intoxicating *vodka* and the fragrant weed was founded on no less authority than Holy Writ, for is it not written that a man is defiled, not by that which entereth into him—*i.e.*, *vodka*—but by that which cometh out of his mouth—*i.e.*, tobacco smoke? Whether they had equally good authority for the other parts of their conservative creed we know not, but we do know that they stuck with great tenacity to their time-honored customs and beliefs, and sometimes showed themselves ready to die rather than depart from what had been observed by their forefathers. Among such people it required a very strong and a very bold man to introduce even moderate reforms, and any ordinary mortal, though strong and bold as his fellows, would have considered it simple madness to attempt any

sweeping changes in the social or political life. But Czar Peter was not an ordinary mortal. He had that impetuous rashness and that reckless contempt for opposition which drive their possessor either to destruction or to a high place among historical personages. Having travelled in foreign countries, he had been charmed by the results of Western civilization, and determined to introduce it into his own country, however unpalatable it might be to his people and their priests. The scheme was a daring—we might almost say mad—one, and certainly could be justified by nothing but success; but it had that best of justifications. Not that all Peter's schemes turned out successful. Far from it. Very many of his plans utterly broke down, and even those which had a better fate did not produce nearly all the beneficent results which he anticipated. But he did succeed in breaking with the past and putting his country on a new road. Russia was no longer allowed to "grow" after its own fashion. Its institutions were remodelled according to the political wisdom of Germany, Holland, Denmark, and France, and the upper classes were compelled to adopt the dress, and in a lesser degree the ideas, of Western Europe. The conservative tendencies of the nobles were extracted partly by the new schools and partly the old *knout*, whilst the priests, monks, and ecclesiastical dignitaries were kept in order by the civil power. In short, the Czardom of Muscovy, with its ancient venerable capital on the Moskvá, was transformed into the Empire of Russia with a brand-new capital on the Neva. Up to that time Muscovy had been considered an Asiatic Principality, and the Czars had been regarded by the Christian Potentates of Europe pretty much as the petty princes of Central Asia are regarded by us at the present day; from that time onwards Russia was to be one of the European Powers, and her Imperial rulers were to have a hand in all the great congresses, conferences, and other ingenious expedients by which short-sighted, feeble-handed Diplomacy endeavors to preserve the public peace.

The rapidity with which Russia has grown during these two hundred years is certainly amazing. In 1682 her geographical area was about 5,600,000 square miles; in 1867 it was about 7,535,000. The increase in her population is even more astounding. Between 1722 and 1857—that is to say, in less than a century and a half—it has risen from 14,000,000 to 74,000,000! Political prophets, who found their predictions on materials invisible to ordinary eyes and unintel-

ligible to the ordinary understanding, sometimes declare confidently that the great Colossus must soon fall to pieces. For our own part, we cannot lay claim to the gift of prophecy, political or other; but we must say we cannot discover any symptoms of this expected disruption, nor can we discover anything that seems likely to grow into local political independence. Nowhere is there what a German might call a healthy, vigorous "separatismus." The Russian who lives long in an outlying province may adopt some of the manners and customs of the natives, but his political instincts and sympathies remain unchanged. The idea of dismembering the empire probably never entered his mind, and if it is suggested to him it will sound in his ears almost as blasphemy. A recent traveller in Siberia, who has published his observations, asserts that he found there the germs of a separate nationality. In Siberia, he declares, a considerable part of the educated population is composed of Polish exiles and their descendants, who are neither Poles nor Russians, but Siberians. But, without calling these statements in question, we cannot accept the conclusion that these Siberians are likely to found a separate nationality and acquire political independence. These men of Polish extraction form but a very small section of the people, and their members are not increasing nearly as rapidly as the purely Russian population. All Siberians have, it is true, certain slight peculiarities of character and manners which distinguish them from the ordinary Russian, but they are, so far as we have been able to form a judgment, thoroughly Russian in feeling and sympathies. Everywhere in European Russia the railways are rapidly destroying the little local life that formerly existed, and the telegraphs have diminished the little independence which the local administration formerly enjoyed.

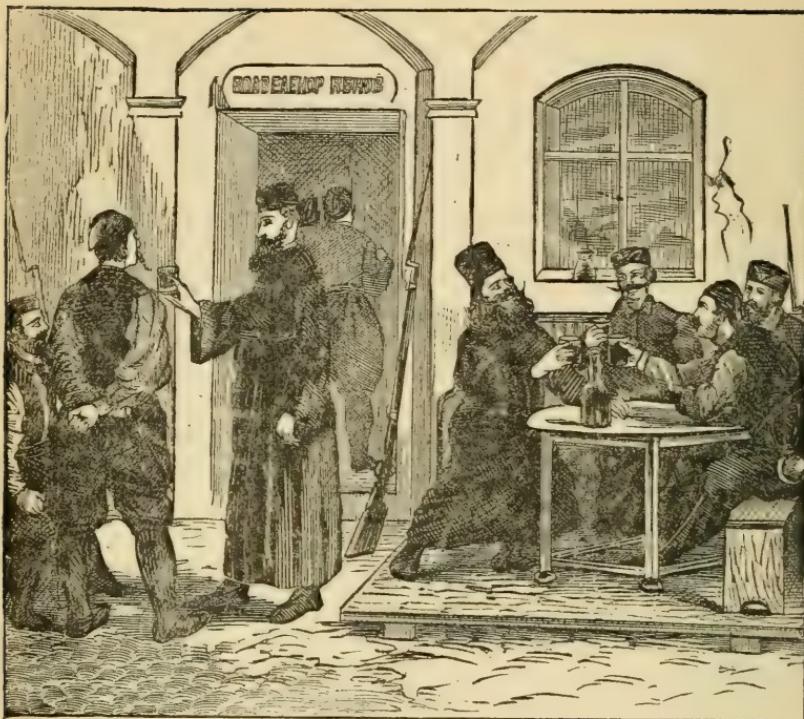
If we visit the Ethnographical Museum, which is one of the most interesting sights in Moscow, we may feel inclined for a moment to look favorably on the predictions of Russian dismemberment. We find there an immense collection of lay-figures, representing all the nationalities which profess allegiance to the Czar; and to tell the truth it is a motley company. There is the Samoyed, covered with reindeer skin from head to foot, and a hideous group of Fire-Worshippers from Bakou, wearing only a minimum of clothing—the squat, stunted Buriat, and the tall, stalwart Cossack—the uncouth, timid Tchuwash, and the agile, fierce Circassian—Tcheremiss and Votiaks, Bashkirs and

Kirghis, Tartars and Kalmucks, Poles and Germans, Georgians and Jews, Persians and Lesgians. Turning to the religious statistics, we find an almost equally great variety—Greek-Orthodox, sectarians of every denomination, Gregorians, Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Mohammedans, Idolaters! Surely, in a nation which comprises so many races and so many religions, there must be many dangerous elements of discord and disruption. No doubt there are; but the danger is not nearly so great as at first sight appears. Though there are many races, the Russians compose four-fifths of the population. The Finns show the respectable number of more than four millions and a half, but they have no nationality, in the political sense. The word includes a dozen tribes, which have no common language, no recollection of political unity, no special bond of sympathy with each other, and which are being rapidly Russianized. The Jews amount to nearly two millions and a half; but in Russia, as elsewhere, the children of Israel have no separatist political aspirations. The only nationality likely to cause the Russians any serious trouble is the Poles, and they have very little chance of ever regaining their political independence, which would be a thorn in the side not only of Russia but also of Germany and Austria. The Baltic Provinces are sometimes supposed to have a better chance. The inhabitants, it is said, are Germans; and though they have little power of their own, they may, perhaps, induce Bismarck, or one of his successors, to espouse their cause and unite them with the German Fatherland from which they have been so long separated. To those who speak in this way it must be admitted that everything is possible; but it must be added that there are probable things and improbable things, and that the annexation of the Baltic Provinces by Germany belongs decidedly to the improbable. The majority of the population are not German but Finnish. The nobles and the commercial classes are alone German, and they cannot reasonably desire annexation to Germany, for they would thereby lose the important advantages afforded them by their present anomalous position. The nobles supply a very large proportion of the Russian “generals,” civil and military, and play a far more important part than they could possibly play in the German Empire. In like manner the commercial classes would greatly suffer by annexation, for the commercial importance of the provinces would be immensely diminished if they ceased to be Russian.

CHAPTER IX.

TRADE AND INDUSTRIES.

IN a country with so many nationalities we naturally expect to find an endless variety of curious primitive industries, and we think with pleasure of the neat, original objects that we will take home as presents to our friends and relations. Perhaps we even dream of making a little Russian museum in our library, and are impatient to go to the bazaars. Let us go thither by all means. The bazaar is in the "Chinese Town," close to the Kremlin, so that on our way we can have another look at those picturesque old walls and fantastic towers. But we must not expect to find many curiosities for our museum, or we will inevitably be disappointed. Neither the Russians nor the various tribes which they have annexed are very remarkable for mechanical ingenuity or refined natural taste. In many parts of the country there are peculiar local industries; but of the articles produced very many—such as big boxes, tubs, stoneware jars, and wooden sledges—cannot be conveniently stowed away in a portmanteau; and others—such as nails, tar, and tallow—are scarcely suitable for presents. Still there are a few objects that will suit our purpose. Some heretical foreigners buy unconsecrated Icons as mantelpiece ornaments, and purchase largely cloth of gold and silver, from which ecclesiastical vestments are made, for the purpose of making window-curtains and covering drawing-room furniture; but it is to be hoped that we have sufficient veneration for things sacred not to encourage such a practice. We may, however, buy as a curiosity some specimens of the cloth of gold, much of which is extremely beautiful in design and workmanship. From the numerous patterns, many of which are commonplace and gaudy, we will have no difficulty in selecting specimens of genuine old Byzantine ornamentation. Then there are the enamels. If we can find a good specimen of what the French call *émail cloisonné*, we may safely give a good price for it, and not regret our bargain. If nothing of that kind is to be had, we may invest in a few of the ordinary modern enameled cups. Many of them are exquisite both in design and color. The *niello* work, too, can be recommended. But the



A RUSSIAN INN.

most thoroughly original of all is the lace and the embroidery on towels, both of which are made by the peasantry according to traditional models.

Now that we have completed our purchases, let us go and have some refreshment in a "traktir"—a genuine national institution where we are likely to find some "local color." There is a large one close by, and we are sure to find there some good specimens of the Russian merchant class.

The room is not very large, and a considerable part of it is occupied by the enormous automatic barrel-organ, which reaches to the ceiling, and is intended to represent an entire orchestra. The instrument might perhaps be pleasant in a gigantic hall; but here, in this small, low-roofed apartment, it is simply deafening, so that we cannot but think, with all due deference to Muscovite taste, that the ten thousand

dollars expended on its construction might have been more profitably employed. Such, however, is not the opinion of the native inmates, and they ought to know best. They thoroughly enjoy the harmonious din, and delight especially in the deep bass notes that make the building shake. In the music there is nothing Russian or peculiar. It is simply a collection of the Italian operatic airs which organ-grinders patronize, and the instrument is merely a magnified, intensified barrel-organ, such as a bilious man might see and hear in a horrible nightmare. Next to the organ the most conspicuous object in the room is the big tea-urn, which likewise reaches almost to the ceiling, and has from its magnitude also a nightmare look about it. How many gallons of boiling water it may contain we know not, but we have no doubt that if the quantity could be calculated the result would cause no little astonishment. It forms the centre of activity in the place, and round it collect the waiters—active, intelligent youths, dressed in white trousers and light silk shirts worn in the form of a blouse, who dart about like swallows. The third object in the order of magnitude is that portly Muscovite who sits by the window—as round and almost as capacious as the tea-urn. He has just finished his sixth tumblerful of scalding tea, and shows no signs of flagging. Had weak tea been the beverage in which the old Teutonic topers indulged, that worthy Slav might have held his own among them, and worthily upheld at the great drinking-bouts the honor of his race. As it is, he has no consciousness of being anything heroic, any more than the old giants were when they went about their daily avocations. He is merely drinking his tea in a quiet, steady, business-like way, as a respectable, weighty Moscow merchant should do; and, as to the quantity, it is nothing more than he and his fellow-merchants are accustomed to. His neighbor, it is true—that lean, white-haired man—cannot keep pace with him, but that is not wonderful, for he is not a genuine Russian merchant—at least, he was not so born and bred. Though the two men are now on a certain footing of equality, both being weighty men on 'Change, their past history is very different. The capacious gentleman is the son of a peasant, and was in his youth a serf like his father. By his own efforts he scaled the ladder of fortune—no one but himself knows precisely how, for he never troubles his friends with autobiographical details; and now he is one of the richest men in the city. A stranger, judging by his appearance, might

reasonably hesitate before lending him a shilling, but any one at all acquainted with the commercial world of Moscow would know that his word is good for several hundred thousand roubles. His friend beside him is of a very different origin. He was born a noble, received a good education, and was for some time a professor in the University. He loved letters, but he loved financing still more; and when limited liability companies came into fashion he launched boldly into numerous speculations, and rapidly amassed a large fortune. The third person at that table by the window represents another category of merchants —a category that is as yet not very numerous. Like the portly personage, he is of humble origin; but, unlike him, he is a man of some education. His father, though not very wealthy, had been able to send him to school, so that now he is not only well grounded in the three R's, but can even speak French. His accent, it is true, is far from perfect, and his grammar is by no means faultless; but he can talk well enough for all practical commercial purposes, and that amply satisfies his linguistic ambition. The other guests almost all belong, like these, to the commercial world. Some of them indulge in caviar, sterlet, sturgeon, fish-soup, pickled cucumbers, buckwheat, and other favorite Russian viands, but the majority confine themselves to weak tea, flavored with lemon, of which they drink appalling quantities.

We must now, however, leave the ancient capital and take a glance at the provinces. To effect this we cannot do better than make a voyage down the Volga. We can get on board at Yaroslaff, and sail down with the current for five or six days. As the weather promises to be fine, we shall no doubt find it very pleasant. But how are we to get to Yaroslaff? As to that, there is no difficulty, for the distance is only about one hundred and thirty-five miles, and there is a railway all the way. You calculate accordingly that the journey will take five or six hours, and that you will make it in the day time, so as to get an idea of the country through which the railway passes. If you really mean to do it in this way you must order a special train. Of the ordinary trains, including expresses, there is only one in the twenty-four hours, and it does not fulfill the required conditions. Instead of five or six hours, it takes eleven or twelve, and it starts about nine o'clock in the evening. We may, however, make a compromise. There is a morning train to Troitsa, about two hours' distance from



GRAND DUKE MICHAEL, COMMANDER OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY IN ASIA.

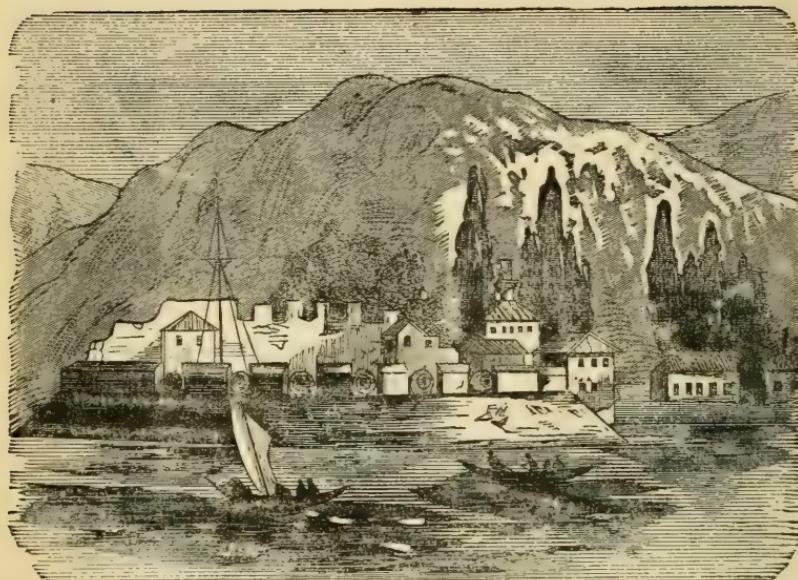
Moscow, on the Yaroslaff line. We can spend a day agreeably in visiting the famous monastery, the name of which is familiar to every Russian, for there would be great difficulty in finding a genuine Russian peasant, either on this side or the other side of the Ural, who has

never heard of Troitsa. Often in some distant village, where you might think that the inhabitants had never been, metaphorically speaking, "half a mile from home," you may light on old men and women who have not only heard of the famous monastery, but have also seen it, and can describe it graphically in all its details. The explanation of this is that Russian peasants are much given to making pilgrimages, and regard it as an occupation very useful not only with a view to eternal salvation but also for the cure of bodily evils. Many are the wonderful cures that have been effected in this way, when all the ordinary resources of medicine and magic have proved unavailing. The blind have been made to see, the deaf to hear, the lame to walk, and we know not what more besides. The scientific reader here wishes, no doubt, to put a question or two: Are these so-called miracles well authenticated? Might not the cures, even when proved as facts, be simply fortuitous coincidences? Or, if this cannot be admitted, may we not assume that unusually strong faith may have some as yet uninvestigated physiological influence, which has nothing whatever to do with supernatural power? To all of which queries we must reply as the Scotchman did to his obstinate friend, who persisted in asking him whether a bee was a beast or a bird: "Don't trouble me with theological questions."

Whether these alleged cures are natural, supernatural, or mythical the peasants believed in them as firmly as they do in Holy Writ—rather more firmly, probably, for they know very little of what Holy Writ contains, and they do know all the minute details of many such miracles. Pilgrimage-making is, accordingly, a favorite occupation for aged peasants, and Orthodox believers look on Troitsa and Kief with much the same feelings as the good Mussulman looks on Bokhara and Mecca. In Russia the ecclesiastical world has not yet been invaded by the spirit of modern enterprise. There are as yet no "Cook's Tourists" even in the secular world. The noble, it is true, who determines to visit one of the sacred places will probably "take the liberty to boil his peas," or, in plain language, avail himself of the railways and other means of conveyance; but the peasant still performs this part of his religious duties in the old ascetic style—trudging all the way, with staff and wallet, as his forefathers did before him, without knowing much about the road, and with very little money in his pocket. The word "pocket," be it remarked parenthetically, is

here used in a metaphorical sense, for the Russian peasant commonly carries his money, not in his pocket, but in his boot!

Seen from a little distance, this Monastery of Troitsa—or, more correctly, of St. Sergius—has somewhat the look of an old fortress; and well it may, for it was during several centuries a very strongly fortified place, and the valiant monks were always ready to defend it obstinately when occasion demanded. When the Poles and Cossacks overran the country, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, they did not succeed in getting possession of this stronghold; and the Superior played a conspicuous part in the patriotic movement by which those invaders were expelled. During the French invasion of 1812 it had similar good fortune, or, to speak more reverentially, it was again miraculously saved from the sacrilegious hands of heretics and unbelievers. At that time the French troops desecrated the churches in the Kremlin of Moscow, appropriated all the valuables they found in them, and showed their enlightened hostility to superstition by disinterring and treating contemptuously the bodies of saints and martyrs. Hearing that there was a famous and wealthy monastery about forty miles to the north, they sent some troops thither, it is said, for the purpose of desecrating and pillaging; but the troops somehow lost their way, or were afraid of venturing too far from the main army, and never reached their destination. So, at least, we have been told; but, true or not, the story is at least edifying, and teaches the moral that the Monastery of St. Sergius is still, even in modern times, under the special protection of Heaven. Had the French succeeded in taking the place they would have been well rewarded for their trouble, for the treasury contains ecclesiastical vessels, vestments, and other objects of enormous value. One may behold there, in the course of a few minutes, more pearls than one is likely to see elsewhere in a lifetime. What their quality is we know not; but if it is at all in proportion to their quantity, then it is a pity that an institution, which is by no means fabulously rich, should keep such an enormous capital in an unproductive form. Might not the precious stones be sold and the interest of the capital devoted to education or some benevolent purpose? Such is the idea that naturally occurs to the secular mind; but secular minds, we have been told, ought not to meddle with ecclesiastical, and especially with monastic affairs. To a suggestion of the kind any of the monks might reply:



FORT BUYUK LIMAN, BLACK SEA.

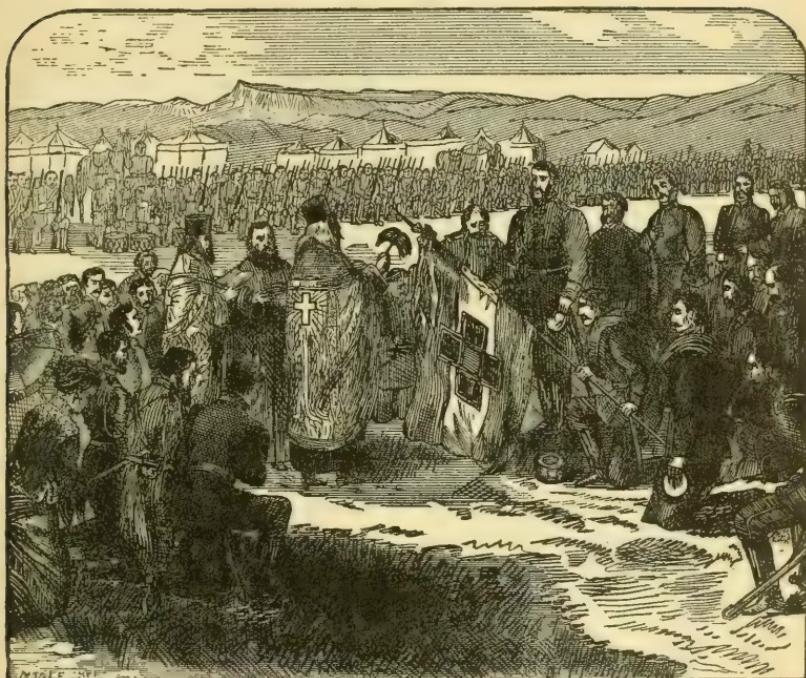
"Our present riches are not a tithe of what we formerly possessed. In old times we had vast landed possessions and thousands of serfs, and people of all classes gave us of their abundance. Now all is changed. Our lands and serfs were confiscated without compensation a century ago, and the voluntary contributions do not flow in so liberally as of old. Notwithstanding all that, we feed the hungry and do much for education. If you look into that large hall over the way you will see a goodly number of pilgrims eating the dinner provided for them free of charge, and if you visit those other buildings you will find that we have a theological academy which we have no need to be ashamed of. Many Bishops and Archbishops of the Russian Church have received their education there. Besides this, we have prosperous schools. The vessels and vestments you saw are for us sacred things, which should not be sold. Man does not live by bread alone."

Though the monks may be expected to bear constantly in mind this last dictum, the creature comforts are not entirely neglected in Troitsa. There is a tolerable hotel belonging to the monastery, and here we can have not only the delicate karassi, which are caught in the ponds close

by, but also beef, mutton, and other viands from which monks are debarred by the rules of the Church. All monks in Russia follow the rules of St. Basil—or, at least, profess to follow them, which we may charitably suppose for our present purpose to be the same thing—and these rules prohibit the use of animal food. They are binding, however, only on those who take the vows, so that we may enjoy a good dinner of the ordinary kind without qualms of conscience. The afternoon we spend in strolling about and conversing with the pilgrims, many of whom come from great distances, and in the evening we return to the station and continue our journey. Soon the night closes in, but we do not thereby lose much in the way of scenery. The country which we traverse is, like nearly the whole of the northern half of Russia, a land of forest and morass, with here and there a village and an adjoining patch of cultivation. By the time we reach Rostoff, the only place of interest on the route, the sun has already risen. Rostoff is a very old town, and was in ancient times the capital of an independent principality, the Princes of which were rivals of the Princes of Moscow. The family is—if genealogical records are to be trusted—still extant, and one member of it is at this moment an officer of the Imperial Administration. But the glory of the family has long since departed, and the city has become an ordinary provincial town, celebrated chiefly for its annual fair. There are several monasteries in the town and suburbs, and one of them is curious as having been founded by a Tartar! This will seem to modern ears a somewhat startling announcement, but in reality it contains nothing very wonderful or improbable. Remember that the Tartars were not always Mohammedans. When they conquered Russia, in the thirteenth century, they were Pagans, with a rude polytheism of some kind, but with none of that religious intolerance which Monotheism engenders. All foreign religions they treated with impartiality, and even with a certain respect. With the Russian clergy they lived on very good terms, and one of the Khans used to attend occasionally a Christian place of worship. Tartar princesses who married Russian princes, and Tartar nobles who entered a Russian Prince's service, naturally adopted Christianity, just as Protestant Princesses of the present day join the Greek Orthodox Church when about to marry the heir apparent to the Russian throne. Even missionaries, it seems, were allowed to visit the Tartar camp, and by these various means a certain number

of Tartars became Christians. Thus it was that the son of a certain Khan founded a monastery at Rostoff, and after his death he became a saint of the Russian Church! Unfortunately, the mass of his people did not follow his worthy example. On the contrary, they adopted Mohammedanism, and from that time there were no more conversions to Christianity. We have here an instance of those apparently fortuitous events which exercise an incalculable influence on human history. If the Tartars and their cousins the Turks had adopted Christianity instead of Islamism, how different the history of Eastern Europe would have been!

After leaving Rostoff, which, by-the-by, must not be confounded with the town of the same name on the Don, we arrive in about two hours at Yaroslaff, which was also at one time the capital of an independent principality. It is a very fair specimen of Russian provincial towns. What strikes the traveller most is the large number of churches—a peculiarity which gives the place a picturesque appearance. Like Russian churches in general, they have bright green roofs, out of which rise one or five painted cupolas—green, blue, or gilt—and some of them have curious, picturesque belfries. The interior of the town is less pleasing than the view from a distance. The streets are infamously paved; very many of the houses are in a by no means satisfactory state of repair; and there is in general a look of carelessness and squalor. After the churches and monasteries, which seem to be out of all proportion to the number of inhabitants, the largest buildings are the Government offices, which look into a vast open space—something between a square and a big fallow field of wilderness. Running parallel with this open space, behind a row of irregular houses, is the Promenade—a long, shady walk, overlooking the river and the flat country beyond. If tradition is to be trusted, this Promenade had a rather curious origin. The story deserves to be recorded, as illustrating “the good old times” which have only recently passed away. It was to the following effect: Some time during the first quarter of the present century a fabulously rich merchant of the town was convicted of forgery and sentenced to transportation for life. Under ordinary circumstances this commercial Cresus might easily have escaped, for he was willing to pay a very large sum for his release, and the Russian officials of that time were fearfully corrupt; but the Governor of Yaroslaff happened to be, by some accident, an honest



CONSECRATION OF A BULGARIAN BANNER.

man, and stubbornly refused to be bribed. In spite of refusals, the efforts were continued, and at last it occurred to the Governor that the sums offered him might be usefully employed for some public object. A proposition was therefore made to the culprit that if he would give 150,000 roubles for the construction of a promenade on the high bank of the river, he would be allowed to escape the penalty of the law. The proposal was accepted, and the money paid, and then began the process of effecting the arrangement with all the appearance of legality. This is the most curious part of the affair. Though the Governor was a powerful man and could do all manner of unlawful things, he had to respect all forms and formalities most scrupulously, like an ordinary mortal. A little official comedy, therefore, had to be played. One document certified that the prisoner had died, and another, duly signed, gave the results of the post-mortem examination. Then the coffin, which was supposed to contain the remains of the deceased, received the rites of Christian burial, and some more official docu-

ments were drawn up and signed. Everything was done in such perfect order that had the affair been afterwards investigated it would have been found that no irregularity had been committed. And no one had any reason to complain. The culprit got off with a heavy fine, which taught him, let us hope, to avoid forgery for the future; the Governor had the satisfaction of feeling that he had conferred a great benefit on the town, and the inhabitants received a very agreeable promenade without being obliged to pay for its construction.

At the end of the Promenade, overlooking the river and the wilderness aforesaid, stands a long, high edifice, built originally in the barracks style of architecture, but now adorned, somewhat incoherently, with Corinthian columns. This is the Lyceum, founded for the benefit of the nobles of the province by a member of the wealthy Demidof family, and now transformed into a school of law for the benefit of the whole Empire. There are juridical faculties in all the Universities—in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kharkof, Kief, Odessa, and Dorpat—but this is the only public school devoted exclusively to the study of law. Let us enter and get some idea of what a Russian school of law is. We cannot but be charmed by the general appearance of the interior. The rooms are large, well ventilated, scrupulously clean, and in every respect admirably arranged. Here is a framed document showing the course of study. The completeness of it is very surprising, and certainly not to be expected in this out-of-the-way corner of the world. There are lectures on all kinds of law—Roman, Russian, commercial, criminal, international—and also on cognate subjects, such as juridical philosophy, political economy, and finance. Youths who try to master all these subjects in three or four years are apt to get a mere smattering of many things without thoroughly mastering any. But a few minutes' conversation with the enlightened director suffice to allay our fears on this score. Whilst maintaining that a course of study should be wide and “liberal” in the best sense of the term, he recognizes that the students should confine their best energies to a few fundamental subjects, and regard the others as merely subsidiary and complementary. From the class-rooms we pass to the library, where we find over nine thousand independent works—perhaps twice as many volumes—in various European languages. But the most interesting part at the present moment is a very remarkable collection of books relating to the

Slavonic province of Turkey, and in general to the Eastern Question. On that subject we can get here the most complete information, in important contributions from Germany, France, and the Slavs themselves. Altogether, the arrangements are so well adapted to the wants of the studious that we feel inclined to sit down and begin at once a long course of reading and study. But we must not yield to the temptation, for a great part of our proposed tour lies before us.

The Volga need not detain us very long. If we made the voyage in the flesh we should have to devote to it at least five or six days; but making it as we are doing, we may accomplish it in a very few minutes. The banks on both sides for some time after leaving Yaroslaff are flat and uninteresting, and, with the exception of the large and much-venerated monastery to the right, we notice nothing worthy of special attention till we reach Kostroma, a considerable town, picturesquely situated on a bit of rising ground to the left. Had we time to disembark here we should be sure of a hearty welcome from the worthy and hospitable Vice-Governor. Let us employ the few minutes at our disposal to pay our respects to him, and then go on by the steamer. The night is spent in groping our way cautiously among shoals and sand-banks, and some time on the morrow we arrive at Nizhni-Novgorod. As the Great Fair is at present going on, we must remain here for at least a few hours. All who take the least interest in Russia have heard of this great annual gathering, which is sometimes spoken of as if it were one of the seven wonders of the world. We must not, however, expect to find anything very wonderful. In former times, perhaps, when Russian commerce was in a more primitive condition, the Great Fair was really a most interesting institution. Old men relate how numerous merchants from China and from all the petty states of Central Asia used to bring their goods hither for sale; and how landed proprietors from all parts of the country used to come hither for the purpose of laying in their yearly supply of household goods. But all this has been to a great extent modified by the construction of railways and similar causes. Traders and purchasers still come from all parts of the country, but they are by no means so numerous; and the number of Asiatics which one meets is very small. Much has been done, however, for the convenience of those who do come. Instead of the miserable wooden sheds in which the merchandise was formerly stored, there are now long rows of brick buildings;

and the spaces between them, though muddy enough in wet weather, can at all times be forded by those who prudently provide themselves with high boots. For those who wish to study the peculiar conditions of Russian trade, two or three weeks may be profitably employed here, but the mere tourist who is in search of nothing more serious than "first impressions" will find a few hours quite sufficient for his purpose. By that time he will have seen specimens enough of the big burly Russian merchant, the patient, listless peasant, the unmistakable, irrepressible Jew, the picturesque Georgian, the polite, keen-eyed Persian, and the numerous kinds of merchandise which these various personages offer for sale.

At Nizhni we leave the small, uncomfortable, flat-bottomed steamer in which we have hitherto travelled, and get on board a large commodious steamer built on the American model and resembling closely those that ply on the Hudson and the Mississippi. From the spacious upper deck we can enjoy at our ease what little scenery there is to see. The left bank is flat and uninteresting, but the right bank sometimes rises to a considerable height in a gently sloping fashion, and occasionally a town or village is seen on the slope. On both sides there are pretty bits of wooding, and on the whole the scenery, though tame, is pleasing enough. Though it is a land with which we have few bonds of sympathy, and the names of the places we pass are to us but empty sounds, which convey no idea and awaken no old memories, yet the country through which we are passing has its historical associations, like other countries. To the north lies the land of the Tcheremiss, and to the south the land of the Tchuvash, and in both of them many a stubborn battle was fought between Russians and Finns. In this valley of the Volga many a time the Tartar hordes swept along like a whirlwind, spreading death and devastation in their track. There, beside that old monastery, sacred to Macarius, is a spot which for every Russian must be classic ground, for it is there that was held, in ancient times, the Great Fair that is now held at Nizhni. We soon reach Kazan, once the capital of an independent Khanate, which was captured by Ivan the Terrible, and where many a brave Russian found a grave before its walls. At the junction of the Volga with the Kama, which comes down from the Ural Mountains, is a monument still more ancient and venerable. Not far from the river, and almost visible from the deck of the steamer, stands the ruins of the old town of



A MILITARY RECEPTION IN ST. PETERSBURG.

Bolgari, an ancient capital of the people who are now settled to the south of the Danube and are known by the name of Bulgarians. Next comes, high up on the left bank, the town of Simbirsk, about which there is not much to be said, except that it was entirely destroyed by fire some fifteen years ago, and has since been rebuilt. Then the Zhiguli hills heave in sight, rich in traditions as the Rhine-land, and once frequented by freebooters daring as those of the Scottish Highlands, whom Walter Scott has immortalized !

At Tsaritsin we leave the steamer and cross over to the Don, which is only about thirty or forty miles distant. Whilst driving through the town, preparatory to starting, we notice one thing that is very characteristic. On the market-place and close to the railway station we observe two strange looking tents, and on going nearer, we see that it is a little colony of Kalmucks. Such are the curious contrasts to be found in Russia—pastoral nomads and railway porters within a stone throw of each other.

After a fearful amount of jolting on the execrably constructed

railway, which here connects the Volga with the Don, we reach Kalatch and get on board the steamer. The scenery of the Don is still less interesting than that of the Volga, and the navigation, in spite of the flat bottoms and small draught of the steamers, is still more intricate and difficult. We have, however, the feeling that we are at least in a semi-historical country. We have all heard of the famous Cossacks of the Don—though we may know little about the details of their history and their long struggle with the Tartars—and, accordingly, we look with interest at the specimens which we meet on board. Fine, big, muscular fellows they are, and much more amiable and communicative than their exterior would lead us to suppose. They are not a peculiar race, as is often supposed, but genuine Russians—the descendants of men who in old times fled from the central provinces to the Steppe, where they could lead the life of “bold borderers.” From their habit of capturing Tartar women they became to some extent a mixed race; but this admixture of Tartar blood was never very great, and did not much affect their character. Many of them, especially on the lower Don, are of dark complexion, and do not much resemble the fair-haired peasant of the north; but their features are thoroughly European, and they are thoroughly Russian both in language and sentiment. If you happen to hold any peculiar theory about the Cossacks being Tartars you had better not mention it in their presence, for they would consider the idea an insult, and they are not yet sufficiently imbued with the scientific spirit to discuss such questions with coolness and impartiality. They now compose a kind of irregular cavalry, and are of great use in such expeditions as the Russians have to make occasionally in Central Asia. Two good qualities, at least, they undoubtedly possess: they are individually brave, and they have the talent of being able to live and thrive where regular troops would starve. No doubt, in the present war they will thoroughly enjoy a brush with their old enemies, the Circassians, and there will probably be a good deal of “paying off old scores.”

On arriving at Rostoff—not, of course, the Rostoff already alluded to—near the mouth of the river, we find a railway that will convey us to the foot of the Caucasus. So recently as three years ago this journey had to be made with post-horses, and those who have made it in that primitive fashion will certainly congratulate themselves that it can

now be done in a more rapid way. To see a country and to know something about it, posting is a much better means of travelling than railways, and under ordinary circumstances the intelligent traveller will willingly bear the additional discomforts and annoyances for the sake of the additional advantages. But in a region like that which stretches from the mouth of the Don to the Caucasus these advantages form a poor compensation for the tedium and discomforts of the journey. The country is solemnizingly flat and very thinly populated, and between the post stations there is nothing to be seen but bare steppe. The only point of interest on the route is Piatigorsk, where five high isolated hills rise abruptly from the plain, and some rich mineral springs have created a town of considerable size and importance. From Piatigorsk onwards the route is more interesting, for in clear weather the main range of the Caucasus is clearly visible. Slowly but surely it approaches, increasing every hour in grandeur, till we find ourselves in Vladikavkaz on the Terek—a small town commanding the entrance to the famous Dariel Pass, through which we must drive hurriedly, admiring, of course, the grand scenery as we go, but refraining from all excursions in those tempting side valleys. First along the banks of the Terek; then through the narrow gorge and up to the bleak stations of Kazbek and Kobi; next over the high ridge, and then rapidly down by a tributary of the Kur to the smiling plains of Georgia. As we approach Tiflis we see before us one of the most picturesque towns in the world—half European, half Asiatic.

The railway from Tiflis to Poti is a new line, finished at great expense a few years ago. After passing over the Suram ridge the train descends by gradients, which make the unaccustomed traveller feel uncomfortably nervous, into the fertile valley of the Rion, and in the evening arrives at Poti, a small town at the mouth of the river.

It is a small place, built on a marsh, and so unwholesome that no inhabitant, it is said, escapes fever. The entrance to the port—if port it can be called—is so shallow that only flat-bottomed steamers can pass over the bar—a fact that explains why the Russians covet Batoum, a fine Turkish port a little further down the coast. In the course of a few hours we begin to feel the depressing effect of the heavy, feverish atmosphere, and are glad to get on board the steamer and take our departure.

A coasting voyage of two or three days brings us to classic ground

with which we are all familiar—Kertch, Theodosia, Balaklava, Sebastopol. Did time permit we should land at Kertch, and proceed by road, so as to enjoy fully the wonderful scenery along the coast; but our time is short, and we prefer devoting the little that remains at our disposal to visiting Sebastopol and its neighborhood. The town is still to a great extent in ruins. It is only since the abolition of the clause of the treaty of Paris relating to the Black Sea, that it has begun to show signs of revival. The subsequent completion of the railway uniting it with the rest of the Empire has laid for it the foundations of a new prosperity, but a death-like stillness continues to hang over the place. On the heights surrounding the city everything remains pretty much as it was when the Allies left it. With a melancholy interest we visit the places whose names are still so familiar to us, and here and there in some lonely spot we unexpectedly come upon a graveyard with English as well as Russian names on the tombstones.



RUSSIANS PREPARING SUPPLIES FOR THE HOSPITALS.

CHAPTER X.

RUSSIAN VILLAGE COMMUNITIES.

HAVING gained some notion of the habits and occupations of the peasantry, our attention will naturally turn to the constitution of the village. This is a subject of special interest, as the Mir, or village system, is the most peculiar of Russian institutions.

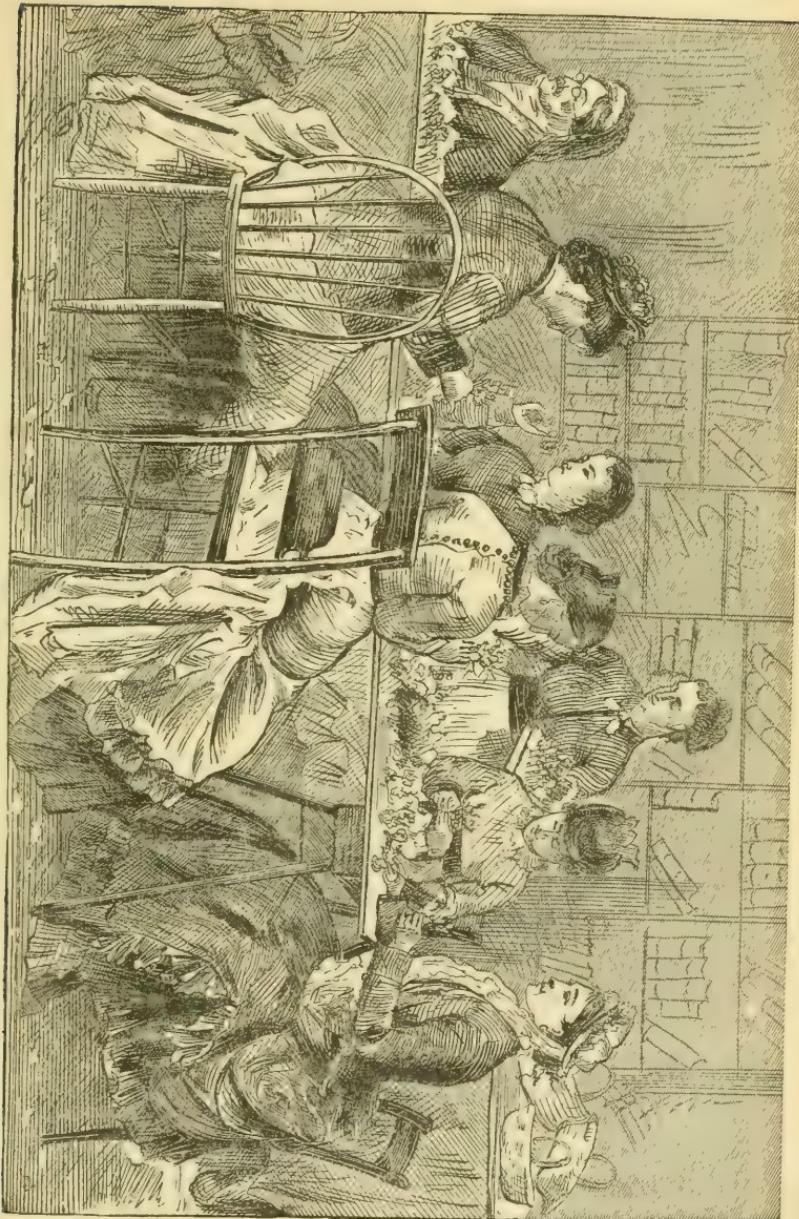
The peasant family of the old type is a kind of primitive association, in which the members have nearly all things in common. The village may be roughly described as a primitive association on a larger scale.

Between these two social units there are many points of analogy. In both there are common interests and common responsibilities. In both there is a principal personage, who is in a certain sense ruler within, and representative as regards the outside world; in the one case called Khozaiñ, or Head of the Household, and in the other Starosta, or Village Elder. In both the authority of the ruler is limited; in the one case by the adult members of the family, and in the other by the heads of households. In both there is a certain amount of common property; in the one case the house and nearly all that it contains, and in the other the arable land and pasture. In both cases there is a certain amount of common responsibility; in the one case for all the debts, and in the other for all the taxes and Communal obligations. And both are protected to a certain extent against the ordinary legal consequences of insolvency, for the family cannot be deprived of its house or necessary agricultural implements, and the Commune cannot be deprived of its land, by importunate creditors.

On the other hand, there are many important points of contrast. The Commune is, of course, much larger than the family, and the mutual relations of its members are by no means so closely interwoven. The members of a family all farm together, and those of them who earn money from other sources are expected to put their savings into the common purse; whilst the households composing a Commune farm independently, and pay into the common treasury only a certain fixed sum.

From these brief remarks the reader will at once perceive that a

Russian village is something very different from a village in our sense of the term, and that the villagers are bound together by ties quite unknown to the American rural population. A family living in an American village has little reason to take an interest in the affairs of its neighbors. The isolation of the individual families may not be quite perfect; for man, being a social animal, takes, and ought to take, a certain interest in the affairs of those around him, and this social duty is sometimes fulfilled by the weaker sex with more zeal than is absolutely indispensable for the public welfare; but families may live for many years in the same village without ever becoming conscious of common interests. So long as the Jones family do not commit any culpable breach of public order, such as putting obstructions on the highway or habitually setting their house on fire, their neighbor Brown takes probably no interest in their affairs, and has no ground for interfering with their perfect liberty of action. Jones may be a drunkard and hopelessly insolvent, and he may some night decamp clandestinely with his whole family and never more be heard of; but all these things do not affect the interests of Brown, unless he has been imprudent enough to entertain with the delinquent more than simple neighborly relations. Now, amongst the families composing a Russian village, such a state of isolation is impossible. The Heads of Households must often meet together and consult in the Village Assembly, and their daily occupations must be influenced by the Communal decrees. They cannot begin to mow the hay or plow the fallow field until the Village Assembly has passed a resolution on the subject. If a peasant becomes a drunkard, or takes some equally efficient means to become insolvent, every family in the village has a right to complain, not merely in the interests of public morality, but from selfish motives, because all the families are collectively responsible for his taxes. For the same reason no peasant can permanently leave the village without the consent of the Commune, and this consent will not be granted until the applicant gives satisfactory security for the fulfillment of all his actual and future liabilities. If a peasant wishes to go away for a short time, in order to work elsewhere, he must obtain a written permission, which serves him as a passport during his absence; and he may be recalled at any moment by a Communal decree. In reality he is rarely recalled so long as he sends home regularly the full amount of his taxes—including the dues



RUSSIAN LADIES PREPARING FOR A BANQUET.

which he has to pay for the temporary passport—but sometimes the Commune uses the power of recall for the purpose of extorting money from the absent member. If it becomes known, for instance, that an absent member receives a good salary in one of the towns, he may one day receive a formal order to return at once to his native village, and be informed at the same time, unofficially, that his presence will be dispensed with if he will send to the Commune a certain amount of money. The money thus sent is generally used by the Commune for convivial purposes.

In order to understand the Russian village system, the reader must bear in mind these two important facts: the arable land and the pasturage belong not to the individual houses, but to the Commune, and all the households are collectively and individually responsible for the entire sum which the Commune has to pay annually into the Imperial Treasury.

In all countries the theory of government and administration differs considerably from the actual practice. Nowhere is this difference greater than in Russia, and in no Russian institution is it greater than in the Village Commune. It is necessary, therefore, to know both theory and practice; and it is well to begin with the former, because it is the simpler of the two. When we have once thoroughly mastered the theory, it is easy to understand the deviations that are made to suit peculiar local conditions.

According, then, to theory, all male peasants in every part of the Empire are inscribed in census lists, which form the basis of the direct taxation. These lists are revised at irregular intervals, and all males alive at the time of the "revision," from the new-born babe to the centenarian, are duly inscribed. Each Commune has a list of this kind, and pays to the Government an annual sum proportionate to the number of names which the list contains, or, in popular language, according to the number of "revision souls." During the intervals between the revisions the financial authorities take no notice of the births and deaths. A Commune which has a hundred male members at the time of the revision may have in a few years considerably more or considerably less than that number, but it has to pay taxes for a hundred members all the same until a new revision is made for the whole Empire.

Now in Russia, so far at least as the rural population is concerned,

the payment of taxes is inseparably connected with the possession of land. Every peasant who pays taxes is supposed to have a share of the arable land and pasturage belonging to the Commune. If the Communal revision lists contain a hundred names, the Communal land ought to be divided into a hundred shares, and each "revision soul" should enjoy his share in return for the taxes which he pays.

The reader who has followed these explanations up to this point may naturally conclude that the taxes paid by the peasants are in reality a species of rent for the land which they enjoy. So it seems, and so it is sometimes represented, but so in reality it is not. When a man rents a bit of land he acts according to his own judgment, and makes a voluntary contract with the proprietor; but the Russian peasant is obliged to pay his taxes whether he desires to enjoy land or not. The theory, therefore, that the taxes are simply the rent of the land, will not bear even superficial examination. Equally untenable is the theory that they are a species of land-tax. In any reasonable system of land-dues the yearly sum imposed bears some kind of proportion to the quantity and quality of the land enjoyed; but in Russia it may be that the members of one Commune possess six acres, and the members of the neighboring Commune seven acres, and yet the taxes in both cases are the same. The truth is that the taxes are personal, and are calculated according to the number of male "souls," and the Government does not take the trouble to inquire how the Communal land is distributed. The Commune has to pay into the Imperial Treasury a fixed yearly sum, according to the number of its "revision souls," and distributes the land among its members as it thinks fit.

How, then, does the Commune distribute the land? To this question it is impossible to give a definite general reply, because each Commune acts as it pleases. Some act strictly according to the theory. These divide their land at the time of the revision into a number of portions or shares corresponding to the number of revision souls, and give to each family a number of shares corresponding to the number of revision souls which it contains. This is from the administrative point of view by far the simplest system. The census list determines how much land each family will enjoy, and the existing tenures are disturbed only by the revisions which take place at irregular intervals. Since 1719 only ten revisions have been made, so that the average length of these intervals has been about fifteen years—a term which

may be regarded as a tolerably long lease. But, on the other hand, this system has serious defects. The revision list represents merely the numerical strength of the families, and the numerical strength is often not at all in proportion to the working power. Let us suppose, for example, two families, each containing at the time of the revision five male members. According to the census list these two families are equal, and ought to receive equal shares of the land; but in reality it may happen that the one contains a father in the prime of life and four able-bodied sons, whilst the other contains a widow and five little boys. The wants and working power of these two families are of course very different; and if the above system of distribution be applied, the man with four sons and a goodly supply of grandchildren will probably find that he has too little land, whilst the widow with her five little boys will find it difficult to cultivate the five shares allotted to her, and utterly impossible to pay the corresponding amount of taxation—for in all cases, it must be remembered, the Communal burdens are distributed in the same proportion as the land.

But why, it may be said, should the widow not accept provisionally the five shares, and let to others the part which she does not require? The balance of rent after payment of the taxes might help her to bring up her young family.

So it seems to one acquainted only with the rural economy of countries where land is scarce, and always gives a revenue more than sufficient to defray the taxes. But in Russia the possession of a share of Communal land is often not a privilege, but a burden. In some Communes the land is so poor and abundant that it cannot be let at any price. Witness, for instance, many villages in the province of Smolensk, where the traveller may see numerous uncultivated strips in the Communal fields. In others the soil will repay cultivation, but a fair rent will not suffice to pay the taxes and dues.

To obviate these inconvenient results of the simpler system, some Communes have adopted the expedient of allotting the land, not according to the number of revision souls, but according to the working power of the families. Thus, in the instance above supposed, the widow would receive perhaps two shares, and the large household, containing five workers, would receive perhaps seven or eight. Since the breaking-up of the large families, such inequality is, of course, rare; but inequality of a less extreme kind does still occur, and justifies a departure from the system of allotment according to the revision lists.



A REUNION OF RUSSIAN SOLDIERS.

Even if the allotment be fair and equitable at the time of the revision, it may soon become unfair and burdensome by the natural fluctuations of the population. Births and deaths may in the course of a very few years entirely alter the relative working power of the various families. The sons of the widow may grow up to manhood, whilst two or three able-bodied members of the other family may be cut off by an epidemic. Thus, long before a new revision takes place, the distribution of the land may be no longer in accordance with the wants and capacities of the various families composing the Commune. To correct this, various expedients are employed. Some Communes transfer particular lots from one family to another, as circumstances demand; whilst others make from time to time, during the intervals between the revisions, a complete re-distribution and re-allotment of the land.

The system of allotment adopted depends entirely on the will of the particular Commune. In this respect the Communes enjoy the most complete autonomy, and no peasant ever dreams of appealing against a Communal decree. The higher authorities not only abstain from all

interference in the allotment of the Communal lands, but remain in profound ignorance as to which system the Communes habitually adopt. Though the Imperial Administration has a most voracious appetite for symmetrically-constructed statistical tables, no attempt has yet been made to collect statistical data which might throw light on this important subject. In spite of the systematic and persistent efforts of the centralized bureaucracy to regulate minutely all departments of the national life, the rural Communes, which contain about five-sixths of the population, remain in many respects entirely beyond its influence, and even beyond its sphere of vision! But let not the reader be astonished overmuch. He will learn in time that Russia is the land of paradoxes; that in the great stronghold of Cæsarian despotism and centralized bureaucracy, these Village Communes, containing about five-sixths of the population, are capital specimens of representative Constitutional governments of the extreme democratic type!

Their constitution is not a formal document, in which the functions of the various institutions, the powers of the various authorities, and all the possible methods of procedure are carefully defined; but a body of unwritten, traditional conceptions, which have grown up and modified themselves under the influence of ever-changing practical necessity. If the functions and mutual relations of the Village Elder and the Assembly have ever been defined, neither the Elders nor the members of the Assembly know anything of such definitions; and yet every peasant knows, as if by instinct, what each of these authorities can and cannot do. The Commune is, in fact, a living institution, whose spontaneous vitality enables it to dispense with the assistance and guidance of the written law.

As to its thoroughly democratic character there can be no possible doubt. The Elder represents merely the executive power. All the real authority resides in the Assembly, of which all Heads of Households are members.

The simple procedure, or rather the absence of all formal procedure, at the Assemblies illustrates admirably the essentially practical character of the institution. The meetings are held in the open air, because in the village there is no building—except the church, which can be used only for religious purposes—large enough to contain all the members; and they almost always take place on Sundays or holidays, when the peasants have plenty of leisure. Any open space,

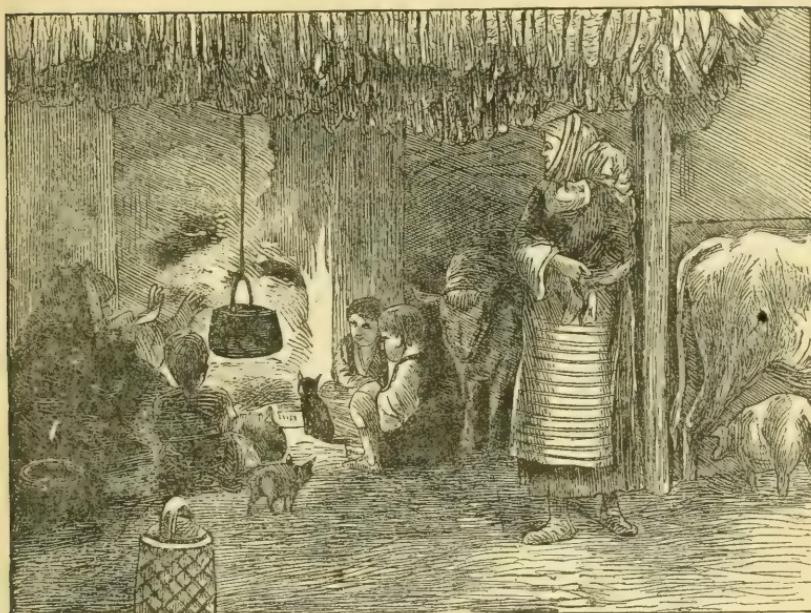
where there is sufficient room and little mud, serves as a Forum. The discussions are occasionally very animated, but there is rarely any attempt at speech-making. If any young member should show an inclination to indulge in oratory, he is sure to be unceremoniously interrupted by some of the older members, who have never any sympathy with fine talking. The whole assemblage has the appearance of a crowd of people who have accidentally come together, and are discussing in little groups subjects of local interest. Gradually one group, containing two or three peasants who have more moral influence than their fellows, attracts the others, and the discussion becomes general. Two or more peasants may speak at a time, and interrupt each other freely—using plain, unvarnished language, not at all parliamentary—and the discussion may become for a few moments a confused, unintelligible noise; but at the moment when the spectator imagines that the consultation is about to be transformed into a promiscuous fight, the tumult spontaneously subsides, or perhaps a general roar of laughter announces that some one has been successfully hit by a strong *argumentum ad hominem*, or biting personal remark. In any case there is no danger of the disputants coming to blows. No class of men in the world is more good-natured and pacific than the Russian peasantry. When sober they never fight, and even when under the influence of alcohol they are more likely to be violently affectionate than disagreeably quarrelsome. If two of them take to drinking together, the probability is that in a few minutes, though they may never have seen each other before, they will be expressing in very strong terms their mutual regard and affection, confirming their words with an occasional friendly embrace.

Theoretically speaking, the Village Parliament has a Speaker, in the person of a Village Elder. The word Speaker is etymologically less objectionable than the term President, for the personage in question never sits down, but mingles in the crowd like the ordinary members. The Elder is officially the principal personage in the crowd, and wears the insignia of office in the form of a small medal suspended from his neck by a thin brass chain. His duties, however, are extremely light. To call to order those who interrupt the discussion is no part of his function. If he calls an honorable member *Durák* (blockhead), or interrupts an orator with a laconic “*Moltchi!*” (hold your tongue!), he does so in virtue of no special prerogative, but simply in accordance

with a time-honored privilege, which is equally enjoyed by all present, and may be employed with impunity against himself. Indeed, it may be said in general that the phraseology and the procedure are not subjected to any strict rules. The Elder comes prominently forward only when it is necessary to take the sense of the meeting. On such occasions he may stand back a little from the crowd and say, "Well, orthodox, have you decided so?" and the crowd will probably shout, "Ladno! ladno!" that is to say, "Agreed! agreed!"

Communal measures are generally carried in this way by acclamation; but it sometimes happens that there is such a decided diversity of opinion that it is difficult to tell which of the two parties has a majority. In this case the Elder requests the one party to stand to the right and the other to the left. The two groups are then counted, and the minority submits, for no one ever dreams of opposing openly the will of the Commune.

In the crowd may generally be seen, especially in the northern provinces, where a considerable portion of the male population is always absent from the village, a certain number of female peasants. These are women who, on account of the absence or death of their husbands, happen to be for the moment Heads of Households. As such they are entitled to be present, and their right to take part in the deliberations is never called in question. In matters affecting the general welfare of the Commune they rarely speak, and if they do venture to express an opinion on such occasions they have little chance of commanding attention, for the Russian peasantry are as yet little imbued with the modern doctrines of female equality, and express their opinion of female intelligence by the homely adage: "The hair is long, but the mind is short." According to one proverb, seven women have collectively but one soul, and according to a still more ungallant popular saying, women have no souls at all, but only a vapor. Woman, therefore, as woman, is not deserving of much consideration, but a particular woman, as head of a household is entitled to speak on all questions directly affecting the household under her care. If, for instance, it be proposed to increase or diminish her household's share of the land and the burdens, she will be allowed to speak freely on the subject, and even to indulge in a little personal invective against her male opponents. She thereby exposes herself, it is true, to uncomplimentary remarks; but any which she happens to receive she will



RUSSIAN PEASANTS AT HOME.

probably repay with interest—referring, perhaps, with pertinent virulence to the domestic affairs of those who attack her. And when argument and invective fail, she is pretty sure to try the effect of pathetic appeal, supported by copious tears—a method of persuasion to which the Russian peasant is singularly insensible.

The Assembly discusses all matters affecting the Communal welfare, and, as these matters have never been legally defined, and there is no means of appealing against its decisions, its recognized competence is very wide. It fixes the time for making the hay, and the day for commencing the plowing of the fallow field; it decrees what measures shall be employed against those who do not punctually pay their taxes; it decides whether a new member shall be admitted into the Commune, and whether an old member shall be allowed to change his domicile; it gives or withholds permission to erect new buildings on the Communal land; it prepares and signs all contracts which the Commune makes with one of its own members or with a stranger; it interferes, whenever it thinks necessary, in the domestic affairs of its

members; it elects the Elder—as well as the Communal tax collector, and watchman, where such offices exist—and the Communal herd-boy; above all, it divides and allots the Communal land among the members as it thinks fit.

Of all these various proceedings, the reader may naturally assume that the elections are the most noisy and exciting. In reality this is a mistake. The elections produce little excitement, for the simple reason that, as a rule, no one desires to be elected. Once, it is said, a peasant who had been guilty of some misdemeanor was informed by an Arbiter of the Peace, that he would be no longer capable of filling any Communal office; and instead of regretting this diminution of his civil rights, he bowed very low, and respectfully expressed his thanks for the new privilege which he had acquired. This anecdote may not be true, but it illustrates the undoubted fact that the Russian peasant regards office as a burden rather than as an honor. There is no civic ambition in those little rural Commonwealths, whilst the privilege of wearing a bronze medal, which commands no respect, and the reception of a few roubles as salary, afford no adequate compensation for the trouble, annoyance, and responsibility which a Village Elder has to bear. The elections are therefore generally very tame and uninteresting.

Far more important than the elections, is the redistribution of the Communal land. It can matter but little to the Head of a Household how the elections go, provided he himself is not chosen. But he cannot remain a passive, indifferent spectator, when the division and allotment of the land come to be discussed, for the material welfare of every household depends to a great extent on the amount of land and of burdens which it receives.

In the southern provinces, where the soil is fertile and the taxes do not exceed the normal rent, the process of division and allotment is comparatively simple. Here each peasant desires to get as much land as possible, and consequently each household demands all the land to which it is entitled—that is to say, a number of shares equal to the number of its members inscribed in the last revision list. The Assembly has, therefore, no difficult questions to decide. The Communal revision list determines the number of shares into which the land must be divided, and the number of shares to be allotted to each family. The only difficulty likely to arise is as to which particular shares a

particular family shall receive, and this difficulty is commonly obviated by the custom of casting lots. There may be, it is true, some difference of opinion as to when a redistribution should be made, but this question is easily decided by a simple vote of the Assembly.

Very different is the process of division and allotment in many Communes of the northern provinces. Here the soil is often very barren, and the taxes exceed the normal rent, and consequently it may happen that the peasants strive to have as little land as possible. After the number of shares for each family has been decided, the distribution of the lots gives rise to new difficulties. The families who have manured plentifully their land strive to get back their old lots, and the Commune respects their claims so far as these are consistent with the new arrangement; but often it happens that it is impossible to conciliate private rights and Communal interests, and in such cases the former are sacrificed in a way that would not be tolerated by men of Anglo-Saxon race. This leads, however, to no serious consequences. The peasants are accustomed to work together in this way, to make concessions for the Communal welfare, and to bow unreservedly to the will of the Commune. There are many instances where the peasants have set at defiance the authority of the police, of the provincial governor, and of the central Government itself, but we have never heard of any instance where the will of the Commune was openly opposed by one of its members.

In the preceding pages we have repeatedly spoken about "shares of the Communal land." To prevent misconception, we must explain carefully what this expression means. A share does not mean simply a plot or parcel of land; on the contrary, it always contains at least four, and may contain a large number of distinct plots.

Communal land in Russia is of three kinds: the land on which the village is built, the arable, and the meadow or hay-field. On the first of these each family possesses a house and garden, which are the hereditary property of the family, and are never affected by the periodical redistributions. The other two kinds are both subject to redistribution, but on somewhat different principles.

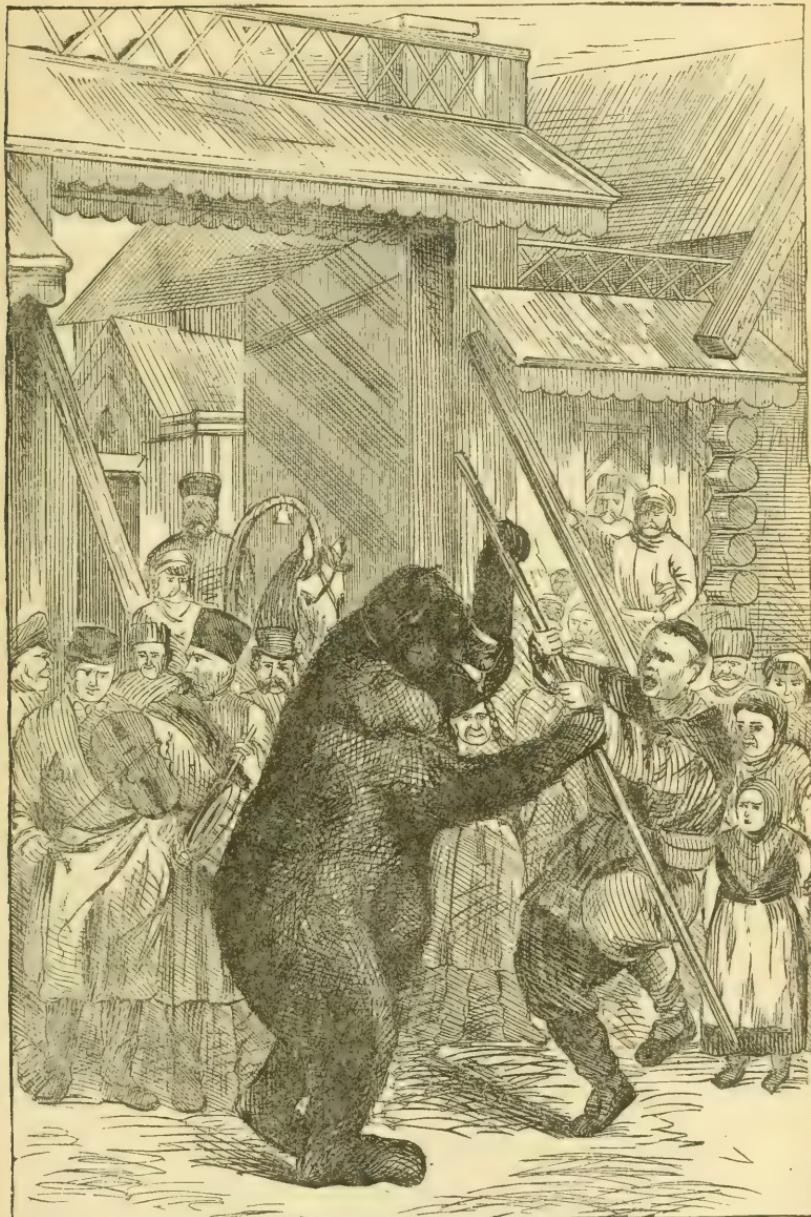
The whole of the Communal arable land is first of all divided into three fields, to suit the triennial rotation of crops already described, and each field is divided into a number of long narrow strips—corresponding to the number of male members in the Commune—as nearly

as possible equal to each other in area and quality. Sometimes it is necessary to divide the field into several portions, according to the quality of the soil, and then to subdivide each of these portions into the requisite number of strips. Thus in all cases every household possesses at least one strip in each field; and in those cases where subdivision is necessary, every household possesses a strip in each of the portions into which the field is subdivided. This complicated process of division and subdivision is accomplished by the peasants themselves, with the aid of simple measuring-rods, and the accuracy of the result is truly marvelous.

The meadow, which is reserved for the production of hay, is divided into the same number of shares as the arable land. There, however, the division and distribution take place not at irregular intervals, but annually. Every year, on a day fixed by the Assembly, the villagers proceed in a body to this part of their property, and divide it into the requisite number of portions. Lots are then cast, and each family at once mows the portion allotted to it. In some Communes the meadow is mown by all the peasants in common, and the hay afterwards distributed by lot among the families; but this system is by no means so frequently used.

As the whole of the Communal land thus resembles to some extent a big farm, it is necessary to make certain rules concerning cultivation. A family may sow what it likes in the land allotted to it, but all families must at least conform to the accepted system of rotation. In like manner, a family cannot begin the autumn plowing before the appointed time, because it would thereby interfere with the rights of the other families, who use the fallow field as pasturage.

It is not a little strange that this primitive system of land tenure should have succeeded in living into the nineteenth century, and still more remarkable that the institution of which it forms an essential part should be regarded by many intelligent people as one of the great institutions of the future, and almost as a panacea for social and political evils. The explanation of these facts forms an interesting chapter of Russian social history.



A STREET SCENE IN MOSCOW.

CHAPTER XI.

THE TOWNS AND MERCANTILE CLASSES.

THOSE who wish to enjoy the illusions produced by scene-painting and stage decorations should never go behind the scenes. In like manner he who wishes to preserve the delusion that Russian towns are picturesque should never enter them, but content himself with viewing them from a distance. A walk through the streets inevitably dispels the illusion, and proves satisfactorily that irregularity, even when combined with squalor, is not necessarily picturesque.

However imposing Russian towns may look when seen from the outside, they will generally be found on closer inspection to be little more than villages in disguise. If they have not a positively rustic, they have at least a suburban appearance. The streets are straight and wide, and are either miserably paved or not paved at all. The houses are built of wood or stone, generally one-storied, and separated from each other by spacious yards. Many of them do not condescend to turn their façades to the street. The general impression produced is that the majority of the burghers have come from the country, and have brought their country houses with them. There are few or no shops with merchandise tastefully arranged in the window to tempt the passer-by. If you wish to make purchases you must go to the Gostinny Dvor, or Bazaar, which consists of long symmetrical rows of low-roofed, dimly-lighted stores, with a colonnade in front. This is the place where merchants most do congregate, but it presents nothing of that bustle and activity which we are accustomed to associate with commercial life. The shopkeepers stand at their doors or loiter about in the immediate vicinity waiting for customers. From the scarcity of these latter it is likely that when sales are effected the profits must be enormous. In the other parts of the town the air of solitude and languor is still more conspicuous. In the great square, or by the side of the promenade—if the town is fortunate enough to have one—cows or horses may be seen grazing tranquilly, without being at all conscious of the incongruity of their position. And, indeed, it would be strange if they had any such consciousness, for it does not exist in the

minds either of the police or of the inhabitants. At night the streets are not lighted at all, or are supplied merely with a few oil lamps, which do little more than render the darkness visible, so that cautious citizens returning home late often arm themselves with lanterns. A few years ago an honorable town-councilor of Moscow opposed a project for lighting the city with gas, and maintained that those who chose to go out at night should carry their lamps with them. The objection was overruled, and Moscow was supplied with gas lamps, but very few of the provincial towns have as yet followed the example of the ancient capital.

This description does not apply to St. Petersburg and Odessa, but these cities may for the present be left out of consideration, for they have a distinctly foreign character. The genuine Russian towns—and Moscow may still almost be included in the number—have a semi-rustic air, or at least the appearance of those retired suburbs of a large city which are still free from the jurisdiction of the municipal authorities.

The scarcity of towns in Russia is not less remarkable than their rustic appearance. The word is used here in the popular and not in the official sense. In official language a town means a collection of houses, containing certain organs of administration, and hence the term is sometimes applied to petty villages. Let us avoid, then, the official list of the towns, and turn to the statistics of population. It may be presumed that no town is worthy of the name unless it contains at least 10,000 inhabitants. Now, if we apply this test, we shall find that in the whole of European Russia in the narrower sense of the term—excluding Finland, the Baltic provinces, Lithuania, Poland, and the Caucasus, which are politically but not socially parts of Russia—there are only 127 towns. Of these only twenty-five contain more than 25,000, and only eleven contain more than 50,000 inhabitants.

These facts indicate plainly that in Russia, as compared with Western Europe, the urban element in the population is relatively small; and this conclusion is borne out by statistical data. In Russia the urban element composes only a tenth part of the entire population, whereas in Great Britain more than one-half of the inhabitants are dwellers in towns. A serious effort to discover the causes of this would bring out some striking peculiarities in the past history and

present condition of the Russian Empire, and we propose now to communicate a few results of such an investigation.

The chief cause is that Russia is much less densely populated than Western Europe. Towards the East she has never had a natural frontier, but always a wide expanse of fertile, uncultivated land, offering a tempting field for emigration; and the peasantry have ever shown themselves ready to take advantage of their geographical position. Instead of improving their primitive system of agriculture, which requires an enormous area and rapidly exhausts the soil, they have always found it easier and more profitable to emigrate and take possession of the virgin land to the eastward. Thus the territory—sometimes with the aid of, and sometimes in spite of, the Government—has constantly expanded, and has already reached Behring's Straits and the northern offshoots of the Himalayas. The little district around the sources of the Dnieper has grown into a great empire forty times as large as France, and in all this vast area there are only about eighty millions of inhabitants. Prolific as the Russian race is, its powers of reproduction could not keep pace with its power of territorial expansion, and consequently the country is still very thinly peopled, the population of European Russia being only about fourteen to the square verst. Even the most densely populated region—the northern part of the Black-earth zone—has only about forty to the square verst. A people that has such an abundance of land, and can support itself by agriculture, is not likely to devote itself to industry, and not likely to congregate in towns.

The second cause which hindered the formation of towns was serfage. Serfage, and the administrative system of which it formed a part, hemmed the natural movements of the population. The nobles habitually lived on their estates, and taught a portion of their serfs to supply them with nearly everything they required; and the peasants who might desire to settle as artisans in the towns were not free to do so, because they were attached to the soil. Thus arose those curious village industries of which we have already spoken.

The insignificance of the Russian towns is in part explained by these two causes. The abundance of land tended to prevent the development of industry, and the little industry which did exist was prevented by serfage from collecting in the towns. But this explanation is evidently incomplete. The same causes existed during the



THE MAIL COACH FROM KARS TO ALEXANDROPOL, WITH RUSSIAN ESCORT.

Middle Ages in Central Europe, and yet, in spite of them, flourishing cities grew up and played an important part in the social and political history of Germany. In these cities collected traders and artisans, forming a distinct social class, distinguished from the nobles on the one hand, and the surrounding peasantry on the other, by peculiar occupations, peculiar aims, peculiar intellectual physiognomy, and peculiar moral code. Now why did these important towns and this burgher class not likewise come into existence in Russia, in spite of the two preventive causes above mentioned?

To discuss this question fully it would be necessary to enter into certain debated points of mediæval history. All we can do here is to indicate what seems to be the true explanation.

In Central Europe, all through the Middle Ages, a perpetual struggle went on between the various political factors of which society was composed, and the important towns were in a certain sense the product of this struggle. However the towns may have originally come into existence, it is certain that they were preserved and fostered by the mutual rivalry of the Sovereign, the Feudal Nobility, and the

Church; and those who desired to live by trade or industry were obliged to settle in them in order to enjoy the protection and immunities which they afforded. In Russia there was never any political struggle of this kind. As soon as the Grand Princes of Moscow, in the sixteenth century, threw off the yoke of the Tartars, and made themselves Czars of all Russia, their power was irresistible and uncontested. Complete masters of the situation, they organized their country as they thought fit. At first their policy was favorable to the development of the towns. Perceiving that the mercantile and industrial classes might be made a rich source of revenue, they separated them from the peasantry, gave them the exclusive right of trading, prevented the other classes from competing with them, and freed them from the authority of the landed proprietors. Had they carried out this policy in a cautious, rational way, they might have created a rich burgher class; but they acted with true Oriental short-sightedness, and defeated their own purpose. Forgetting the welfare of the governed in their desire to benefit themselves, they imposed inordinately heavy taxes, and treated the urban population as their serfs. The richer merchants were forced to serve as custom-house officers—often at a great distance from their domiciles—and artisans were yearly summoned to Moscow to do work for the Czars without remuneration. Besides this, the system of taxation was radically defective, and the members of the local administration who received no pay and were practically free from control were merciless in their exactions. In a word, the Czars used their power so awkwardly and so recklessly that the industrial and trading population, instead of fleeing to the towns to secure protection, fled from them to escape oppression. At length this emigration from the towns assumed such dimensions that it was found necessary to prevent it by administrative and legislative measures; and the urban population were legally fixed in the towns as the rural population were fixed to the soil. Those who fled were brought back as runaways, and those who attempted flight a second time were ordered to be flogged and transported to Siberia.

At the beginning of the last century began a new era in the history of the towns and of the urban population. Peter the Great observed, during his travels in Western Europe, that national wealth and prosperity reposed chiefly on the enterprising, educated middle classes, and

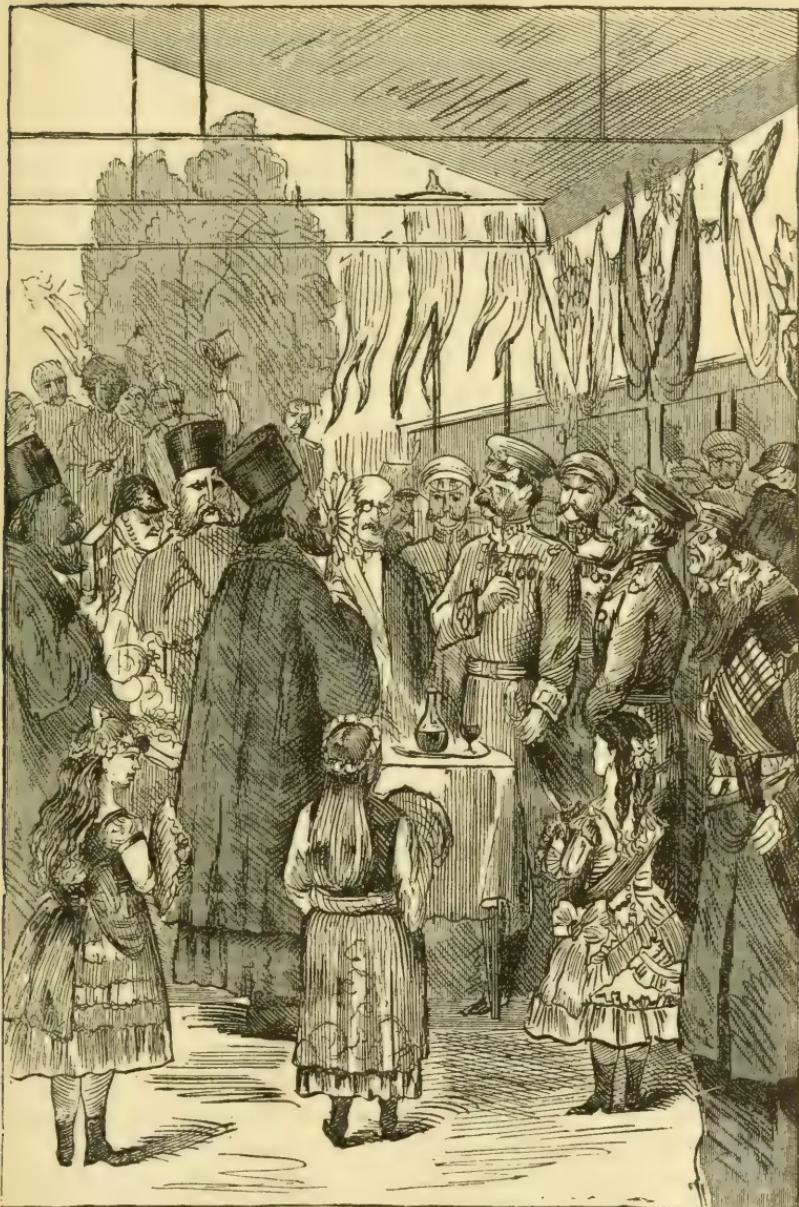
he attributed the poverty of his own country to the absence of this burgher element. Might not such a class be created in Russia? Peter unhesitatingly assumed that it might, and set himself at once to create it in a simple, straightforward way. Foreign artisans were imported into his dominions, and foreign merchants were invited to trade with his subjects; young Russians were sent abroad to learn the useful arts; efforts were made to disseminate practical knowledge by the translation of foreign books and the foundation of schools; all kinds of trade were encouraged, and various industrial enterprises were organized. At the same time the administration of the towns was thoroughly reorganized after the model of the ancient free-towns of Germany. In place of the old organization, which was a slightly modified form of the rural Commune, they received German municipal institutions, with burgomasters, town-councils, courts of justice, guilds for the merchants, trade corporations (*Tsekhi*) for the artisans, and an endless list of instructions regarding the development of trade and industry, the building of hospitals, sanitary precautions, the founding of schools, the dispensation of justice, the organization of the police, and similar matters.

Catherine II. followed in the same track. If she did less for developing trade and industry, she did more in the way of legislating and writing grandiloquent manifestoes. In the course of her historical studies she had learned, as she proclaimed in one of her manifestoes, that "from remotest antiquity we everywhere find the memory of town-builders elevated to the same level as the memory of legislators, and we see that heroes, famous for their victories, hoped by town-building to give immortality to their names." As the securing of immortality for her own name was her chief aim in life, she acted in accordance with historical precedent, and created two hundred and sixteen towns in the short space of twenty-three years. This seems a great work, but it did not satisfy her ambition. She was not only a student of history, but at the same time a warm admirer of the fashionable political philosophy of her time. That philosophy paid much attention to the *tiers-état*, which was then acquiring in France great political importance, and Catherine thought that, as she had created a *noblesse* on the French model, she might also create a *bourgeoisie*. For this purpose she modified the municipal organization created by her great predecessor, and granted to all the towns an Imperial

Charter. This charter remained without essential modification down to the commencement of the present reign.

These efforts to create a rich, intelligent *tiers-état* have not been attended with much success. Their influence has always been more apparent in official documents than in real life. The great mass of the population remained serfs, fixed to the soil, whilst the nobles—that is to say, all who possessed a little education—were required for the military and civil services. Those who were sent abroad to learn the useful arts learned little, and made little use of the knowledge which they acquired. On their return to their native country they very soon fell victims to the soporific influence of the surrounding social atmosphere. The “town-building” has as little practical result. It was an easy matter to create any number of towns in the official sense of the term. To transform a village into a town, it was necessary merely to prepare an izbá, or log-house, for the district court, another for the police office, a third for the prison, and so on. On an appointed day a Government official arrived from the provincial capital, collected the officials destined to serve in the newly-constructed or newly-arranged log-houses, ordered a simple religious ceremony to be performed by the priest, caused a formal act to be written, and then declared the town to be “opened.” All this required very little creative effort, but it was not so easy to create a spirit of commercial and industrial enterprise among the population. That could not be effected by Imperial ukase.

To animate the newly-imported municipal institutions, which had no root in the traditions and habits of the people, was a task of equal difficulty. In the Western nations these institutions had been slowly devised in the course of centuries to meet real, keenly-felt, practical wants. In Russia they were adopted for the purpose of creating those wants which were not yet felt. The office-bearers, elected against their will, were hopelessly bewildered by the complicated procedure, and were incapable of understanding the numerous ukases, prescribing to them their multifarious duties, and threatening the most merciless punishments for sins of omission and commission. Soon, however, it was discovered that the threats were not nearly so dreadful as they seemed; and accordingly those municipal authorities, who were to protect and enlighten the burghers, “forgot the fear of God and the Czars,” and extorted so unblushingly, that it was found necessary to place them under the control of Government officials.



ROUMANIAN PRIESTS AT PLOESTI, BLESSING THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA WITH
BREAD AND WINE.

The chief practical result of the efforts made by Peter and Catherine to create a *bourgeoisie* was that the inhabitants of the towns were more systematically arranged in categories for the purpose of taxation, and that the taxes were increased. All those parts of the new administration which had no direct relation to the fiscal interests of the Government had no inherent life or spontaneous activity. The truth is that the whole system had been arbitrarily imposed on the people, and had no motive power except the Imperial will. Had that motive power been withdrawn, and the burghers left to regulate their own municipal affairs, the system would immediately have collapsed. Rathhaus, burgomasters, guilds, aldermen, and all the other lifeless shadows which had been called into existence by Imperial ukase, would instantly have vanished into space. In this fact we have one of the characteristic traits of Russian historical development compared with that of Western Europe. In the west of Europe monarchy had to struggle with municipal institutions to prevent them from becoming too powerful; in Russia, it had to struggle with them to prevent them from committing suicide or dying of inanition.

According to Catherine's legislation, which remained in full force down to the present reign, and still exists in its main features, towns are of three kinds: (1) "Government towns" (*gubern-skie goroda*)—that is to say, the chief towns of provinces, or "Governments" (*gubernii*)—in which are concentrated the various organs of provincial administration; (2) District towns (*uyezdnice gorodá*), in which resides the administration of the districts (*uyezd!*) into which the provinces are divided; and (3) Supernumerary towns (*zashtatnie gorodá*), which have no particular significance in the territorial administration.

In all these the municipal organization is the same. Leaving out of consideration those persons who happen to reside in the towns but in reality belong to the noblesse, the clergy, or the lower rank of officials, we may say that the town population is composed of three groups: the merchants, the burghers in the narrower sense of the term, and the artisans. Those categories are not hereditary castes, like the nobles, the clergy, and the peasantry. A noble may become a merchant, or a man may be one year a burgher, the next year an artisan, and the third year a merchant, if he changes his occupation and pays the necessary dues. But the categories form, for the time

being, distinct corporations, each possessing a peculiar organization and peculiar privileges and obligations.

Of these three groups the first in the scale of dignity is that of the merchants. It is chiefly recruited from the burghers and the peasantry. Any one who wishes to engage in commerce inscribes himself in one of the three guilds, according to the amount of his capital and the nature of the operations in which he wishes to embark, and as soon as he has paid the required dues, he becomes officially a merchant. As soon as he ceases to pay these dues he ceases to be a merchant in the legal sense of the term, and returns to the class to which he formerly belonged. There are some families whose members have belonged to the merchant class for several generations, and the law speaks about a certain "velvet-book" in which their names should be inscribed, but in reality they do not form a distinct category, and they descend at once from the privileged position as soon as they cease to pay the annual guild dues.

The artisans form the connecting link between the town population and the peasantry, for peasants often enroll themselves in the trades corporations, or Tsekhi, without severing their connection with the rural Communes to which they belong. Each trade or handicraft constitutes a Tsekhi, at the head of which stands an elder and two assistants, elected by the members; and all the Tsekhi together form a corporation under an elected head, assisted by a council composed of the elders of the various Tsekhi. It is the duty of this council and its president to regulate all matters connected with the Tsekhi, and to see that the multifarious regulations regarding masters, journeymen, and apprentices are duly observed.

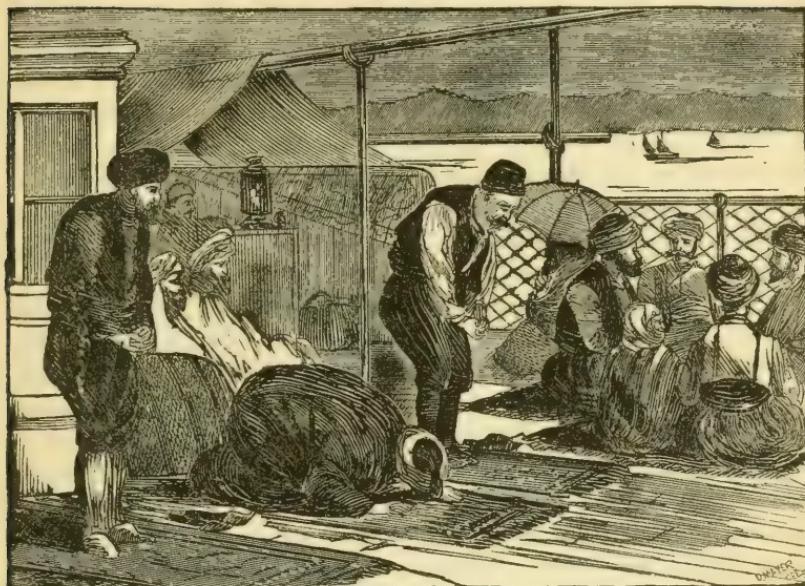
The nondescript class, composed of those who are inscribed as permanent inhabitants of the towns but who do not belong to any guild or Tsekhi, constitutes what is called the burghers in the narrower sense of the term. Like the other two categories, they form a separate corporation with an elder and an administrative bureau.

Some idea of the relative numerical strength of these three categories may be obtained from the following figures. In European Russia the merchant class (including wives and children) numbers about 466,000, the burghers about 4,033,000, and the artisans about 260,000.

The link of connection between these three categories is the Town

Council, the central and highest order of the municipal administration, with its president the Mayor. A few years ago this body was thoroughly reorganized according to the most recent theories of municipal administration ; and now all house-proprietors, to whatever class they belong, may take part in its proceedings, and serve as its office-bearers. The consequence of this has been that many towns have now a noble as mayor, but it cannot be said that the spirit of the institution has radically changed. Very few seek election, and those who are elected display very little zeal in the discharge of their duties. Not long ago it was proposed, in the town council of St. Petersburg, to insure the presence of a quorum by imposing fines for non-attendance! This fact speaks volumes for the low vitality of these institutions. When such an incident occurs in the capital, we can readily imagine what takes place in the provincial towns.

The development of trade and industry has, of course, enriched the mercantile classes, but it has not affected deeply their mode of life. Of all classes in the empire, they are the most conservative. When a Russian merchant becomes rich, he builds for himself a fine house, or buys and thoroughly repairs the house of some ruined noble, and spends money freely on inlaid floors, gigantic mirrors, malachite tables, grand pianos by the best makers, and other articles of furniture made of the most costly materials. Occasionally—especially on the occasion of a marriage or a death in the family—he will give magnificent banquets, and expend enormous sums on gigantic sterlets, choice sturgeons, foreign fruits, champagne, and all manner of costly delicacies. But all this lavish, ostentatious expenditure does not affect the ordinary current of his daily life. As you enter those gaudily-furnished rooms you can perceive at a glance that they are not for ordinary use. You notice a rigid symmetry and an indescribable bareness which inevitably suggest that the original arrangements of the upholsterer have never been modified or supplemented. The truth is that by far the greater part of the house is used only on state occasions. The host and his family live down stairs in small, dirty rooms, furnished in a very different, and for them more comfortable, style. At ordinary times the fine rooms are closed, and the fine furniture carefully covered. If you make a visit after an entertainment at which you have been present, you will probably have some difficulty in gaining admission by the front door. When you have knocked or rung several times, some one



RELIGIOUS DEVOTION ON BOARD OF A BLACK SEA STEAMER.

will probably come around from the back regions and ask you what you want. Then follows another long pause, and at last footsteps are heard approaching from within. The bolts are drawn, the door is opened, and you are led up to a spacious drawing-room. At the wall opposite the windows there is sure to be a sofa, and before it an oval table. At each end of the table, and at right angles to the sofa, there will be a row of three arm-chairs. The other chairs will be symmetrically arranged around the room. In a few minutes the host will appear, in his long double-breasted black coat and well-polished long boots. His hair is parted in the middle, and his beard shows no trace of scissors or razor. After the customary greetings have been exchanged, glasses of tea, with slices of lemon and preserves, or perhaps a bottle of champagne, are brought in by way of refreshment. The female members of the family you must not expect to see, unless you are an intimate friend; for the merchants still retain something of that female seclusion which was in vogue among the upper classes before the time of Peter the Great. The host himself will probably be an intelligent but totally uneducated and decidedly taciturn man.

About the weather and the crops he may talk fluently enough, but he will not show much inclination to go beyond these topics. You may perhaps desire to converse with him on the subject with which he is best acquainted—the trade in which he is himself engaged; but if you make the attempt you will certainly not gain much information.

The Russian merchant's love of ostentation is of a peculiar kind—something entirely different from American shoddyism. He may delight in gaudy reception-rooms, magnificent dinners, fast trotters, costly furs; or he may display his riches by princely donations to churches, monasteries, or benevolent institutions: but in all this he never affects to be other than he really is. He habitually wears a costume which designates plainly his social position, makes no attempt to adopt fine manners or elegant tastes, and never seeks to gain admission to what is called "good society." Having no desire to seem what he is not, he has a plain, unaffected manner, and sometimes a certain quiet dignity, which contrasts favorably with the affected manner of those nobles of the lower ranks who make pretensions to being highly educated, and strive to adopt the outward forms of French culture. At his great dinners, it is true, the merchant likes to see among his guests as many "generals"—that is to say, official personages—as possible; but he never dreams of thereby establishing an intimacy with these persons, or of being invited by them in return. It is perfectly understood by both parties that nothing of the kind is meant. The invitation is given and accepted from quite different motives. The merchant has the satisfaction of seeing at his table men of high official rank, and feels that the consideration which he enjoys among people of his own class is thereby augmented. If he succeeds in obtaining the presence of three generals, he obtains a victory over a rival who cannot obtain more than two. The general, on his side, gets a first-rate dinner, and acquires, in return for the honor he has conferred, a certain undefined right to request subscriptions for public objects or benevolent institutions.

It is worthy of remark that the merchants recognize no aristocracy but that of official rank. Many merchants would willingly give a large sum for the presence of an "actual State-Councilor," who, perhaps, never heard of his grandfather, but who can show a *grand cordon*, whilst they would not give a dime for the presence of an undecorated Prince who has no official rank, though he can trace his

pedigree up to the half-mythical Rurik. Of the latter they would probably say, “Kto ikh znaet?”—who knows what sort of a fellow he is? The former, on the contrary, whoever his father and grandfather may have been, possesses unmistakable marks of the Czar’s favor, which, in the merchant’s opinion, is infinitely more important than any rights or pretensions founded on hereditary titles or long pedigree.

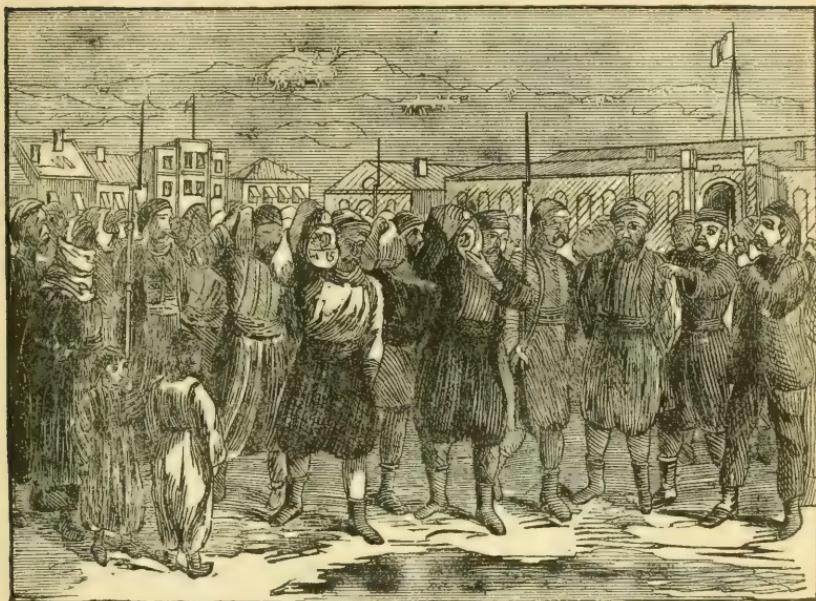
These marks of Imperial favor the merchants strive to obtain for themselves. They do not dream of *grands cordons*—that is far beyond their most sanguine expectations—but they do all in their power to obtain those lesser decorations which are granted to the mercantile class. For this purpose the most common expedient is a liberal subscription to some benevolent institution, and sometimes a regular bargain is made. We have heard of at least one instance where the kind of decoration was expressly stipulated. A merchant subscribed to a society, which enjoyed the patronage of a Grand Duchess, a considerable sum of money, under the express condition that he should receive in return a St. Vladimir Cross. Instead of the desired decoration, which was considered too much for the sum subscribed, a cross of St Stanislas was granted; but the donor was dissatisfied with the latter, and demanded that his money should be returned to him. The demand had to be complied with, and, as an Imperial gift cannot be retracted, the merchant had his Stanislas Cross for nothing.

This traffic in decorations has had its natural result. Like paper money issued in too large quantities, the decorations have fallen in value. The gold medals which were formerly much coveted and worn with pride—suspended by a ribbon round the neck—are now little desired. In like manner the inordinate respect for official personages has considerably diminished. Twenty years ago the provincial merchants vied with each other in their desire to entertain any great dignitary who honored their town with a visit, but now they seek rather to avoid this expensive and barren honor. When, however, they do accept the honor, they fulfill the duties of hospitality in a most liberal spirit.

The two great blemishes on the character of the Russian merchants as a class are, according to general opinion, their ignorance and their dishonesty. As to the former of these there cannot possibly be any difference of opinion. The great majority of the merchants do not possess even the rudiments of education. Many of them can neither

read nor write, and are forced to keep their accounts in their memory, or by means of ingenious hieroglyphics, intelligible only to the inventor. Others can decipher the calendar and the lives of the saints, can sign their names with tolerable facility, and can make the simpler arithmetical calculations with the help of a little calculating instrument called "stchety," which resembles the "abaca" of the old Romans, and is universally used in Russia. It is only the minority who understand the mysteries of regular book-keeping, and of these very few can make any pretensions to being educated men. Already, however, symptoms of a change for the better in this respect are noticeable. Some of the rich merchants are now giving to their children the best education which can be procured, and already a few young merchants may be found who can speak one or two foreign languages and may fairly be called educated men. Unfortunately, many of these forsake the occupations of their forefathers and seek distinction elsewhere. In this way the mercantile class constantly loses a considerable portion of that valuable leaven which may ultimately leaven the whole lump.

As to the dishonesty which is said to be so common among the Russian commercial classes, it is difficult to form an accurate judgment. That an enormous amount of unfair dealing does exist, there can be no possible doubt, but it must be admitted that in this matter a foreigner is likely to be unduly severe. We are apt to apply unflinchingly our own standard of commercial morality, and to forget that trade in Russia is only emerging from that primitive condition in which fixed prices and moderate profits are entirely unknown. And when we happen to detect positive dishonesty, it seems to us especially heinous, because the trickery employed is more primitive and awkward than that to which we are accustomed. Trickery in weighing and measuring, for instance, which is by no means uncommon in Russia, is likely to make us more indignant than those ingenious methods of adulteration which are practiced nearer home, and are regarded by many as almost legitimate. Beside this, foreigners who go to Russia and embark in speculations without possessing any adequate knowledge of the character, customs, and language of the people, positively invite spoliation, and ought to blame themselves rather than the people who profit by their ignorance and inexperience. All this, and much more of the same kind, may be fairly urged in mitigation of the severe judgments which foreign merchants commonly pass on Russian com-



BULGARIANS TRANSPORTING MONEY UNDER ESCORT.

mercial morality, but these judgments cannot be reversed by such arguments. The dishonesty and rascality which exist among the merchants are fully recognized by the Russians themselves. In all moral affairs the lower classes in Russia are very lenient in their judgments, and are strongly disposed, like Americans, to admire what is called in our phraseology "a smart man," though the smartness is known to contain a large admixture of dishonesty; and yet the *vox populi* in Russia emphatically declares that the merchants as a class are unscrupulous and dishonest. There is a rude popular play, in which the Devil, as principal *dramatis persona*, succeeds in cheating all manner and conditions of men, but is finally over-reached by a genuine Russian merchant. When this play is acted in the Carnival Theatre in St. Petersburg, the audience invariably agree with the moral of the plot.

If this play were acted in the southern towns near the coast of the Black Sea it would be necessary to modify it considerably, for here, in company with Jews, Greeks, and Armenians, the Russian merchants seem honest by comparison. As to Greeks and Armenians, it is

difficult to decide which of the two nationalities deserves the palm, but it seems that both are surpassed by the Children of Israel. It is said that they buy up wheat in the villages at eleven roubles per Tchetvert, transport it to the coast at their own expense, and sell it to the exporters at ten roubles! And yet they contrive to make a profit.

If we might express a general opinion regarding Russian commercial morality, we should say that trade in Russia is carried on very much on the same principle as horse-dealing in America. A man who wishes to buy or sell must trust to his own knowledge and acuteness, and if he gets the worst of a bargain or lets himself be deceived, he has himself to blame. Commercial foreigners on arriving in Russia rarely understand this, and when they know it theoretically, they are too often unable, from their ignorance of the language, the laws, and the customs of the people, to turn their theoretical knowledge to account. They indulge, therefore, at first in endless invectives against the prevailing dishonesty; but gradually, when they have paid what Germans call *Lehrgeld*, they accommodate themselves to circumstances, take large profits to counterbalance bad debts, and generally succeed—if they have sufficient energy, mother-wit, and capital—in making a very handsome income.

It must not be supposed that the unsatisfactory organization of the Russian commercial world is the result of any radical peculiarity of the Russian character. All new countries have to pass through a similar state of things, and in Russia there are already premonitory symptoms of a change for the better. For the present, it is true, the extensive construction of railways and the rapid development of banks and limited liability companies have opened up a new and wide field for all kinds of commercial swindling; but, on the other hand, there are now in every large town a certain number of merchants who have learnt by experience that honesty is the best policy. The success which many of these have obtained will doubtless cause their example to be followed. The old spirit of caste and routine which has long animated the merchant class is rapidly disappearing, and not a few nobles are now exchanging country life and the service of the State for industrial and commercial enterprises. In this way is being formed the nucleus of that wealthy, enlightened bourgeoisie, which Catherine endeavored to create by legislation; but many years must elapse before this class acquires sufficient social and political significance to deserve the title of a *tiers-état*.

CHAPTER XII.

THE RUSSIAN CAPITAL.

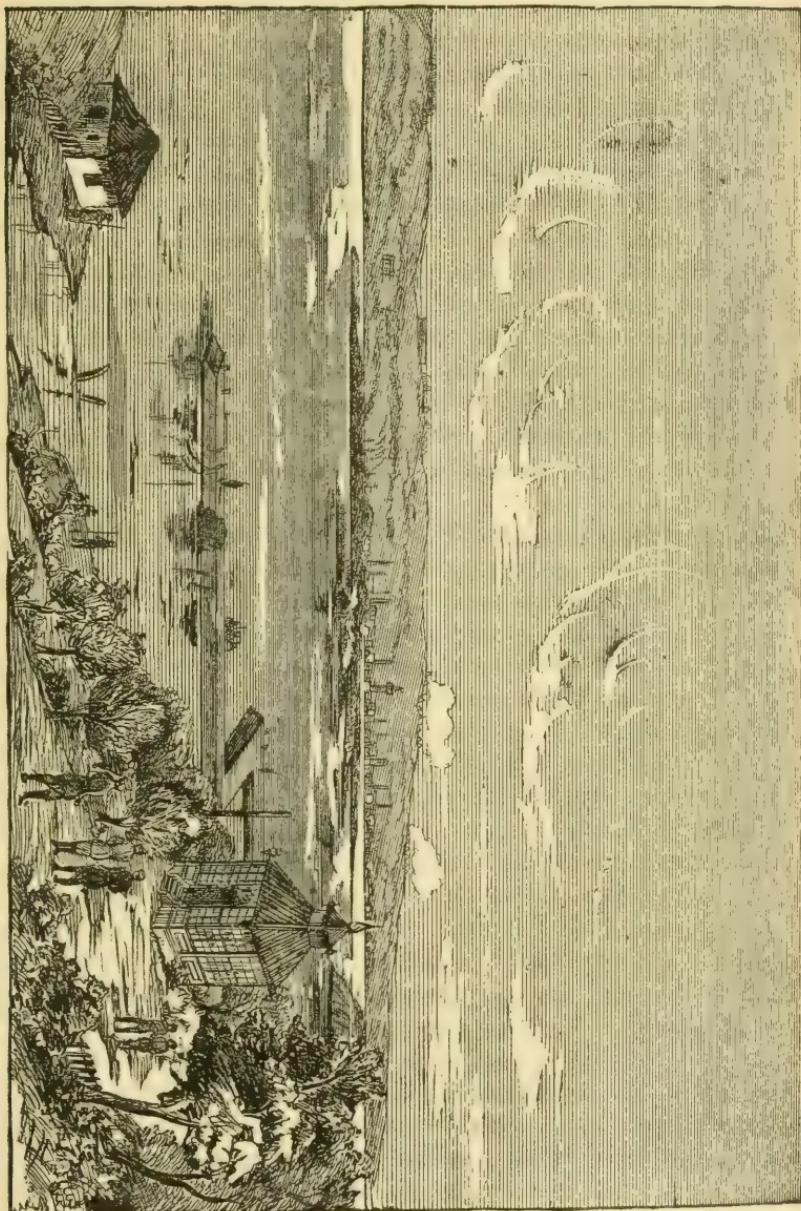
FROM whatever side the traveller approaches St. Petersburg, unless he goes thither by sea, he must traverse several hundred miles of forest and morass, presenting few traces of human habitation or agriculture. This fact adds powerfully to the first impression which the city makes on his mind. In the midst of a waste howling wilderness, he suddenly comes on a magnificent artificial oasis.

Of all the great European cities the one which most resembles the capital of the Czars is Berlin. Both are built on perfectly level ground; both have wide, regularly-arranged, badly-paved streets; in both there is a general look of stiffness and symmetry which suggests military discipline and German bureaucracy. But there is at least one profound difference. Though Berlin is said by geographers to be built on the Spree, we might live a long time in the city without ever noticing the sluggish, dirty little stream on which the name of a river has been undeservedly conferred. St. Petersburg, on the contrary, is built on a magnificent river, which forms the main feature of the place. By its breadth, and by the enormous volume of its clear, blue, cold water, the Neva is certainly one of the noblest rivers in Europe. A few miles before reaching the Gulf of Finland it breaks up into several streams and forms a delta. It is here that St. Petersburg stands. The principal part of the town is built on the southern bank; the remainder is scattered over the northern bank and the islands. The chief of these is Basil Island, or Vassiliostrof, connected with the southern bank by a long stone bridge, remarkable for the beauty of its outline. This is the only great stone bridge of which the city can boast, but there are numerous wooden ones—some supported by piles, and other by boats like the well-known floating bridges on the Rhine—which connect the islands with each other and with the mainland. At many intermediate points the communication is kept up in summer by picturesque, little two-oared ferry-boats, built, it is said, on a model designed by Peter the Great. Some of the more distant parts of the town may be conveniently reached by means of the active little steam-

launches, which dart about, and add to the animation of the scene. In winter these ferry-boats and launches disappear, and the bridges lose much of their importance, for the river is covered throughout its whole extent by a thick firm layer of ice, strong enough to support the heaviest burdens.

The main stream, or "Big Neva," spanned by the stone bridge and by three bridges of boats, flows between the city properly so-called and Vassiliostrof, and is kept within proper bounds by quays and embankments solidly built and faced with massive blocks of red granite. On the southern side the embankment is used as a street or promenade. The quays of Vassiliostrof, on the contrary, are employed for commercial purposes, and are always lined during the summer months by a goodly array of shipping. At the eastern extremity of the island stands the Custom-house and the Exchange, and here the foreign merchants, who monopolize the export and import trade, most do congregate.

St. Petersburg is, in a metropolitan sense, the newest city in Europe. It was founded, erected, decorated, stocked, peopled, and furnished, with well-nigh inconceivable rapidity by the indomitable will and under the unremitting personal superintendence of one of the most intelligent and the most ruthless despots that the world has ever seen—Peter the Great. The actual population of the city is close upon 700,000. In the first year of the eighteenth century it would have been very easy to compute its population. There was nobody in St. Petersburg at all; nobody who was not nomadic at least between Lake Ladoga, where the Neva rises, and the Gulf of Finland, into which the river falls. But, in 1703, Peter, having finished his shipwright's apprenticeship in Holland, and having visited England, decreed that he would have "a window looking out into Europe," and well has the city fulfilled its purpose, for from its foundation may be dated the European period of Russian history. The Great Czar was physically as well as morally a giant; he had plenty of warm fur coats and caps, and so did not mind the cold; being an Emperor, he naturally did not care if the many millions of his subjects who were destitute of fur coats and caps shivered and shook until they nearly chattered their teeth out of their heads in a horribly inhospitable climate; and, finally, his Imperial Majesty was notoriously subject to intermitting fits of madness. Nobody but an occasional maniac, we should imagine, would have thought of building a city on such a spot.



VIEW OF RUSTCHUK FROM GIURGEVO, ON THE DANUBE.

It was to be built nevertheless. Peter had so willed it; and that gigantic genius was one of those personages who once in a century or so come into the world apparently for the purpose of having their own way, and who have it with a vengeance. He brought many thousands of peasants from every part of Russia, and from Finland, and set them to work, in true Egyptian taskmaster-fashion, on his new city. Forty thousand was the annual contingent of *moujiks* "conscripted" for this purpose, the Czar dwelling among them in one of those log cabins of which he was so fond, and personally superintending the progress of the works. He was not unprovided, we may be sure, with a big stick wherewith to accelerate the movements of the masons and carpenters. People who have their own way usually carry a big stick, and are accustomed to lay it about them lustily. Peter's staff of command—and correction—is still preserved in the strange museum of personal relics of the mighty Czar, which forms one of the attractions of the Hermitage.

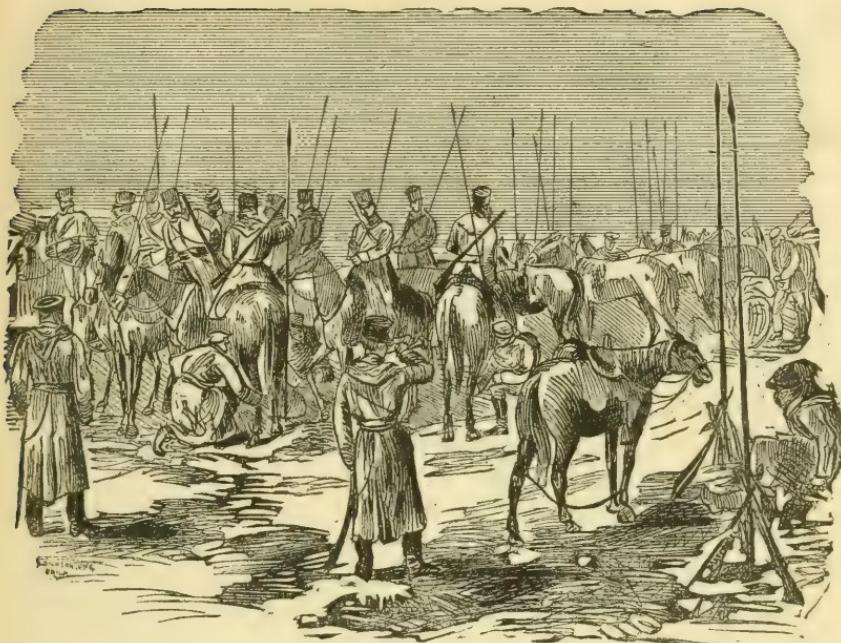
St. Petersburg began on the north side of the Neva; and in 1705 the broad, handsome street called the Millionaya, at the extremity of which is the Hermitage, was built. The large island between the Great and Little Neva was colonized by the serfs of the famous favorite Menschikoff; but he did not give his name to the quarter granted to him. The island was called and is still known as Vassiliostrof, or Basil's Island, from one Major Vasil or Basil, who was placed in command of a block-house at the eastern point thereof. The first brick tenement in Petersburg was built in 1710, by Chancellor Count Golovkin; and in 1711 the construction of the Admiralty was begun, in brick. The difficulties in the way of building were simply tremendous. They equaled the obstacles which lay in the way of the founders of Venice. They surpassed the problems which puzzled the architects of Amsterdam. It had pleased Peter to order that his metropolis should be built in the midst of a morass; and into this sloppy marsh it was necessary to drive millions upon millions of wooden piles before the foundations proper of the houses could be laid. As a consequence, St. Petersburg, splendidly embanked as is the Neva throughout the whole length of the town, is in chronic danger of inundation, especially after a thaw, and at the period of the spring tides; and it is considered not at all unlikely that some day or another it may be swept away altogether.

One thing in St. Petersburg the Autocrat was powerless to do. He could not make his city healthy. Setting aside the normal asperity of the climate—the merciless rigor of the long winter and the scorching heat of the brief summer, with a soaking spring and a foggy autumn of yet shorter duration, the quaking bog on which the city is built makes it the abode at most times of a number of distressing maladies. Catarrh, rheumatism, bronchial affections, and asthma are the prevailing diseases of the winter; while ague and dysentery are the chief ailments of the summer in St. Petersburg. Twenty years ago Asiatic cholera was chronic in the lower quarters of the town; but sanitary matters have much mended within that period, and cases of cholera are but rarely heard of in the St. Petersburg of the present day.

The enlargement and the embellishment of the city of the Czar have been well-nigh unremittingly pursued from the very first moment of its inception to the times in which we live. In the course of a century and a half it was but natural to expect that some slums and rookeries should grow up; and where such disfigurements to the stateliness of the city have been found to exist, they must be ascribed first to the circumstance that the dwellings of the peasants who were draughted into the service of building St. Petersburg were hastily run up, and almost invariably constructed of the perishable material, wood; and next to the habits and mode of life of the humbler classes of the population, which even in this enlightened age are far from cleanly, but which in by-gone days were indescribably unsavory. The slums and the rookeries—situated as they principally are in the remotest outskirts of the town—are rapidly disappearing; and the substitution of brick for rough-hewn logs as a building material has grown to be well-nigh universal. The masses, again, are at present able to earn more money for themselves than was the case in the days of their serfdom—then they toiled in order that their roubles and kopecks might swell the revenues of their lords and masters. The Petersburg *moujik* of 1877 is, materially speaking, by no means badly off; and he is, consequently, becoming less and less habituated to residing in a pigstye. He is learning to read, too, and to write, and to take some interest in politics; he has (since he is no longer beaten by his master or by the police) all but abandoned the practice of thrashing his wife—a recreation of which he was formerly extremely

fond; and, if he were not so grossly superstitious and so fervently addicted to getting tipsy whenever he has a chance of obtaining *vodka*, the *moujik* might be contrasted, certainly not greatly to his disadvantage, with the working man of any other European capital. The Government, unfortunately, both directly and indirectly encourages the superstition of the common people, fanaticism being usually found a most valuable aid to the preservation of Russian conservatism; it is the brine which keeps the old carcass of despotism from putrefying; but the supreme authority has, to its honor, done of late years everything in its power to diminish the drunkenness of the people. The municipality of St. Petersburg have recently closed at least a third of the low brandy shops which formerly swarmed in the more densely populated quarters, while, on the other hand, breweries are actively fostered; and a light and wholesome beer is now made, to which the people seem to be taking very kindly. They are likewise tremendous tea drinkers; and, on the whole, the tourist sees nowadays fewer tipsy people in the streets of Petersburg than at Moscow. The encouragement given to temperance reflects the greatest credit on the Government, when it is remembered that the Imperial revenue is accustomed to benefit largely from the excise on home-manufactured *vodka*.

Another and very characteristic cause has likewise tended to diminish the number of the St. Petersburg rookeries. Formerly fires were as rife at St. Petersburg as they are still rife at Pera, in which last interesting suburb of Constantinople the average number of conflagrations is two and a half per day, from about ten to fifty houses usually "burning up" at each fire. The Czar Nicholas used to say that a St. Petersburg fire on a large scale nearly equaled a review in the opportunities it afforded for testing the capabilities and exhibiting the mettle of his Imperial Guard. If the fire was a "first-class blaze," the Grand Dukes, and even the Emperor himself, attended the conflagration in person; but this system was not unattended by disadvantages. The St. Petersburg Fire Corps is essentially a military organization; and military etiquette demanded that the officer who was highest in rank should take the command of all the troops on the ground; and, as Russian Emperors and Grand Dukes even in modern times are personages who usually insist upon having their own way, the commanders of the St. Petersburg Fire Brigade found with sad frequency that their operations were sadly hampered and impeded by



RUSSIAN COSSACKS EXPLORING THE COUNTRY.

Grand Ducal or by Imperial interference. The plentitude of wooden houses and overheated stoves, and a careless population, much given to going to bed in a state of *vodka*, and putting lighted candles underneath their pillows, were among the commonest causes of the fires which used to devastate St. Petersburg by the whole quarter at a time. These catastrophes are at present of far less frequent occurrence, the Fire Corps is much better drilled, and is somewhat more independent in action than of yore; and fires are, in general, easily extinguished. The most stringent precautions continue, however, to be taken against the Fire Demon; and the city is dotted with tall wooden towers, in the topmost galleries of which watchmen are stationed, both by day and by night, to look out for a redness in the sky. The extensive fires of by-gone times are not (save when they were accompanied by loss of life) to be regretted. They burned the rookeries down, and the rookeries have not been rebuilt. The most repulsive quarters of St. Petersburg comprise at present very few log cabins; but they abound in dirty, squalid brick edifices very closely resembling

the "tenement houses" of the lower districts of New York. In these houses, which sometimes shelter as many as a hundred families, lurk the dangerous classes of the Russian capital. The tenement houses are General Trepoff's rabbit-warren. Thither come the agents of the terrible chief of the Pretopolitan police (General Trepoff's name, if it be uttered aloud, is generally pronounced in a whisper, so intense is the terror which this formidable personage inspires). In these tenements do the police find the assassins, the burglars, the bank-note forgers, the swindlers and vagrants of whom they are in quest. But when political conspirators, Socialists, Nihilists, Polish patriots, and what not, are "wanted" it is much further a field, and to far different quarters of the city that Trepoff's detectives are fain to go. The conspirators have to be pounced upon in Basil Island, in the neighborhood of the University, and sometimes in the most fashionable quarters of the city.

The tourist may obtain an accurate knowledge of the topography of the city by ascending the dome of St. Isaac's Cathedral. Thence looking north, he will behold the island of Vassiliostrof, with the Exchange, the University, the Academy of Sciences, and the Military School. To the left is the Krepust, or Citadel, and beyond, north and west, are the islands of Aptekarski, Kamennoi, Petrofski, Krestofski, and Elaghinski. In some of these islands the great nobles and wealthy bankers of Petersburg have their splendid villas; and at Aptekarski is the College of Surgeons. The islands of the Neva are in summer time delightful places of resort, and Krestofski is, in particular, the special rendezvous for the German colony. There are probably a hundred thousand Teutons in St. Petersburg. At Krestofski, in summer, take place picnics lasting from midnight until morn; there is light enough to read small print the whole night through, and the sun never seems to set—it only *dips across* the horizon, and is born again before it dies.

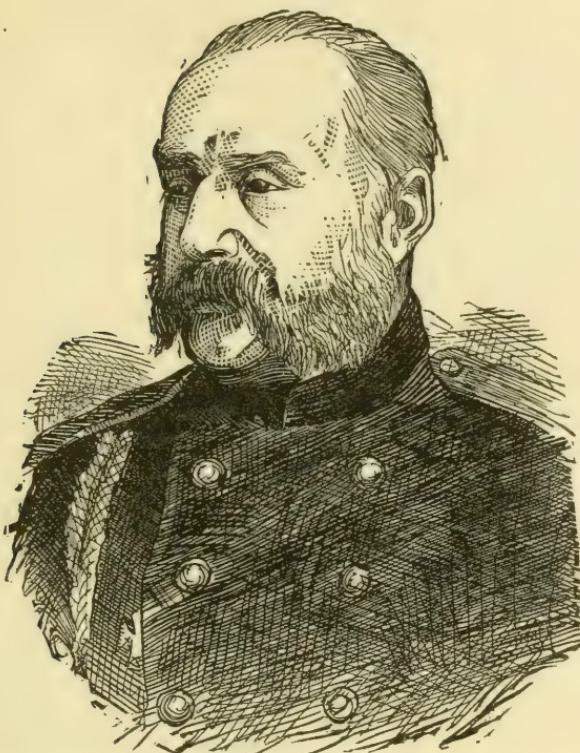
It is to be noted that to the East of the Great Nevka, and on the north bank of the Neva, stretch long ranges of barracks, factories, and Government establishments. The outer walls of all public buildings, not being churches or palaces, are invariably painted with one "administrative" hue—a dull yellow ochre; and the effect produced thereby on the eye is the reverse of pleasant. The communication between the mainland and the islands is by four bridges, the Nicolaiefski Most, so

called after the Czar Nicholas, a stately structure of granite piers with graceful arches; the Dvortsoioi Palace Bridge, which is of boats, between the Exchange and the Winter Palace; the Troitski or Trinity Bridge, between the fortress and the Champ de Mars, and, finally, the Liteiny, likewise a floating bridge of lighters. When the ice of the Neva begins to "pack," as it does about November, the floating bridges are removed; but so soon as the river is well frozen over the bridges are restored to their places. There is a general sensation of relief when the winter has thus begun in real earnest. The Russians prefer a sound, solid, inflexibly hard frost to the mere dallying and shilly-shallying of alternate frost and thaw, which mark the first fortnight in November, and sometimes the whole of that month. When the ice on the bosom of the Neva has solidified to a proper wintry degree of thickness people know that the worst has come, and they prepare with Spartan fortitude to "grin and bear it." To a foreigner, at least, the inconvenience lies in the fact that the "worst" of which we have spoken lasts for four, and very often for five, months. The good people of Petersburg endeavor meanwhile to make themselves as comfortable as they can under the circumstances. Everybody who possesses a *schoub*, or fur-lined pelisse, enwraps himself in that commodious, although clumsy-looking garment, the skirts of which descend to his heels, while the huge fur cuffs nearly cover his finger-tips and the huger fur collar protects his ears and ascends to the tip of his nose. You cannot buy, in Petersburg at least, a *schoub* of even the most inferior kind of fur for less than seventy-five dollars, and you may, if you are rich enough, give as much as five hundred dollars, or even twelve hundred dollars for one of the superb sable mantles sold by the aristocratical furriers of the Nevski, the Bolschoi Morskaia, or the Gostinnoi-Dvor.

The Neva thus frozen hard, the shovels of an army of *moujiks*, aided by the strong blast blowing from the Lake of Ladoga, smooth away the roughnesses of the frozen field, and soon the whole face of the stream gleams with glassy brightness. Wells are dug at stated intervals in the thick ice to supplement the water supply by draughts from the rapid current which flows beneath. A broad road is swept and garnished leading from above the city right down to Cronstadt. This road is prettily bordered with dwarf evergreens, with larch and birch trees, and makes a capital promenade. Sleigh-driving sets in

with amazing dash and vigor; and the streets of Petersburg (which is at most times rather a silent city) resound throughout the day and late into the night to the incessant jingling of the sleigh-bells. The tintinnabulation is not entirely of an ornamental or festive character. The jingling is intended to save foot-passengers from being run over, for the runners of the sleds glide so gently and yet with such rapidity over the snow as to be well-nigh inaudible until the horses' hoofs are within a few inches of you. It is not safe to walk in the snow unless you are provided with high boots lined with fur or lambs-wool, or unless (as the general custom is) you wear india-rubber goloeshes. When you pay a visit you remove your overshoes—which are furnished with little rudimentary spurs in the heel, so as to be easily kicked off—in the hall of the house, and when your visit is at an end you resume your goloeshes again. If you are awkward in donning or doffing these flexible *sabots*, the *dvornik* or the *moujik* in attendance down stairs is always ready to assist you, and you reward him with a few kopecks for his pains.

The common one-horse sledges which ply for hire in St. Petersburg are not comfortable. There is scarcely room on the seat behind the driver for a single passenger. The bulwarks of the sledge are but frail. It is supported on runners without springs; and, if you dont trim the boat—or sledge—with extreme care, the probabilities are disagreeably in favor of the entire concern tipping over. The driver is used to these little casualties. He has not far to fall, and he has a way of rolling himself over and over in the snow, and then of coming up again, smiling, like a frozen miller. The horse, too, seems to be used to occasional tumbles, and rather to like a recumbent position in the soft snow; but the case of the passenger is far different, especially if he have a companion who falls on the top of him, while the heavy runners of the sledge fall atop of both. The drivers are civil fellows enough, clad, in summer-time, in caftans of blue cloth and low-crowned hats with curly brims; and, in winter time, in turban-shaped fur caps, and flowing robes lined with imitation astracan or some cheap fur. Their waists are girt with sashes of brilliant hues—*once* brilliant hues would, perhaps, be the most appropriate expression. The majority of these drivers are tawny, brawny, flowing-bearded peasants of the unmistakable Slavonic type, but among them there is a considerable proportion of mere striplings, seemingly of not more than fifteen or



GENERAL NEPOKOITSCHITZKY, CHIEF OF THE STAFF OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY
ON THE DANUBE.

sixteen. It is a rare thing to meet with a Tartar *ischvostchik* in St. Petersburg. They may occasionally be seen in Moscow; but, on the other hand, the waiters in the hotels and restaurants in both capitals are nearly always Tartars. The landlords prefer a Tartar to a Slav, because the former is a Mohammedan, who drinks no fermented liquors and disdains to steal anything save horseflesh. The honestest Tartar, they say, cannot occasionally resist the temptation of illegally turning a horse to his own use and profit; and it is for this reason, perhaps, that there are no Tartar drivers of hackney carriages in St. Petersburg. The cab-masters may be nervous lest a Calmuck driver should run away some morning, horse and all, and never come back again. In summer time, of course, the sledge with its runners is

replaced by a jolting, rattling little droschky. This vehicle is a little roomier than the winter time sledge, and still leaves a good deal to be desired.

Official tariff of fares there is none ; the driver is entitled to charge as much as he likes ; but no one but a lunatic would think, after he had been a couple of days in St. Petersburg, of engaging a droschky or a sledge without making a preliminary bargain with the charioteer thereof. As a rule, the demand made by the driver is not extortionate and the bargain is easily struck, and rigidly adhered to by the Russian Jehu. If you present him with a trifle of copper money as a gratuity over and above his fare he will shed tears of joy—it is when he has been drinking too much *vodka* that he weeps most plentifully—still, if you give him nothing beyond the sum stipulated to be paid he does not upbraid you ; far less does he strew over you the flowers of a Slavonic Billingsgate, as some American cabmen are rather too prone to do. A rouble will about cover the longest journey you could undertake in the streets of St. Petersburg ; while for a short course so moderate a fee as twenty kopecks (about fifteen cents) will often be cheerfully accepted.

The drivers of these carriages—and those also who steer the private equipages of the Russian nobility and gentry—seem to be men of iron, wholly impervious to the effects of cold ; and your coachman will take you to the opera, thence to three or four parties, thence to a couple of clubs, or wait cheerfully for you in the frigid courtyard of some great mansion, or on one of the bleak and wind-swept quays of the Neva, until four or five on a December morning. In the vicinity of the great theatres and the Imperial palaces there are permanent circular braziers of iron roofed in, and in which roaring fires of logs are lit on wintry nights. The watchmen gather around these jovial bivouacs, clap their fur-gloved hands together, warm their poor chilled noses, and are happy.

Resuming our fancied station, perched on the topmost cupola of St. Isaac's, we can easily descry the great edifice of the Admiralty with its graceful gilded spire. Southward the great bulk of the city—the portion inhabited by the Court, the nobility, the corps diplomatique, and the principal bankers, merchants and shopkeepers—stretches in thickly-serried lines and blocks, the Neva pursuing for nearly four miles a southwesterly course. The districts on this side the river are

divided into three semicircular regions by as many canals, the Moika, the Ekaterina and the Fontanka. It is well worth while to bear this topographical arrangement in mind, since it closely and curiously resembles the lines on which the city of Amsterdam is built. It would seem as though the ex-shipwright of Saardam had never been able to efface the remembrance of Holland from his mind; as though he had consciously or unconsciously adopted the Dutch capital, the arrangement of whose streets and canals has been compared to the section of half an onion, as a model for his autocratically-planned metropolis. Another Dutch town, Rotterdam, was called long ago a "vulgar Venice." Waterside St. Petersburg might from more than one point of view be qualified as a sublime Rotterdam.

Like the river, everything in St. Petersburg is on a colossal scale. The streets, the squares, the palaces, the public buildings, the churches, whatever may be their defects, have at least the attribute of greatness, and seem to have been designed for the countless generations to come, rather than for the practical wants of the present inhabitants. In this respect the city well represents the Empire of which it is the capital. Even the private houses are built in enormous blocks, many of them containing more than a score of separate apartments.

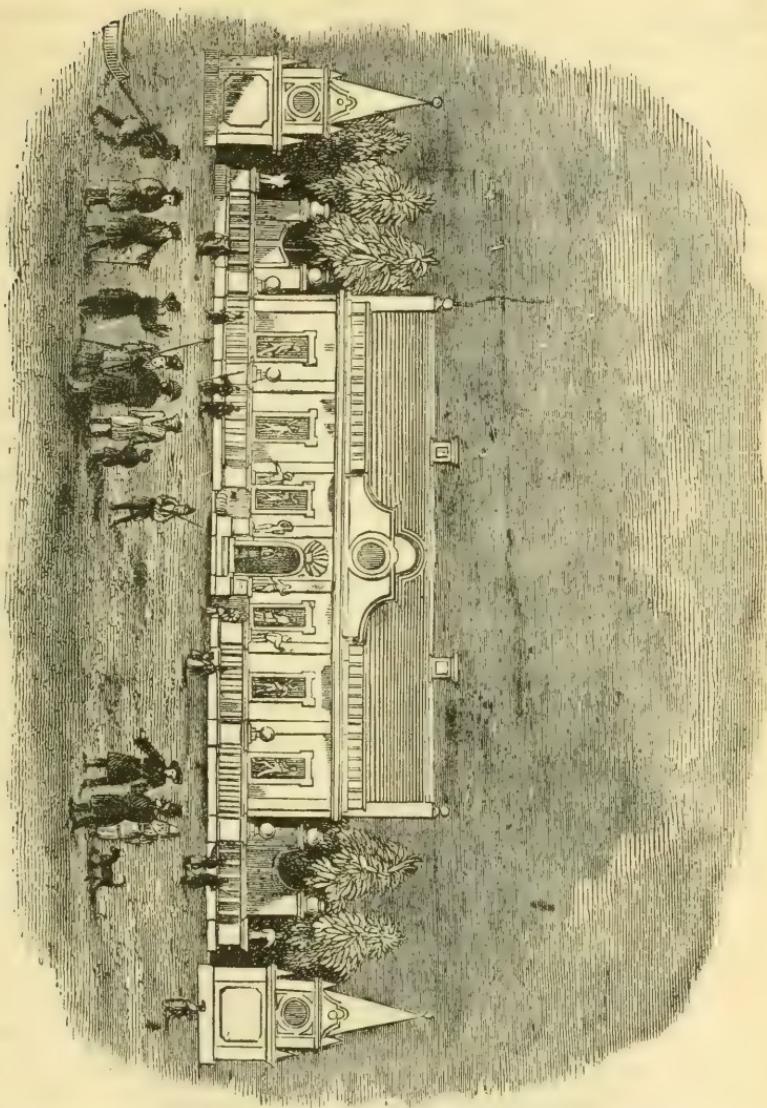
This custom of building big houses has rendered possible a peculiar and effective system of police organization. Each house has a *dvornik*, or porter, who is a servant of the proprietor and at the same time a police agent. He has to sweep, and in summer to water the street in front of the house, and to see that all the inmates observe scrupulously the passport regulations. At night he has to remain outside in the street and act as watchman. The fact that these men commonly lie down and go to sleep during the long winter nights, when the thermometer may sink to thirty degrees below zero, and that they are rarely if ever frozen to death, constitutes a brilliant proof of the Russian's wonderful capacity for resisting extreme cold. Formerly, it is said, these watchmen often aided the police in waylaying and robbing benighted citizens; but all such practices have become things of the past, and the police of St. Petersburg may now challenge comparison with those of the other European capitals.

The three principal streets of the city radiate from the Admiralty Place, and throughout the whole length of these streets the Admiralty spire is visible, closing the vista towards the river. These three

thoroughfares are the world-renowned Nevski Prospekt, or "Perspective of the Neva;" the Gorokhovaia-Oulitza, or "Pease-street;" and the Vosnesenski-Prospekt, or "Ascension Perspective." The other principal streets are the Bolschoi and Mala (great and little) Morskaias, the Millionaia, the Kazanskaia, or street of Kazan, and the Sadovaya, or Garden street. All these streets are strictly rectilinear, and are crossed by the smaller thoroughfares at right angles. For administrative purposes the streets are divided into three classes—first, Perspectives, which might be likened to Boulevards; next, Oulitzas, or ordinary streets; and, thirdly, Pereouloks, or minor cross streets.

St. Petersburg has, of course, its "lions," which every tourist is expected to visit and admire. There is, for instance, St. Isaac's Cathedral, from whose dome we have taken our bird's-eye view; an enormous building in Renaissance style, with gilded dome and gigantic monolithic pillars of red granite. The general effect of the exterior, especially when covered with a layer of sparkling hoar-frost, is very fine; but the interior has been spoiled by rich, gaudy decorations, which might supply admirable illustrations for a sermon on pretentious vulgarity and bad taste. A much less successful architectural effort is the Kazan Church, which is often praised by Russians as the work of a native artist, but which is in reality a striking illustration of that spirit of thoughtless imitation which is too often to be found in Russian institutions. The gigantic, semicircular colonnade, suggested by that of St. Peter's at Rome, is so utterly out of proportion with the rest of the structure, that it completely hides the body of the church, while the dome peeps over the formidable barrier like a culprit condemned to imprisonment for life and apathetically resigned to his fate. Then there is the Winter Palace, which finds favor in the eyes of those who believe in the transcendent genius of Rastrelli, but which is completely wanting in the stern, massive grandeur which the name suggests. Some of the minor palaces are much more in keeping with the nature of the climate, but they present nothing that can be called a Russian style of architecture. There is a Russian style, but it is suitable only for wooden buildings. In their stone buildings the Russians have, like the other Northern nations, borrowed largely from the countries of Southern Europe without considering the difference of climate. What the Petersburgians may be justly proud of is the general grandiose appearance of their city, and not the beauty of particular edifices.

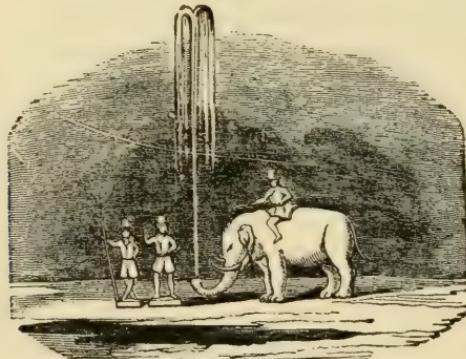
WINTER PALACE IN ST. PETERSBURG.



Of statues and other monuments there is a goodly quantity, displaying all degrees of merit, from the equestrian statue of Peter the Great, which is really a work of art, to the statues and busts in the Summer Garden, which are simply artistic monstrosities. Pictures,

too, there are in abundance. The Hermitage, for instance, contains a really magnificent collection of the Dutch school, and a large number of works attributed to Italian and Spanish old masters—all more or less genuine. But we need not trespass on the domain of the art critic, nor need we weary the reader with descriptions of what has already been described in the guide-books. In St. Petersburg, as elsewhere, sight-seeing is a weariness of the flesh; and the tourist may employ his time much more agreeably in sauntering about the streets and bazaars, especially if it be in winter time.

There is, however, one “sight” which must have a deep interest for those who are sensitive to the influence of historical associations—we mean the little wooden house in which Peter the Great lived whilst his future capital was being built. In its style and arrangement it looks more like the hut of a navvy than the residence of a Czar, but it was quite in keeping with the character of the illustrious man who occupied it. Peter could and did occasionally work like a navvy without feeling that his Imperial dignity was thereby diminished. When he determined to build a new capital on a Finnish marsh, inhabited chiefly by wild-fowl, he did not content himself with exercising his autocratic power in a comfortable arm-chair. Like the old Greek gods, he went down from his Olympus, and took his place in the ranks of ordinary mortals, superintending the work with his own eyes, and taking part in it with his own hands. If he was as arbitrary and oppressive as any of the pyramid-building Pharaohs, he could at least say in self-justification that he did not spare himself any more than his people.



ICE-ELEPHANT AND FOUNTAIN.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION.

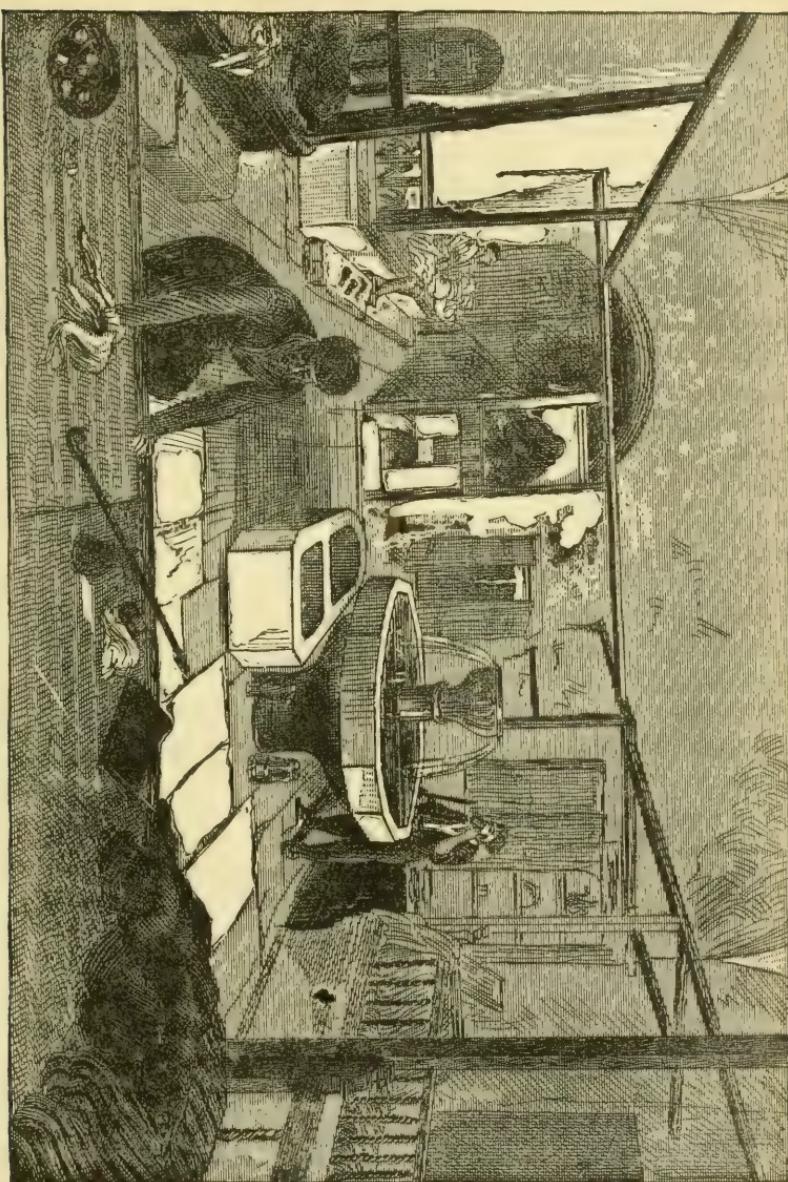
THE gigantic administrative machine which holds together all the various parts of the vast Empire, and secures public order and tranquility, has been gradually created by successive generations, but we may say roughly that it was first designed and constructed by Peter the Great. Before his time the country was governed in a rude, primitive fashion. The Grand Princes of Moscow, in subduing their rivals and annexing the surrounding principalities, merely cleared the ground for a great homogeneous State, and made no attempt to build a symmetrical political edifice. Wily, practical politicians, rather than statesmen, they never dreamed of introducing uniformity and symmetry into the administration. They spared and developed the ancient institutions, so far as these were useful and consistent with the exercise of autocratic power, and made only such alterations as practical necessity demanded. And these necessary alterations were more frequently local than general. Special decisions, instruction to particular officials, and charters for particular communes or proprietors, were much more common than general legislative measures. In short, the old Muscovite Czars practiced a tentative, hand-to-mouth policy, ruthlessly destroying whatever caused temporary inconvenience, and giving little heed to what did not force itself upon their attention. Hence, under their rule the administration presented not only territorial peculiarities, but also an ill-assorted combination of different systems in the same district, a conglomeration of institutions belonging to different epochs.

This irregular system, or rather want of system, seemed highly unsatisfactory to the logical mind of Peter the Great, who was all his life a thorough doctrinaire. He conceived the grand design of sweeping it away, and putting in its place a symmetrical bureaucratic machine, constructed according to the newest principles of political science. It is scarcely necessary to say that this magnificent project, so foreign to the traditional ideas and customs of the people, was not easily realized. Imagine a man, without technical knowledge, without skilled work-

men, without good tools, and with no better material than soft, crumbling sandstone, endeavoring to build a palace on a marsh! The undertaking would seem to reasonable minds utterly absurd, and yet it must be admitted that Peter's project was scarcely more feasible. He had neither technical knowledge, nor the requisite materials, nor a firm foundation to build on. With his usual Titanic energy he demolished the old structure, but his attempts to construct were little more than a series of failures. In his numerous ukases he has left us a graphic description of his efforts, and it is at once instructive and saddening to watch the great worker toiling indefatigably at his self-imposed task. His instruments are constantly breaking in his hands. The foundations of the building are continually giving way, and the lower tiers crumbling under the superincumbent weight. A whole section is found to be unsuitable, and is ruthlessly pulled down, or falls of its own accord. And yet the builder toils on, with a perseverance and energy of purpose that compel admiration, frankly confessing his mistakes and failures, and patiently seeking the means of remedying them, never allowing a word of despondency to escape him, and never despairing of ultimate success. And at length death comes, and the mighty builder is snatched away suddenly in the midst of his unfinished labors, bequeathing to his successors the task of carrying on the great work.

None of these successors possessed Peter's genius and energy, but they were all compelled by the force of circumstances to adopt his plans. A return to the old rough and ready rule of the Voyevods was impossible. As the autocratic power became more and more imbued with Western ideas, it felt more and more the need of a thoroughly good instrument for the realization of its policy, and accordingly strove to systematize and centralize the administration.

In this change we may perceive a certain analogy with the history of the French administration from the time of Philippe le Bel to that of Louis XIV. In both countries we see the central power bringing the local administrative organs more and more under its control, till at last it succeeds in creating a thoroughly centralized bureaucratic organization. But under this superficial resemblance lie profound differences. The French kings had to struggle with provincial sovereignties and feudal rights, and when they had annihilated this opposition, they easily found materials with which to build up the



A RUSSIAN BATH.

bureaucratic structure. The Russian sovereigns, on the contrary, met with no such opposition, but they had great difficulty in finding bureaucratic material amongst their uneducated, undisciplined subjects. For many generations schools and colleges in Russia were founded and maintained simply for the purpose of preparing men for the public service.

The administration was thus brought much nearer to the West-European ideal, but some people have grave doubts as to whether it became thereby better adapted to the practical wants of the people for whom it was created. On this point, a well-known Slavophil once remarked, that "till very recently there was in Russia an enormous amount of official peculation, extortion, and misgovernment of every kind, that the courts of law were dens of iniquity, that the people often committed perjury, and much more of the same sort, and it must be admitted that all this has not yet entirely disappeared. But what does it prove? That the Russian people are morally inferior to the German? Not at all. It simply proves that the German system of administration, which was forced upon them without their consent, was utterly unsuited to their nature. If a young growing boy be compelled to wear very tight boots, he will probably burst them, and the ugly rents will doubtless produce an unfavorable impression on the passers-by; but surely it is better that the boots should burst than that the feet should be deformed. Now the Russian people were compelled to put on not only tight boots, but also a tight jacket, and, being young and vigorous, it burst them. Narrow-minded, pedantic Germans can neither understand nor provide for the wants of the broad Slavonic nature."

In its present form the Russian administration seems at first sight a very imposing edifice. At the top of the pyramid stands the Emperor, "the autocratic monarch," as Peter the Great described him, "who has to give an account of his acts to no one on earth, but has a power and authority to rule his states and lands as a Christian sovereign according to his own will and judgment." Immediately below the Emperor we see the Council of State, the Committee of Ministers, and the Senate, which represent respectively the legislative, the administrative, and the judicial power. An American glancing over the first volume of the Code might imagine that the Council of State is a kind of Congress, and the Committee of Ministers a Cabinet, but in reality

both institutions are simply incarnations of the autocratic power. Though the Council is intrusted by law with many important functions—such as examining and criticising the annual budget, declaring war, concluding peace, and performing other important duties—it has merely an advisory character, and the Emperor is not in any way bound by its decisions. The ministers are all directly and individually responsible to the Emperor, and therefore the Committee has no common responsibility or other cohesive force. As to the Senate, it has descended from its high estate. It was originally intrusted with the supreme power during the absence or minority of the monarch, and was intended to exercise a controlling influence in all sections of the administration, but now its activity is restricted to judicial matters, and it is little more than a supreme court of appeal.

Immediately below these three institutions stand the Ministries, ten in number. They are the central points, in which converge the various kinds of territorial administration, and from which radiates the Imperial will all over the Empire.

For the purposes of territorial administration Russia Proper—that is to say, European Russia, exclusive of Poland, the Baltic Provinces, Finland, and the Caucasus, each of which has a peculiar administration of its own—is divided into forty-six provinces, or “Governments,” and each Government is subdivided into districts. The average area of a province is about the size of Portugal, but some are as small as Belgium, whilst one at least is twenty-five times as large. The population, however, does not correspond to the amount of territory. In the largest province, that of Archangel, there are less than three hundred thousand inhabitants, whilst in some of the smaller ones there are over two millions. The districts likewise vary greatly in size.

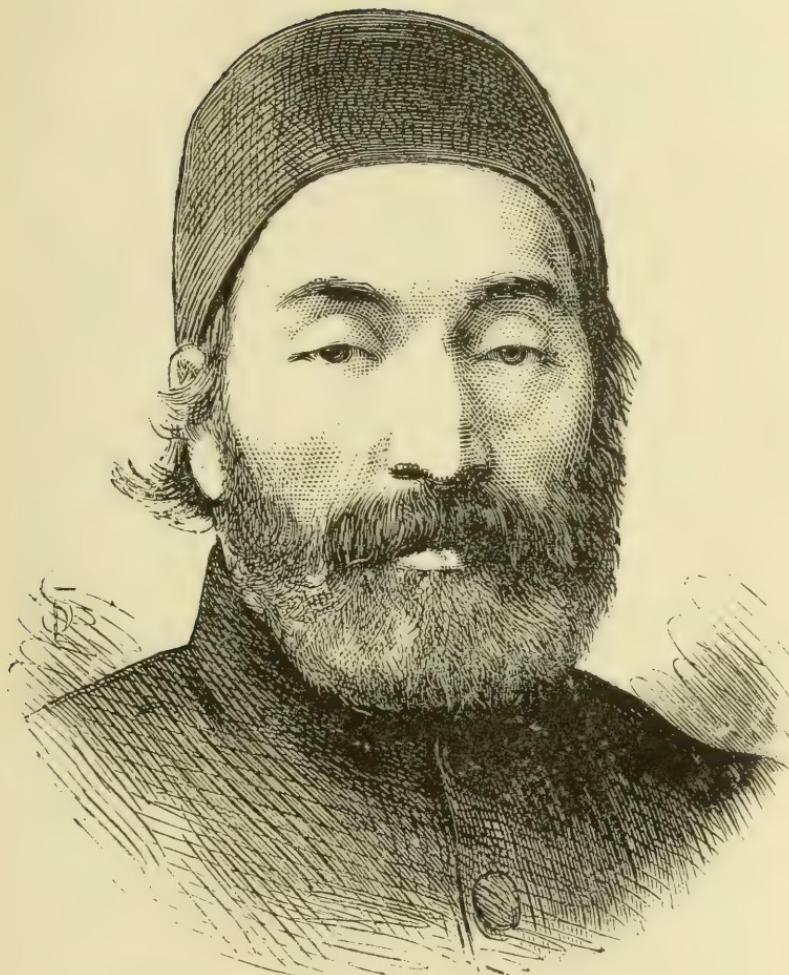
Over each province is placed a Governor, who is assisted in his duties by a Vice-Governor and a small council. According to the legislation of Catherine II., the Governor is termed “the steward of the province,” and is intrusted with so many and such delicate duties, that in order to obtain men qualified for the post, it would be necessary to realize the great Empress’s design of creating, by education, “a new race of people.” Down to very recent times the Governors understood the term “stewards” in a very literal sense, and ruled in a most arbitrary, high-handed style, often exercising an important influence on the civil and criminal tribunals. These extensive and vaguely-

defined powers have now been very much curtailed, partly by positive legislation, and partly by increased publicity and improved means of communication. All judicial matters have been placed completely beyond the Governor's control, and many of his former functions are now fulfilled by the Zemstvo—the new organ of local self-government. Besides this, all ordinary current affairs are regulated by an already extensive and ever-growing body of instructions, in the form of Imperial orders and ministerial circulars, and as soon as anything not provided for by the instructions happens to occur, the minister is consulted through the post-office or by telegraph. Even within the sphere of their lawful authority the Governors have now a certain respect for public opinion, and occasionally a very wholesome dread of casual newspaper correspondents. Thus the men who were formerly described by the satirists as "little satraps," have sunk to the level of very subordinate officials. Many (probably the majority) of them are honest, upright men, who are perhaps not endowed with any unusual administrative capacities, but who perform their duties faithfully according to their lights.

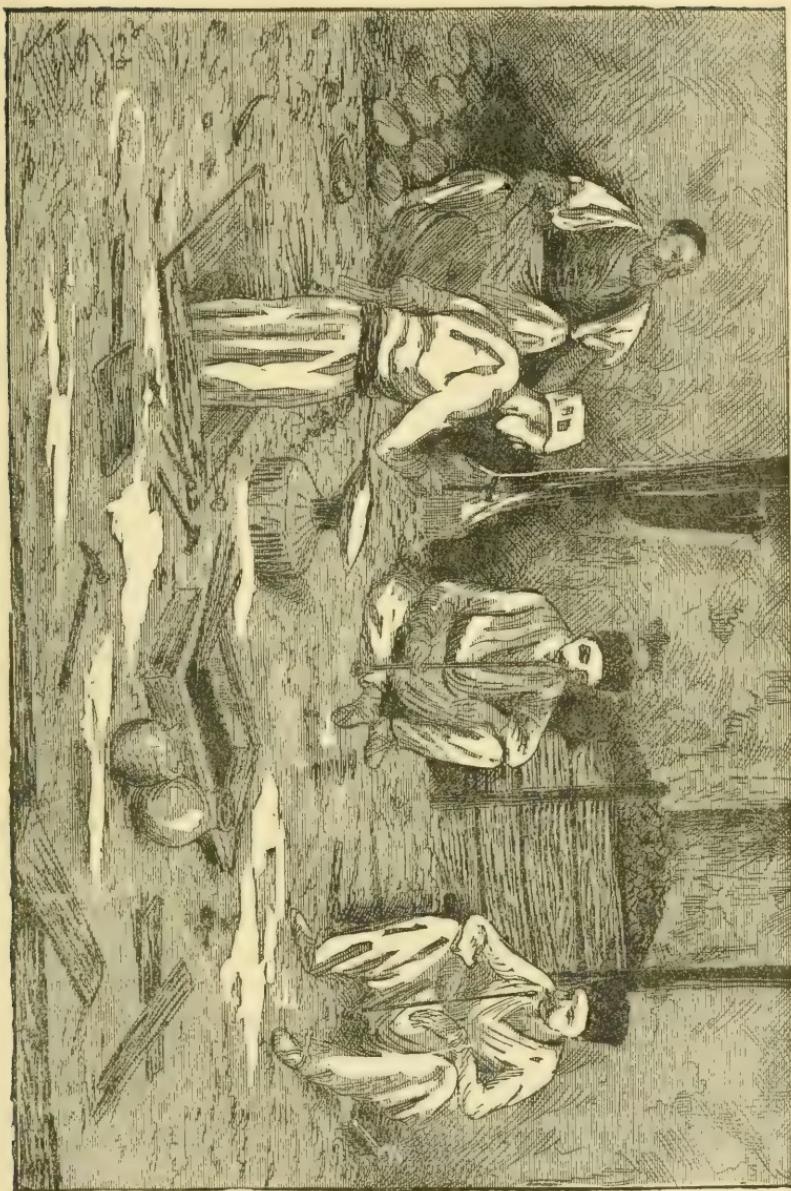
Independent of the Governor, who is the local representative of the Ministry of the Interior, are a number of resident officials, who represent the other ministries, and each of them has a bureau, with the requisite number of assistants, secretaries and scribes.

To keep this vast and complex bureaucratic machine in motion it is necessary to have a large and well-drilled army of officials. These are drawn chiefly from the ranks of the noblesse and the clergy, and form a peculiar social class called Tchinovniks, or men with "Tchins." As the Tchin plays an important part in Russia not only in the official world, but also to some extent in social life, it may be well to explain its significance.

All offices, civil and military, are, according to a scheme invented by Peter the Great, arranged in fourteen classes or ranks, and to each class or rank a particular name is attached. As promotion is supposed to be given according to personal merit, a man who enters the public service for the first time must, whatever be his social position, begin in the lower ranks, and work his way upwards. Educational certificates may exempt him from the necessity of passing through the lowest classes, and the Imperial will may disregard the restrictions laid down by law, but as a general rule a man must begin at or near the bottom



SAVFET PASHA, TURKISH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.



A RUSSIAN VILLAGE SMITHY.

of the official ladder, and he must remain on each step a certain specified time. The step on which he is for the moment standing, or, in other words, the official rank or Tchin which he possesses, determines what offices he is competent to hold. Thus rank or Tchin is a necessary condition for receiving an appointment, but it does not designate any actual office, and the names of the different ranks are extremely apt to mislead a foreigner.

The reader of practical mind desires probably no further description of the Russian bureaucracy, but wishes to know simply how it works in practice. What has it done for Russia in the past, and what is it doing in the present?

Without a strongly centralized administration Russia would never have become one of the great European powers. Until comparatively recent times the part of the world which is known as the Russian Empire was a conglomeration of independent or semi-independent political units; and even at the present day it is far from being a compact homogeneous State. It was the autocratic power, with the centralized administration as its necessary complement, that first created Russia, then saved her from dismemberment and political annihilation, and ultimately secured for her a place among European nations by introducing Western civilization. Theoretically it would have been better that the various units should have united spontaneously, and that European civilization should have been voluntarily adopted by all classes of the inhabitants, but historically such a phenomenon was impossible.

Whilst thus recognizing clearly that autocracy and a strongly centralized administration were necessary first for the creation and afterwards for the preservation of national independence, we must not shut our eyes to the evil consequences which resulted from this unfortunate necessity. It was in the nature of things that the Government, aiming at the realization of designs which its subjects neither sympathized with nor clearly understood, should have become separated from the nation; and the reckless haste and violence with which it attempted to carry out its schemes aroused a spirit of positive opposition among the people. A considerable section of the people long looked on the reforming Czars as incarnations of the spirit of evil, and the Czars in their turn looked upon the people as a passive instrument for the carrying out of their political designs. This peculiar relation

between the nation and the Government has given the key-note to the whole system of administration. The Government has always treated the people as minors, utterly incapable of understanding its political designs, and only very partially competent to look after their own local affairs. The officials have naturally acted in the same spirit. Looking for direction and approbation merely to their superiors, they have systematically treated those over whom they were placed, as a conquered or inferior race. The State has thus come to be regarded as an abstract entity, with interests entirely different from those of the human beings composing it; and in all matters in which State interests are supposed to be involved, the rights of individuals are ruthlessly sacrificed.

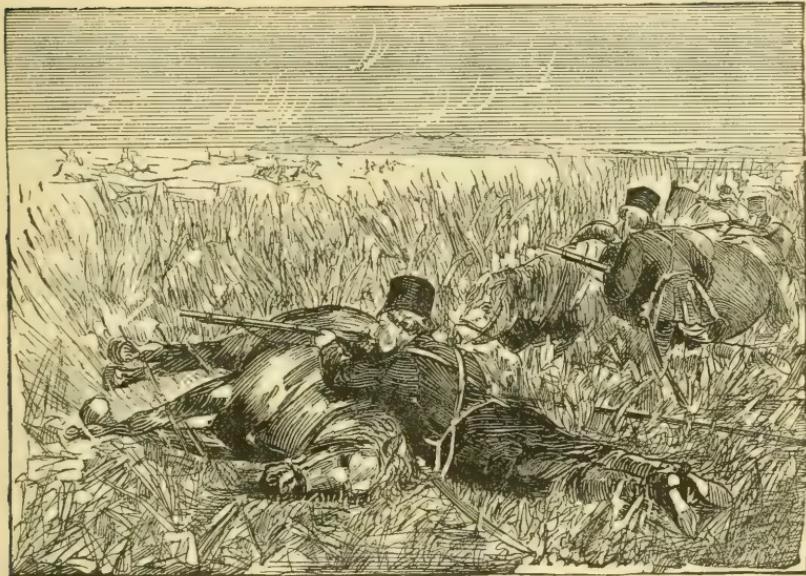
If we remember that the difficulties of centralized administration are always in direct proportion to the extent and territorial variety of the country to be governed, we may readily understand how slowly and imperfectly the administrative machine necessarily works in Russia. The whole of the vast region stretching from the Polar Ocean to the Caspian, and from the shores of the Baltic to the confines of the Celestial Empire, is administered from St. Petersburg. The genuine bureaucrat has a wholesome dread of formal responsibility, and generally tries to avoid it by taking all matters out of the hands of his subordinates, and passing them on to the higher authorities. As soon, therefore, as affairs are caught up by the administrative machine they begin to ascend, and probably arrive some day at the cabinet of the minister. Thus the ministries are flooded with papers—many of the most trivial import—from all parts of the Empire; and the higher officials, even if they had the eyes of an Argus and the hands of a Briareus, could not possibly fulfill conscientiously the duties imposed on them. In reality the Russian administrators of the higher ranks recall neither Argus nor Briareus. They commonly show neither an extensive nor a profound knowledge of the country which they are supposed to govern, and seem always to have a fair amount of leisure time at their disposal.

Besides the unavoidable evils of excessive centralization, Russia has had to suffer much from the jobbery, venality, and extortion of the officials. When Peter the Great one day prepared to hang every man who should steal as much as would buy a rope, his Procurator-General frankly replied that if his Majesty put his project into execu-

tion there would be no officials left. "We all steal," added the worthy official; "the only difference is that some of us steal larger amounts and more openly than others." Since these words were spoken more than a century and a half has passed, and during all that time Russia has steadily made progress in many respects, but until the commencement of the present reign little change took place in the moral character of the administration. The elder half of the present generation can still remember the time when they could have repeated, without much exaggeration, the confession of Peter's Procurator-General.

To appreciate aright this ugly phenomenon we must distinguish two kinds of venality. On the one hand there was the habit of exacting what are vulgarly termed "tips" for services performed, and on the other there were the various kinds of positive dishonesty. Though it might not be always easy to draw a clear line between the two categories, the distinction was fully recognized in the moral consciousness of the time, and many an official who received regularly "sinless revenues," as the tips were sometimes called, would have been very indignant had he been stigmatized as a dishonest man. The practice was, in fact, universal, and could be, to a certain extent, justified by the smallness of the official salaries. In some departments there was a recognized tariff. The "brandy farmers," for example, paid regularly a fixed sum to every official, from the governor to the policeman, according to his rank. In one case an official, on receiving a larger sum than was customary, conscientiously handed back the change! The other and more heinous offences were by no means so common, but were still fearfully frequent. Many high officials and important dignitaries were known to receive large revenues, to which the term "sinless" could not by any means be applied, and yet they retained their position, and were received in society with respectful deference.

The sovereigns were always perfectly aware of the abuses, and all strove more or less to root them out, but the success which attended their efforts does not give us a very exalted idea of the practical omnipotence of autocracy. In a centralized bureaucratic administration, in which each official is to a certain extent responsible for the sins of his subordinates, it is always extremely difficult to bring an official culprit to justice, for he is sure to be protected by his superiors; and when the superiors are themselves habitually guilty of malprac-



COSSACKS ENTRENCHED BEHIND THEIR TRAINED HORSES.

tices, the culprit is quite safe from exposure and punishment. The Czar, indeed, might do much towards exposing and punishing offenders if he could venture to call in public opinion to his assistance, but in reality he is very apt to become a party to the system of hushing up official delinquencies. He is himself the first official in the realm, and he knows that the abuse of power by a subordinate has a tendency to produce hostility towards the fountain of all official power. Frequent punishment of officials might, it is thought, diminish public respect for the Government, and undermine that social discipline which is necessary for the public tranquility. It is therefore considered expedient to give to official delinquencies as little publicity as possible. Besides this, strange as it may seem, a Government which rests on the arbitrary will of a single individual is, notwithstanding occasional outbursts of severity, much less systematically and invariably severe than authority founded on free public opinion. When delinquencies occur in very high places the Czar is almost sure to display a leniency approaching to tenderness. If it be necessary to make a sacrifice to justice, the sacrificial operation is likely to be made as painless as

may be, and illustrious scapegoats are not allowed to die of starvation in the wilderness—the wilderness being generally Paris or Baden-Baden. This fact may seem strange to those who are in the habit of associating autocracy with Neapolitan dungeons and the mines of Siberia, but it is not difficult to explain. No individual, even though he should be the Autocrat of all the Russias, can so case himself in the armor of official dignity as to be completely proof against personal influences. The severity of autocrats is reserved for political offenders, against whom they naturally harbor a feeling of personal resentment. It is so much easier to be lenient and charitable towards a man who sins against public morality, than towards one who sins against our own interests!

In justice to the bureaucratic reformers in Russia, it must be said that they have preferred prevention to cure. Refraining from all Draconian legislation, they have put their faith in a system of ingenious checks and a complicated formal procedure. When we examine the complicated formalities and labyrinthine procedure by which the administration is controlled, our first impression is that administrative abuses must be almost impossible. Every possible act of every official seems to have been foreseen, and every possible outlet from the narrow path of honesty seems to have been carefully walled up. As the American reader has probably no conception of formal procedure in a highly centralized bureaucracy, let us give an instance by way of illustration.

In the residence of a Governor-General one of the stoves is in need of repairs. An ordinary mortal may assume that a man with the rank of Governor-General may be trusted to expend a few shillings conscientiously, and that consequently his Excellency will at once order the repairs to be made and the payment to be put down among the petty expenses. To the bureaucratic mind the case appears in a very different light. All possible contingencies must be carefully provided for. As a Governor-General may possibly be possessed with a mania for making useless alterations, the necessity of the repairs ought to be verified; and as wisdom and honesty are more likely to reside in an assembly than in an individual, it is well to intrust the verification to a council. A council of three or four members accordingly certifies that the repairs are necessary. This is pretty strong authority, but it is not enough. Councils are composed of mere human

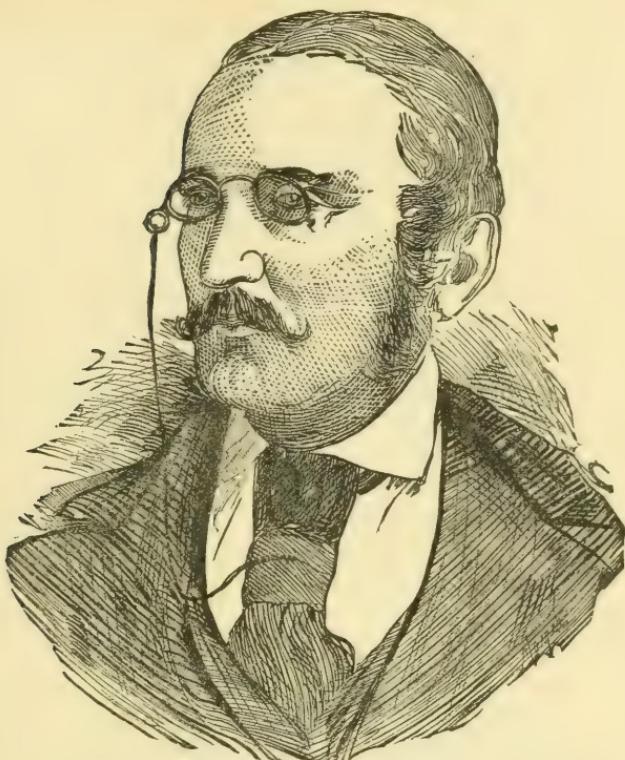
beings, liable to error and subject to be intimidated by the Governor-General. It is prudent, therefore, to demand that the decision of the council be confirmed by the Procureur, who is directly subordinated to the Minister of Justice. When this double confirmation has been obtained, an architect examines the stove and makes an estimate. But it would be dangerous to give *carte blanche* to an architect, and therefore the estimate has to be confirmed, first by the aforesaid council and afterwards by the Procureur. When all these formalities—which require sixteen days and ten sheets of paper—have been duly observed, his Excellency is informed that the contemplated repairs will cost two roubles and forty kopecks, or about one dollar and twenty-five cents of our money. Even here the formalities do not stop, for the Government must have the assurance that the architect who made the estimate and superintended the repairs has not been guilty of negligence. A second architect is therefore sent to examine the work, and his report, like the estimate, requires to be confirmed by the council and the Procureur. The whole correspondence lasts thirty days, and requires no less than thirty sheets of paper! Had the person who desired the repairs been not a Governor-General but an ordinary mortal it is impossible to say how long the procedure might have lasted.

It might naturally be supposed that this circuitous and complicated method, with its registers, ledgers, and minutes of proceeding, must at least prevent pilfering; but this conclusion has been emphatically belied by experience. Every new ingenious device had merely the effect of producing a still more ingenious means of avoiding it. The system did not restrain those who wished to pilfer, and it had a deleterious effect on honest officials, by making them feel that the Government reposed no confidence in them. Besides this, it produced among all officials, honest and dishonest alike, the habit of systematic falsification. As it was impossible for even the most pedantic of men—and pedantry, be it remarked, is a rare quality among Russians—to fulfill conscientiously all the prescribed formalities, it became customary to observe the forms merely on paper. Officials certified facts which they never dreamed of examining, and secretaries gravely wrote the minutes of meetings that had never been held! Thus, in the case above cited, the repairs were in reality begun and ended long before the architect was officially authorized to begin the work.

The comedy was nevertheless gravely played out to the end, so that any one afterwards revising the documents would have found that everything had been done in perfect order.

Perhaps the most ingenious means for preventing administrative abuses was devised by the Emperor Nicholas. Fully aware that he was regularly and systematically deceived by the ordinary officials, he formed a body of well-paid officers, called the "Gendarmerie," who were scattered over the country, and ordered to report directly to his Majesty whatever seemed to them worthy of attention. Bureaucratic minds considered this an admirable expedient; and the Czar confidently expected that he would, by means of these official observers who had no interest in concealing the truth, be able to know everything, and to correct all official abuses. In reality the institution produced a few good results, and in some respects had a very pernicious influence. Though picked men and provided with good salaries, these officers were all more or less permeated with the prevailing spirit. They could not but feel that they were regarded as spies and informers—a humiliating conviction, little calculated to develop that feeling of self-respect which is the main foundation of uprightness—and that all their efforts could do but little good. They were, in fact, in pretty much the same position as Peter's Procurator-General, and, with that *bonhomie* which is a prominent trait of the Russian character, they disliked ruining individuals who were no worse than the majority of their fellows. Besides this, according to the received code of official morality, insubordination was a more heinous sin than dishonesty, and political offences were regarded as the blackest of all. The Gendarmerie shut their eyes, therefore, to the prevailing abuses, which were believed to be incurable, and directed their attention to real or imaginary political delinquencies. Oppression and extortion remained unnoticed, whilst an incautious word or a foolish joke at the expense of the Government was too often magnified into an act of high treason.

This force still exists, and has at least one representative in every important town. It serves as a kind of supplement to the ordinary police, and is generally employed in all matters in which secrecy is required. Unfortunately it is not bound by those legal restrictions which protect the public against the arbitrary will of the ordinary authorities. It has a vaguely-defined roving commission, to watch and arrest all persons who seem to it any way dangerous or suspicious;



LIEUTENANT T. DOUBASSOFF, OF THE RUSSIAN NAVY.

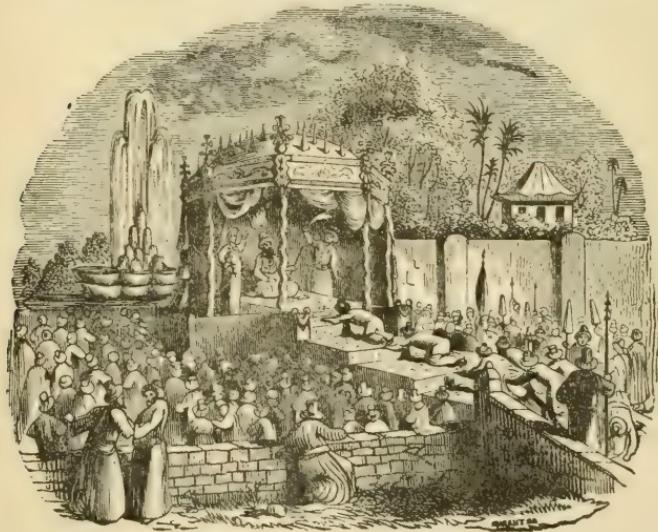
and it may keep such in confinement for an indefinite time, or remove them to some distant and inhospitable part of the Empire, without making them undergo a regular trial. It is, in short, the ordinary instrument for punishing political dreamers, suppressing secret societies, counteracting political agitations, and in general executing the extra-legal orders of the Government.

Neither the gendarmerie nor the ingenious formal procedure materially diminished the venality, dishonesty, and other vices of the officials. The attempt to remedy these evils by means of decentralization and popular election proved equally unsuccessful. From the time of Catherine II. down to the commencement of the present reign the rural police and the judges of each province and district were

elected by the local inhabitants, and the history of these institutions, which were, if possible, worse than the Imperial administration, forms an ugly, inconvenient episode for those who believe in the magical efficacy of local self-government under all circumstances.

The only effectual remedy for administrative abuses lies in placing the administration under public control. This has been abundantly proved in Russia. All the efforts of the Czars during many generations to check the evil by means of ingenious bureaucratic devices proved utterly fruitless. Even the iron will and gigantic energy of Nicholas were insufficient for the task. But when, after the Crimean War, there was a great moral awakening and the Czar called the people to his assistance, the stubborn, deep-rooted evils immediately disappeared. For a time venality and extortion were unknown, and since that period they have never been able to regain their old force.

At the present moment it cannot be said that the administration is immaculate, but it is incomparably purer than at any former period of its history. Though public opinion is no longer so powerful as it was a few years ago, it is still strong enough to repress many mal-practices which in the time of Nicholas and his predecessors were too frequent to attract attention.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE ZEMSTVO, OR LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

THE Zemstvo is a kind of local government which supplements the action of the rural communes, and takes cognizance of those higher public wants which individual communes cannot possibly satisfy. Its principal duties are to keep the roads and bridges in proper repair, to provide means of conveyance for the rural police and other officials, to elect the justices of the peace, to look after primary education and sanitary affairs, to watch the state of the crops and take measures against approaching famine, and in short to undertake, within certain clearly-defined limits, whatever seems likely to increase the material and moral well-being of the population. It consists of an assembly of deputies which meets at least once a year, and of a permanent executive bureau elected by the assembly from among its members. Once every three years the deputies are elected in certain fixed proportions by the landed proprietors, the rural communes, and the municipal corporations. Every province and each of the districts into which the province is subdivided has such an assembly and such a bureau.

The visitor to a District Assembly will find thirty or forty men seated around a long table covered with green cloth. Before each member lie sheets of paper for the purpose of taking notes, and before the president stands a small hand-bell, which he rings vigorously at the commencement of the proceedings and on all occasions when he wishes to obtain silence. To the right and left of the president sit the members of the executive bureau, armed with piles of written and printed documents, from which they read long and tedious extracts, till the majority of the audience take to yawning, and one or two of the members perhaps go to sleep. At the close of each of these reports the president rings his bell—presumably for the purpose of awakening the sleepers—and inquires whether any one has remarks to make on what has just been read. Generally some one has remarks to make, and not unfrequently a discussion ensues. When any decided difference of opinion appears, a vote is taken by handing around a

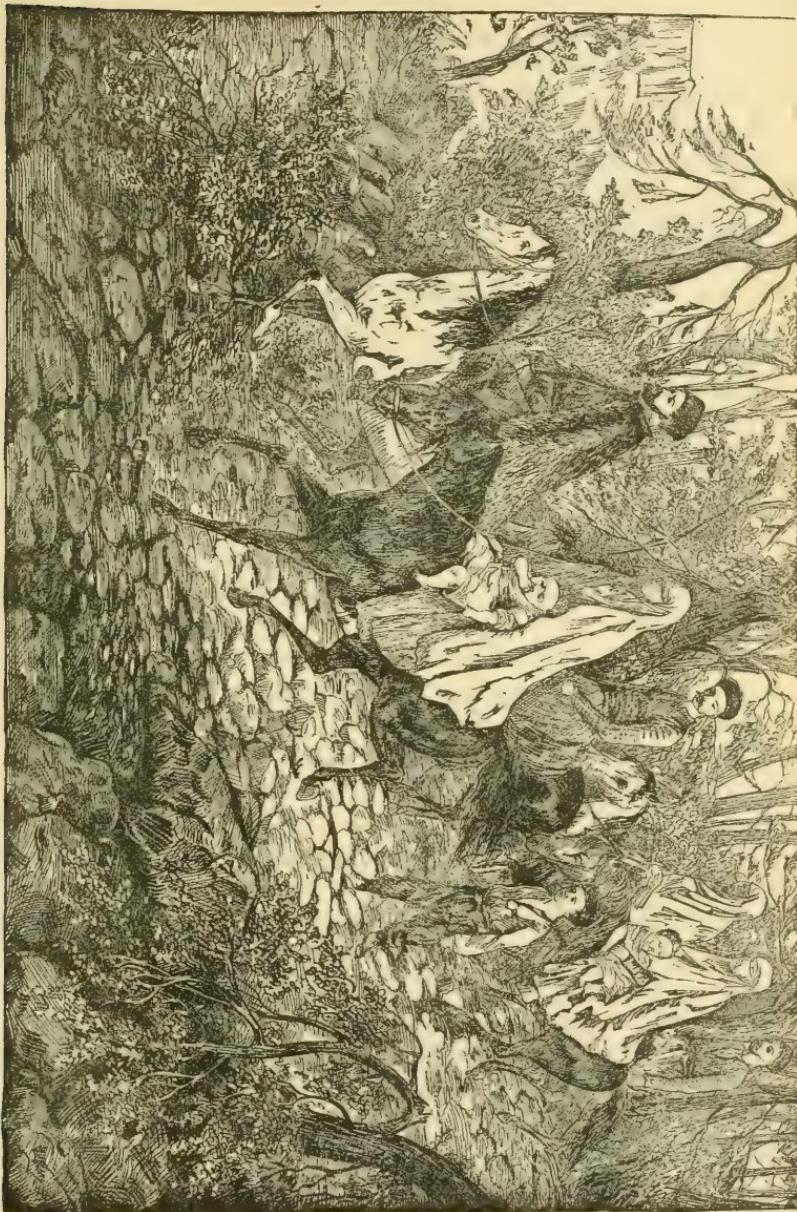
sheet of paper, or by the simpler method of requesting the Ayes to stand up and the Noes to sit still.

What is most surprising in such an assembly is, that it is composed partly of nobles and partly of peasants—the latter being decidedly in the majority—and that no trace of antagonism seems to exist between the two classes. Landed proprietors and their former serfs evidently meet for the moment on a footing of equality. The discussions are always carried on by the nobles, but occasionally peasant members rise to speak, and their remarks, always clear, practical, and to the point, are invariably listened to with respectful attention by all present. Instead of that violent antagonism which might be expected considering the constitution of the assembly, there is a great deal too much unanimity—a fact indicating plainly that the majority of the members do not take a very deep interest in the matters presented to them.

In general character and mode of procedure the Assembly for the Province resembles closely the District Assembly. Its chief peculiarities are that its members are chosen, not by the primary electors, but by the assemblies of the ten Districts which compose the Province, and that it takes cognizance merely of those matters which concern more than one District. Besides this, the peasant deputies are very few in number, although, according to the law, the peasant members of the District Assemblies are eligible, like those of the other classes. The explanation is that the District Assemblies choose their most active members to represent them in the Provincial Assemblies, and consequently the choice generally falls on landed proprietors. To this arrangement the peasants make no objection, for attendance at the Provincial Assemblies demands a considerable pecuniary outlay, and payment to the deputies is expressly prohibited by law.

To give the reader an idea of the elements composing this assembly, let us introduce him to a few of the members. A considerable section of them may be described in a single sentence. They are commonplace men, who have spent part of their youth in the public service as officers in the army, or officials in the civil administration, and have since retired to their estates, where they gain a modest competence by farming. Some of them add to their agricultural revenues by acting as justices of the peace. A few may be described more particularly.

For instance, that fine-looking old general in uniform, with the St.



A TRAVELLING TARTAR FAMILY.

George's Cross at his button-hole—an order given only for bravery in the field, is a grandson of one of Russia's greatest men. He has filled high posts in the administration without ever tarnishing his name by a dishonest or dishonorable action, and has spent a great part of his life at Court without ceasing to be frank, generous, and truthful. Though he has no intimate knowledge of current affairs, and sometimes gives way a little to drowsiness, his sympathies in disputed points are always on the right side, and when he gets to his feet he always speaks in a clear, soldier-like fashion.

The tall gaunt man, somewhat over middle age, who sits near him, has an historical name, but he cherishes above all things personal independence, and has consequently always kept aloof from the Administration and the Court. The leisure thus acquired he has devoted to study, and he has produced several very valuable works on political and social science. An enthusiastic but at the same time cool-headed abolitionist at the time of the Emancipation, he has since constantly striven to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry by advocating the spread of primary education, the establishment of rural credit associations in the villages, the preservation of the communal institutions, and numerous important reforms in the financial system. In the Assembly he speaks frequently, and always commands attention; and in all important committees he is a leading member. His neighbor is one of the most able and energetic members of the assembly. He is president of the executive bureau in one of the Districts, where he has founded many primary schools, and created several rural credit associations.

To the right and left of the president—who is Marshal of Noblesse for the province—sit the members of the bureau. The gentleman who reads the long reports is “the prime minister,” who began life as a cavalry officer, and after a few years of military service retired to his estate; he is an intelligent, able administrator, and a man of literary culture. His colleague, who assists him in reading the reports, is a merchant, and director of the municipal bank. His neighbor is also a merchant, and in some respects the most remarkable man in the room. Though born a serf, he is already an important personage in the Russian commercial world.

All these men belong to what may be called the party of progress, which anxiously supports all proposals recognized as “liberal,” and

especially all measures likely to improve the condition of the peasantry. Their chief opponent is that little man with close-cropped, bullet-shaped head and small piercing eyes, who may be called the leader of the opposition. That gentleman opposes many of the proposed schemes, on the ground that the province is already overtaxed, and that the expenditure ought therefore to be reduced to the smallest possible figure. In the District Assembly he preaches this doctrine with considerable success, for there the peasantry form the majority, and he knows how to use that terse, homely language, interspersed with proverbs, which has far more influence on the rustic mind than scientific principles and logical reasoning; but here, in the Provincial Assembly, his following composes only a respectable minority, and he confines himself to a policy of obstruction.

The reader may perhaps imagine that the Zemstvo has, like the rural Commune, grown up slowly in the course of centuries, and is in its present form a remnant of ancient liberties, which has successfully resisted the centralizing tendencies of the autocratic power. In reality it is nothing of the sort. It is a modern institution, created by the autocratic power about ten years ago, and represents the most recent attempt to lighten the duties and correct the abuses of the Imperial administration by means of local self-government.

How came it, then, it may be asked, that the autocratic power, which is believed to have a superstitious dread of popular institutions, voluntarily created in each District and in each Province an organization so extremely democratic? With the view of explaining this curious anomaly we must endeavor to initiate the reader into the mysteries of Russian bureaucratic law-making.

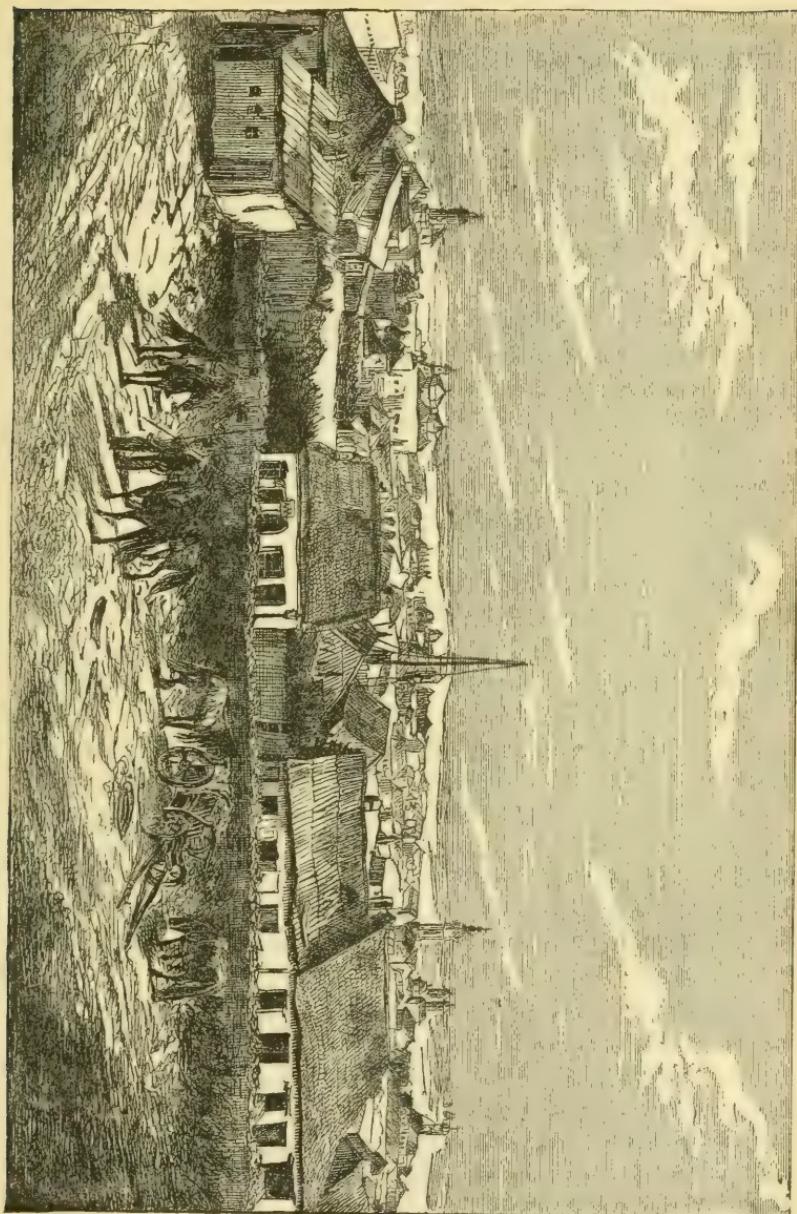
When a minister considers that some institution belonging to his branch of the service requires to be reformed, he presents to the Emperor a formal explanatory report on the subject. If his Majesty adopts the suggestion he orders a commission to be appointed for the purpose of considering the question and forming a definite project. The commission meets, and sets to work in what seems a very thorough way. It first studies the history of the institution in Russia from the earliest times downwards—or rather it listens to an essay on the subject, specially prepared for the occasion by some official who has a taste for historical studies, and can write a pleasant style. The next step—to use a phrase which often occurs in the minutes of such com-

missions—consists in “shedding the light of science on the question.” This important operation consists in preparing a memorial, containing the history of similar institutions in foreign countries, and an elaborate exposition of numerous theories held by French and German philosophical jurists. In these memorials it is often considered necessary to include every European country except Turkey, and sometimes the small German states and principal Swiss cantons are treated separately.

To illustrate the character of these wonderful productions, let us, from a pile of such papers, take one almost at random. It is a memorial relating to a proposed reform of benevolent institutions. First, we find a philosophical disquisition on benevolence in general; next, some remarks on the Talmud and the Koran; then a reference to the treatment of paupers in Athens after the Peloponnesian War, and in Rome under the emperors; then some vague observations on the Middle Ages, with a quotation evidently intended to be Latin; lastly, comes an account of the poor-laws of modern times, in which we meet with “the Anglo-Saxon domination,” King Egbert, King Ethelred; “a remarkable book of Icelandic laws, called Hragas;” Sweden and Norway, France, Holland, Belgium, Prussia, and nearly all the minor German states. The most wonderful thing is that all this mass of historical information, extending from the Talmud to the most recent legislation, is compressed into twenty-one octavo pages! The theoretical part of the memorial is equally rich. Many respected names from the literature of Europe are forcibly dragged in; and the general conclusion drawn from this mass of raw, undigested materials is believed to be “the latest results of science.”

When the quintessence of human wisdom and experience has thus been extracted, the commission considers how the valuable product may be applied to Russia, so as to harmonize with the existing general conditions and local peculiarities. For a man of practical mind this is, of course, the most interesting and most important part of the operation, but from Russian legislators it receives comparatively little attention. Vague general phrases, founded on *à priori* reasoning rather than on observation, together with a few statistical tables—which the cautious investigator should avoid as he would an ambuscade—are too often all that is to be found.

From the commission the project passes to the Council of State,



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where it is examined, criticised, and perhaps modified, but it is not likely to be thereby much improved, for the members of the council are merely former members of commissions, hardened by a few additional years of official routine. The Council is, in fact, an assembly of officials who know little of the practical, everyday wants of the unofficial classes. No merchant, manufacturer, or farmer ever enters its sacred precincts, so that its bureaucratic serenity is never disturbed by practical objections.

The commission appointed in 1859 for the purpose of "conferring more unity and independence on the local economic administration" proceeded in a less extravagant way than the two commissions just referred to. Though some remarks were made on the earliest period of Russian history, there was no reference to the Talmud and the Koran, and no attempt to define Athenian local administration after the Peloponnesian War. But the spirit which reigned in the commission was essentially bureaucratic, and the method of procedure was that which we have described. This accounts for many peculiarities of the new institutions.

The law which the commission elaborated was published in January, 1864, and produced inordinate expectations. At that time a large section of the Russian educated classes had a simple, convenient criterion for institutions of all kinds. They assumed as a self-evident axiom that the excellence of an institution must always be in proportion to its "liberal" and democratic character. The question as to how far it might be appropriate to the existing conditions and to the character of the people, and as to whether it might not, though admirable in itself, be too expensive for the work to be performed, was little thought of. Any organization which rested on "the elective principle," and provided an arena for free public discussion, was sure to be well received, and these conditions were fulfilled by the Zemstvo.

The expectations excited were of various kinds. People who thought more of political than economic progress saw in the new institutions the basis of boundless popular liberty, in which the peasant would be on a level with the richest landed proprietors. People who were accustomed to think of social rather than political progress expected that the Zemstvo would soon provide the country with good roads, safe bridges, numerous village schools, well-appointed hospitals, and all the other requisites of civilization. Agriculture would be

improved, trade and industry developed, and the condition of the peasantry ameliorated. The listless apathy of provincial life and the hereditary indifference to local public affairs were now, it was thought, about to be dispelled; and in view of this change patriotic mothers took their children to the assemblies in order to accustom them from their early years to take an interest in the public welfare.

It is scarcely necessary to say that these inordinate expectations have not been realized. The Government had no intention of conferring on the new institutions any political significance, and very soon showed that it would not allow the assemblies to exert even a moral pressure by means of petitions and political agitation. As soon as the Zemstvo of St. Petersburg gave evidence of a desire to play a political part, the assembly was at once closed by Imperial command, and several of the leading members were banished for a time from the capital.

Even in its proper sphere, as defined by law, the Zemstvo has not accomplished what was expected of it. The country has not been covered with a network of macadamized roads, and the bridges are by no means as safe as could be desired there are still few village schools, and infirmaries are rarely to be met with. Little or nothing has been done for the development of trade or manufactures; and the villages remain very much what they were under the old administration. Meanwhile the local rates have been rising with alarming rapidity; and many people draw from all this the conclusion that the Zemstvo is a worthless institution which has increased the taxation without conferring any corresponding benefit on the country.

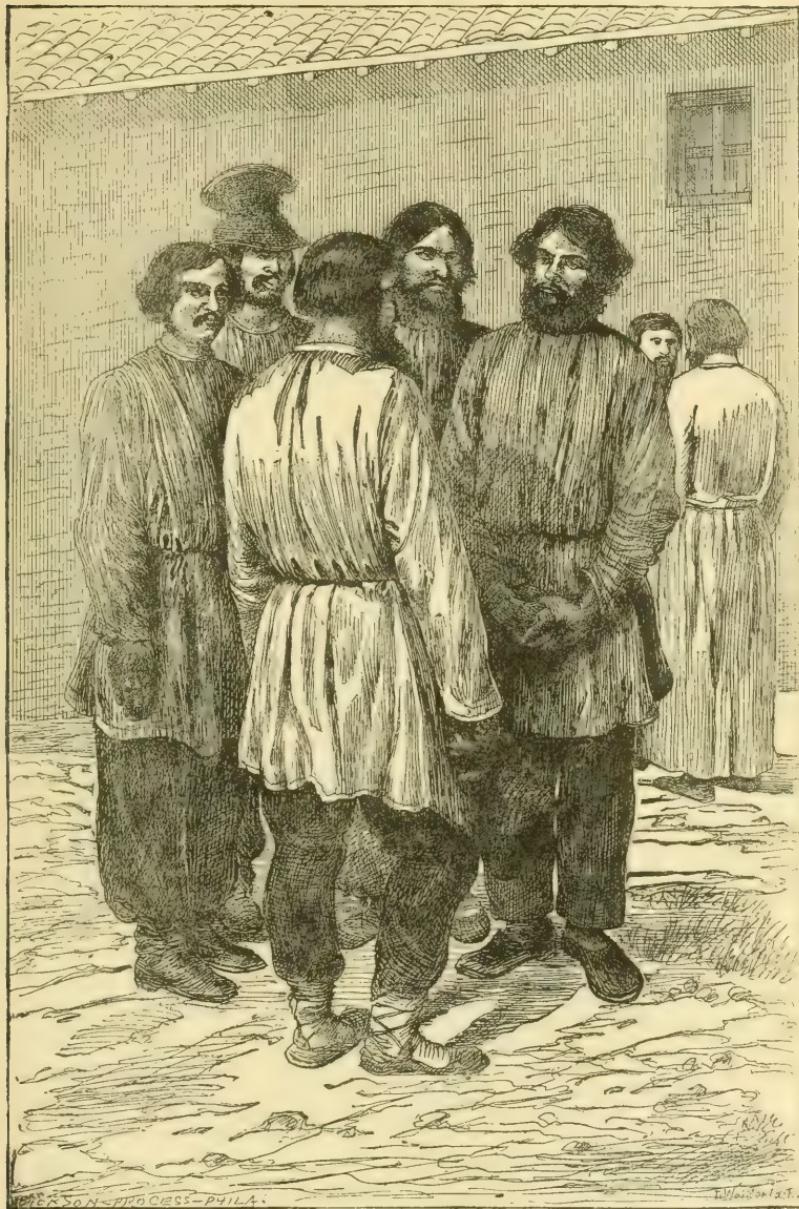
If we take as our criterion in judging the institution the exaggerated expectations at first entertained, we may feel inclined to agree with this conclusion, but this is merely tantamount to saying that the Zemstvo has performed no miracles. Russia is much poorer and much less densely populated than the more advanced nations which she takes as her model. To suppose that she could at once create for herself by means of an administrative reform all the conveniences which those more advanced nations enjoy, was as absurd as it would be to imagine that a poor man can at once construct a magnificent palace because he has received from a wealthy neighbor the necessary architectural plans. Not only years but generations must pass before Russia can assume the appearance of Germany, France, or England.

The metamorphosis may be accelerated or retarded by good government, but it could not be effected at once, even if the combined wisdom of all the philosophers and statesmen in Europe were employed in legislating for the purpose.

The Zemstvo has, however, done much more than the majority of its critics suppose. In the first place, it fulfills tolerably well its ordinary everyday duties, and is very little tainted with peculation and jobbery. Secondly, it has greatly improved the condition of the hospitals, asylums, and other benevolent institutions committed to its charge; and it has done much, considering the limited means at its disposal, for the spread of popular education by founding village schools and a few seminaries for the preparation of schoolmasters. In the third place, the Zemstvo has created a new and more equitable system of rating, by which the landed proprietors and owners of houses are made to bear their share of the public burdens. Last, and not least, it has created a system of mutual fire insurance for the villagers—a most valuable institution in a country like Russia, where the great majority of the peasants live in wooden houses, and fires are extremely frequent.

Notwithstanding these important results, it must be confessed that the Zemstvo is at present in a somewhat critical state. It no longer enjoys public confidence, and already shows unmistakable symptoms of exhaustion. This fact is recognized by all; and the best authorities are pretty nearly unanimous regarding the cause of the phenomenon. The Government, they say, conceived in a moment of enthusiasm the project of conferring local self-government on the people, but it afterwards became frightened, and put heavy fetters on the young institution. The assemblies were obliged to accept as presidents the marshals of noblesse. A limit was placed to the taxation of trade and industry, and consequently the mercantile class lost all interest in the proceedings. The publicity which was at first granted to the assemblies was afterwards diminished by giving to the governors of provinces the right to prevent the publication of the minutes and other documents. These restrictions, it is said, have rendered all free, vigorous action impossible.

We have here an explanation which is thoroughly in accordance with Russian conceptions and habits of thought. When anything goes wrong in Russia there is always a tendency to assume that the Gov-



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ernment is to blame, and St. Petersburg is expected to supply the remedy. As the Government attempts to control everything, the tendency is perfectly natural, but the explanation to which it gives rise is not wholly satisfactory with regard to the Zemstvo. If it is undeniable that considerable restrictions have been placed on its freedom of action, it is equally undeniable that an institution which succumbs so easily must have very little true vitality in it. In our opinion the cause of that exhaustion and languor which the Zemstvo at present displays lies much deeper, and must be sought in one of the essential peculiarities of Russian national life. The political history of Russia during the last two centuries may be briefly described as a series of revolutions effected peaceably by the autocratic power. Each young energetic sovereign has attempted to inaugurate a new epoch by thoroughly remodeling the administration according to the most approved foreign political philosophy of the time. Institutions have not been allowed to grow spontaneously out of popular wants, but have been invented by bureaucratic theorists to satisfy wants of which the people were still unconscious. The administrative machine has therefore derived little or no motive force from the people, and has always been kept in motion by the unaided energy of the central Government. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the repeated attempts of the Government to lighten the burdens of centralized administration by creating organs of local self-government should have been eminently unsuccessful.

The Zemstvo, it is true, offered better chances of success than any of its predecessors. A large portion of the nobles had become alive to the necessity of improving the administration, and the popular interest in public affairs was much greater than at any former period. Hence there was at first a period of enthusiasm, during which great preparations were made for future activity, and not a little was actually effected. The institution had all the charm of novelty, and the members felt that the eyes of the public were upon them. For a time all went well, and the Zemstvo was so well pleased with its own activity that the satirical journals compared it to Narcissus admiring his image reflected in the pool. But when the charm of novelty had passed and the public turned its attention to other matters, the spasmodic energy evaporated, and many of the most active members looked about for more lucrative employment. Such employment was easily found, for

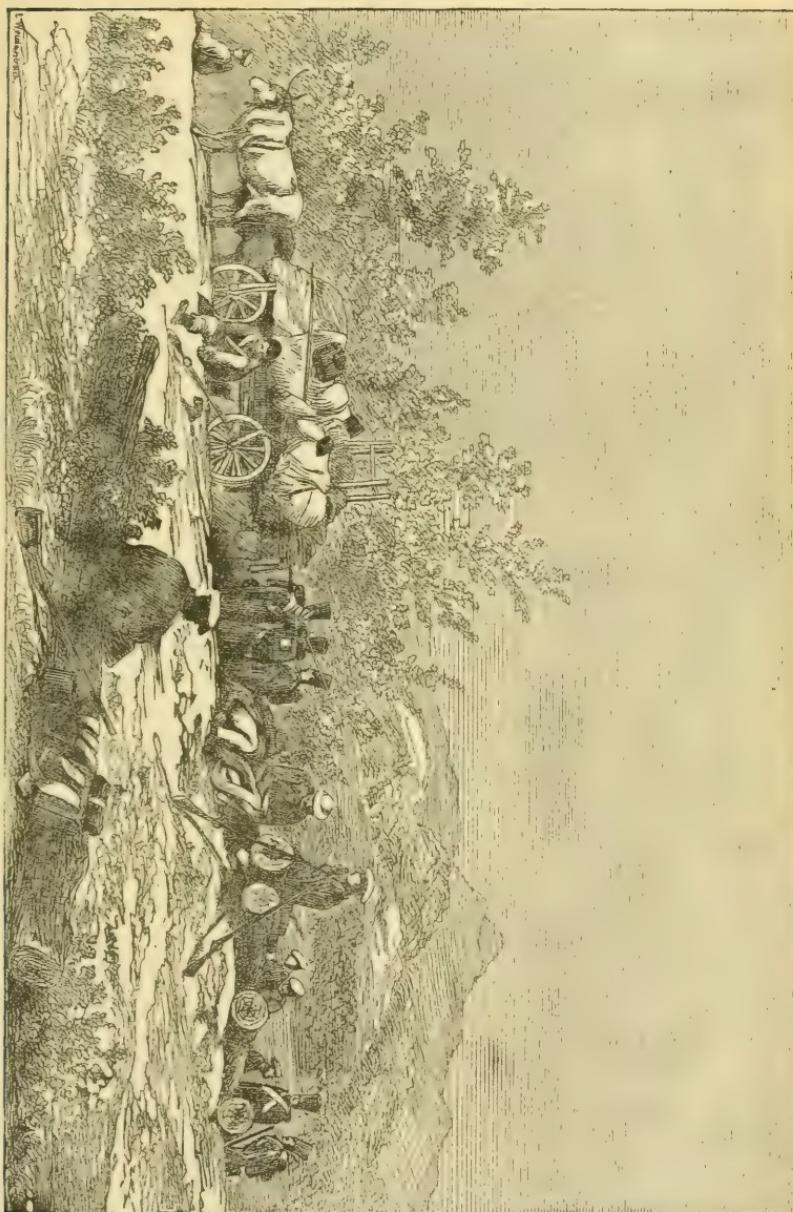
at that time there was an unusual demand for able, energetic, educated men. Several branches of the civil service were being reorganized, and railways, banks, and joint-stock companies were being rapidly multiplied. With these the Zemstvo had great difficulty in competing. It could not, like the Imperial service, offer pensions, decorations, and prospects of promotion, nor could it pay such large salaries as the commercial and industrial enterprises. In consequence of all this, the quality of the executive bureaus deteriorated at the same time as the public interest in the institution diminished.

It is right to point out this fact, because it has had some influence in producing that languor from which the Zemstvo is at present suffering. It is not, however, the chief cause. The languor has appeared among the deputies and the public quite as much as in the executive committees. The chief cause lies in the fact that very few people feel keenly the want of those things which the Zemstvo is intended to supply. Take, for instance, a matter of first necessity. That good roads are necessary for the development of the national resources is a principle well known to every Russian who has any pretensions to being educated, but very few of the enlightened deputies who occasionally enounce the principle feel the necessity of having good roads in their own district in the same sense as they feel the necessity of having opportunities for card-playing. The one is a theoretical, the other a practical want. When the landed proprietors learn to keep accounts accurately, and discover that a certain amount of money spent on roads will be more than compensated for by the diminution in the cost of transport, then, and not till then, will the road committees become vigorous institutions. The same remark may be applied to all the other branches of the local self-government.

In order to illustrate the essentially unpractical character of the institution, we cannot do better than describe briefly an incident which once occurred in a District Assembly. When the subject of primary schools came before the meeting, an influential member started up, and proposed that an obligatory system of education should be at once introduced throughout the whole District. Strange to say, the motion was very nearly carried, though all the members present knew—or at least might have known if they had taken the trouble to inquire—that the actual number of schools would have to be multiplied twenty-fold, and that the local rates were already very

heavy. To preserve his reputation for liberalism, the honorable member further proposed that, though the system should be obligatory, no fines, punishments, or other means of compulsion should be employed. How a system could be obligatory without using some means of compulsion, he did not condescend to explain. To get out of this difficulty one of his supporters suggested that peasants who did not send their children to school should be excluded from serving as office-bearers in the Communes; but this proposition merely created a laugh, for many deputies knew that the peasants would regard this supposed punishment as a valuable privilege. And whilst this discussion about the necessity of introducing an ideal system of obligatory education was being carried on, the street before the windows of the room was covered with a stratum of mud nearly two feet in depth! The other streets were in a similar condition; and a large number of the members always arrived late, because it was almost impossible to come on foot, and there was only one public conveyance in the town. Many members had, fortunately, their private conveyances, but even in these locomotion was by no means easy. One day, in the principal thoroughfare, a member had his tarantass overturned, and he himself was thrown into the mud!

We might describe many minor defects of the Zemstvo in its present condition, but it would be unfair to criticise severely a young institution which is animated with good intentions, and errs chiefly from inexperience. With all its defects and errors it is infinitely better than the institutions which it replaced. If we compare it with previous attempts to create local self-government, we must admit that the Russians have made great progress in their political education. What its future may be we do not venture to predict. We are inclined to believe that it will outlive its present state of lethargy, and will gradually acquire new, healthy vitality, as the people come to feel more and more the need of those things which it is intended to supply. But, on the other hand, it may possibly die of inanition, or be swept away by some new explosion of reforming enthusiasm before it has had time to strike deep root. Some one has truly said that Time shows little respect to works which have dispensed with its assistance; and nowhere is the saying more frequently exemplified than in Russia, where institutions shoot up like Jonah's gourd, and perish as rapidly, without leaving a trace behind them.



HALT OF A RUSSIAN MILITARY CONVOY.

CHAPTER XV.

ORIGIN OF THE TURKS.

ACCORDING to the historian Abou'Igazi Bahdur-Khan, the Turks are descended from Turk, the eldest son of Japhet, and of the same primitive stock as the Tartars and Mongols. They were one of the five nomadic races which comprised the Turanian family of men. Some of the numerous tribes which formed this race have been erroneously called Tartars; but the latter people were more nearly allied to the Mongolians than the Turks.

From the land of Tura, the Turkish tribes spread out as far as the Lena on the north (where they are still represented by the Yakuts), to the Black Sea, to the Oxus, beyond the Caspian, and to Asia Minor.

They were known to the Chinese by the name of Hiong-nu and also Tu-kiu, from which the name Turk is supposed to be derived. These Hiong-nu formed an empire, 206 b.c., west of China; and after nearly three hundred years of warfare they were defeated by the Chinese, and split up into a Northern and Southern empire.

The Southerns afterwards united with the Chinese, and drove their Northern cousins away from their lands amongst the Altai mountains; and this is supposed to have been the cause of the first inroad of the Turks upon Europe, and they probably represent the ancestors of the Huns and Avars.

In the beginning of the third century the Mongols and Tungusians attacked the Southern Turks, and, driving them from their territories, created the second Western migration. These various tribes are now to be found in the Turcomans east and west of the Caspian; in the Usbekhs of Bokhara, who are partly Finn; in the Nogai, north of the Black Sea and west of the Caspian; the Bazianes and the Kumüks of the Caucasus; the so-called Tartars of Siberia; the Bashkirs of Russia, who are partly Mongol; the Kirghis of Kashgir; the Youruks and Osmanlis of Asia Minor and Turkey in Europe.

After the dispersion of the Southern Hiong-nu, some of the Turkish tribes became slaves to the great khan of the Geougen, and in the



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golden mountains of Altai were employed as forgers of iron and makers of weapons of war. It is from these men that the Turks of Europe can claim their origin. From being makers of arms, they soon learned to use them with such terrible effect that, under their first leader, Bertezema, they cast off the yoke which pressed upon them, and, scattering their oppressors to the winds, established their royal camp in the golden mountains.

The advantages of their nomadic life are well depicted in the advice given by a counselor to one of the successors of Bertezema, urging him not to invade China. "The Turks," he said, "are not equal in number to one hundredth part of the inhabitants of Chima. If we balance their power and elude their armies, it is because we wander without any fixed habitations, in the exercise of war and hunting. Are we strong? We advance and conquer. Are we feeble? We retire and are concealed. Should the Turks confine themselves within the walls of cities, the loss of a battle would be the destruction of their empire. The 'bonzes' preach only patience, humility, and the renunciation of the world. Such, O King! is not the religion of heroes."

This breathes the genuine spirit of the Turanian race, and well exemplifies the roving character of the Turkish Court.

Their religion, prior to their conversion to Mohammedanism, was a mixture of the doctrines of Zoroaster and the traditions of their ancestors. They had their priests, and sung rude hymns in worship of the air, fire, water, and the earth, but they sacrificed to the supreme deity. As might be expected, their laws were unwritten, and of a general character, the minor details being probably laid down by the order of heads of tribes. Yet there were general principles which they all acknowledged, and which were rigorously and impartially executed. Theft was punished by a tenfold restitution; adultery, treason and murder, with death. No chastisement was considered too severe for the crime of cowardice. We have here all the elements of a stern justice, and these main principles of morality, added to the free and independent life of warrior shepherds, were the cause of that lofty and chivalrous character which always attached to the Turks as a nation.

The rich grazings of their unbounded pasture-lands gave an almost unlimited supply of horses, and one of their armies alone numbered four hundred thousand cavalry. This gives some idea of the extraordinary power of these tribes in former days, and of the rapidity with which they could sweep over the land as conquerors. It was, in fact, a nomad kingdom. Their great rivals were the Persians—rivals in arms and rivals in race and customs, and Tura and Arya here stood face to face.

The wandering life of the Turks was fitted for reflection rather than study, and we accordingly find them mostly ignorant of science, while the sedentary habits of the Persians placed them among the first nations of the world for scientific learning.

The Turkish Empire, founded by Bertezema, increased under his successors until it burst by over-expansion, and was divided into three kingdoms; and it is with one of these, which held its sway in the Golden Mountains of Altai, that we have now to deal. The Turanian and Aryan streams of emigration, with all their attendant tribes, were now eddying among each other in Scythia and the Caucasus, and we are told by Pliny that in the market of Dioscurias no less than one hundred and thirty languages were spoken.

This was literally a golden age, for that precious metal seemed to form the material for all the furniture of the great Turk Emperor in his nomad court of the Altai Mountains; and we hear of the great Disabul sitting in a chariot of gold, supported by golden peacocks, for

which a horse was always kept ready harnessed, in order that, if his Royal Highness wishes to move, he might not have the trouble of walking.

The rich mines of Trebizond and the Caucasus furnished the precious metal, which, with the rich silks of China, added to the luxury of the age.

In the reign of Chosroes, King of Persia, the Turks and the Byzantine Empire were united against their common enemy, but the more civilized Romans merely made use of the Turks as a temporary and useful weapon. The contempt in which the Turks held the Byzantine intrigue was manifested by the successor to Disabul, when in the sixth century the Emperor Tiberius, who proposed an invasion of Persia, sent ambassadors to salute him.

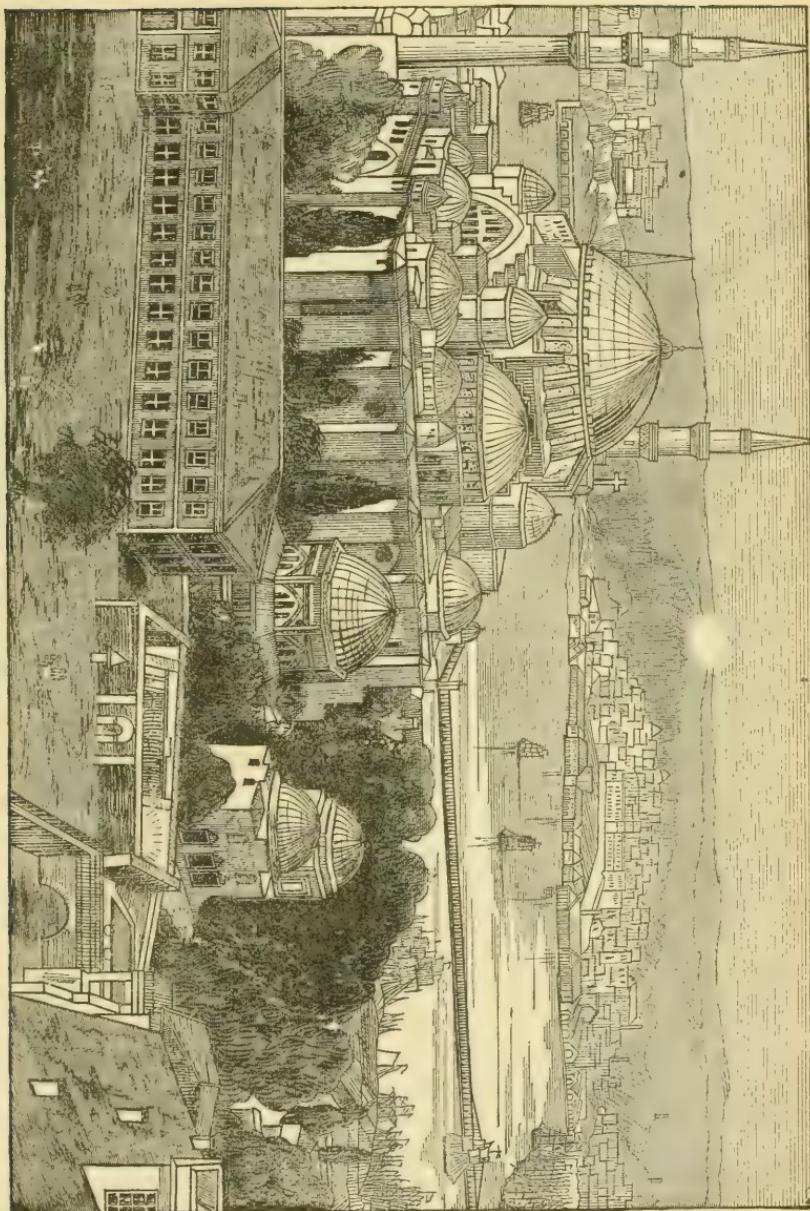
With indignant anger the haughty monarch turned to them and said, "You see my ten fingers? You Romans speak with as many tongues; but they are the tongues of deceit and perjury. To me you hold one language, to my subjects another, and the nations are successively deluded by your perfidious eloquence; you precipitate your allies into war and danger; you enjoy your labors; and you neglect your benefactors. Hasten your return, and inform your master that a Turk is incapable of uttering or forgiving falsehood, and that he shall speedily meet the punishment he deserves."

In the middle of the seventh century the prophet Mohammed appeared, and, with his successors, spread his religion with lightning rapidity north, south, east and west, until it rivaled Christianity in its converts, and included many of the Turkish tribes in the number.

There were several dynasties of Mohammedan Turks before the Ottomans arose, and there are to this day vast nations of Turks, some of them mere savages, who have never embraced Mohammedanism. It must always be borne in mind that all Mohammedans are not Turks, and that all Turks are not Ottomans. The Turks with whom we have to do are those Turks who learned the Mohammedan religion at the hands of the Saracens, and specially with that body of them which made their way into Europe and founded the Ottoman dominion there. The Turks and Saracens first came to have dealings with one another at the moment when the Saracen dominion which the Turks were to supplant was at the height of its power. This was in the year 710, seventy-eight years after the death of Mohammed. It was in that year

that the Saracens passed from Africa into Spain, and made the beginning their greatest conquest in Europe. In the same year they first crossed the Oxus, and began to make converts and subjects among those Turks who lived between that great river and the Jaxartes. In the next year the conquest of Sind gave the Saracen dominion the greatest extent that it ever had. This last possession however, was not long kept, and the great Mohammedan conquests in India, conquests with which we have now no concern, did not begin till long afterwards. But it is worth noticing that it was almost at the same moment that the Mohammedan religion and the Mohammedan power made their way into India, into Western Europe, and into the land which was then the land of the Turks. The Caliph or successor of the Prophet, the temporal and spiritual chief of all who profess the Mohammedan creed, now ruled over lands washed by the Atlantic and over lands washed by the Indian Ocean. The word which went forth from his palace at Damascus was obeyed on the Indus, on the Jaxartes, and on the Tagus.

While the whole Mohammedan world was thus under one ruler, the Christian nations were divided among many rulers. But there were two Christian powers which stood out above all others. The Roman Empire still had its seat at Constantinople, and still held, though often in detached pieces, the greater part of the European coast of the Mediterranean Sea. The Saracens had lopped away Syria, Egypt, and Africa; the Slaves had pressed into the southeastern peninsula; the Bulgarians had settled south of the Danube, and the Lombards had conquered the greater part of Italy. Still both the Old and the New Rome obeyed the one Roman Emperor, and the Roman Empire was still the first of Christian powers, and still kept the chief rule of the Mediterranean. The other great Christian power was that of the Franks in Germany and Gaul, the power which was, at the end of the century, to grow into a new Western Empire with its seat at the Old Rome. Thus the Roman power still went on, only cut short and modified in various ways by the coming in of the Teutons in the West and of the Slaves in the East. And herein comes a very instructive parallel. For, as soon as the Saracens began to conquer and convert the Turks, the Turks begin to play a part in the history of the Saracen dominion in Asia which is much like the part which was played in Europe by the Teutons towards the Western Roman Empire, and by



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the Slaves towards the Eastern. The Turks appear under the Caliphs as slaves, as subjects, as mercenaries, as practical masters, as avowed sovereigns, and lastly, in the case of the Ottomans, as themselves claiming the powers of the Caliphate. The dominions of the Caliphs gradually broke up into various states, which were ruled for the most part by Turkish princes who left a merely nominal superiority to the Caliph. It is not our business here to go through all of them. But one must be mentioned, that out of which the Ottoman dynasty arose. This was the Turkish dynasty of the house of Seljuk, which was the greatest power in Asia in the eleventh century. Their early princes, Togrul Beg, Alp-Arslan, and Malek Shah, were not only great conquerors, but great rulers after the Eastern pattern. They had many of the virtues which are commonly found in the founders of dynasties and their immediate successors. The Seljuk Turks pressed their conquests to the West, and so had more to do with Christians than any of the Turkish dynasties before them had. And it should carefully be noticed that it is from this time that a more special and crying oppression of the Christians under Mohammedan rule begins. The Turks, even these earlier and better Turks, were a ruder and fiercer people than the Saracens, and they were doubtless full of the zeal of new converts. Doubtless, even under the Saracen rule, the Christian subjects of the Caliphs had always been oppressed and sometimes persecuted. But it is plain that, from the time when the power of the Turks began, oppression became harder and persecution more common. It was the increased wrong-doings of the Turks, both towards the native Christians and towards pilgrims from the West, which caused the great cry for help which led to the Crusades. There were no Crusades as long as the Saracens ruled; as soon as the Turks came in, the Crusades began.

In the latter part of the eleventh century began those long continued invasions of the Eastern Roman Empire by the Turks which led in the end to the foundation of the Ottoman power in Europe. There is no greater mistake than to think that the whole time during which the Eastern Empire went on at Constantinople was a time of mere weakness and decline. A power which was beset by enemies on all sides, in a way in which hardly any other power ever was, could not have lived on for so many ages, it could not have been for a great part of that time one of the chief powers of the world, if it had been

all that time weak and declining. The Eastern Emperors are often said by those who have not read their history to have been all of them weak and cowardly men. Instead of this, many of them were great conquerors and rulers, who beat back their enemies on every side, and made great conquests in their turn. The great feature in the history of the Eastern Empire is not constant weakness and decline, but the alternation of periods of weakness and decline followed by periods of recovered strength. In one century provinces are lost; in another they are won back again, and new provinces added. It was in one of these periods of decline, following immediately after the greatest of all periods of renewed power, that the Turks and Romans first came across one another. We say Romans, because the people of the Eastern Empire called themselves by no other name, and the nations of Asia knew them by no other name. The Eastern Empire was indeed fast becoming Greek, as the Western Empire may be said to have already become German. But the Emperors and their subjects never called themselves Greeks at any time, and the time has not yet come when it becomes convenient to give them the name.

The Turkish invasion of the Empire came just after a time of brilliant conquest and prosperity under the Macedonian dynasty of Emperors. This dynasty began in the ninth century and went on into the eleventh. Under it the Empire gained a great deal, and lost comparatively little. At the very beginning of the period, in 878, the Saracens completed the conquest of Sicily, which had been going on for about fifty years. A hundred years later, in 988, Cherson, an outlying possession in the Tauric peninsula or Crimea, was taken by the Russian Vladimir. On the other hand, the power of the Empire was vastly increased both in Europe and in Asia. The dominions of the Emperors in Southern Italy were increased; Crete was won back; the great Bulgarian kingdom was conquered, and the other Slavonic states in the Eastern peninsula became either subject or tributary to the Empire. In Asia large conquests, including Antioch, were made from the Saracens; Armenia was annexed, and the power of the Empire was extended along the eastern shores of the Euxine. The greatest conquests of all were made in the reign of Basil the Second, called the Slayer of the Bulgarians, who reigned from 976 to 1025. A dominion of this kind, which depends on one man, is something like a watch, which, if wound up, will go for a while by itself, but will

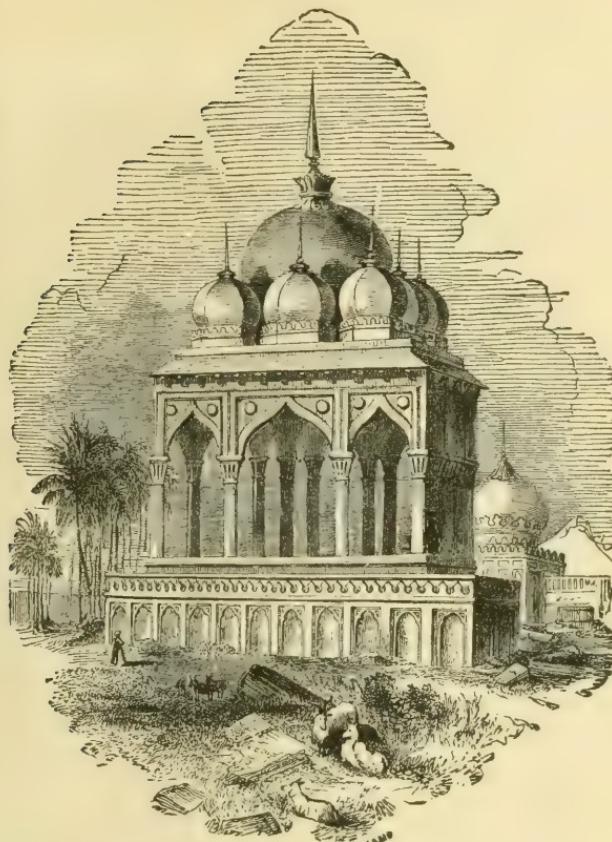
presently go down, if it is not wound up again. So, as after Basil no great Emperor reigned for some while, the Empire began again to fall back, not at once, but within a few years. About the middle of the eleventh century came one of the periods of decline, and the Empire was cut short by the Normans in Italy and by the Turks in Asia. The Seljuk Sultan Alp-Arslan invaded Asia Minor, a land which the Saracens had often ravaged, but which they had never conquered. He overthrew the Emperor Rômanos in battle, and treated him personally with marked generosity. This was in 1071, and from this time dates the establishment of the Turks, as distinguished from the Saracens, in the lands which had been part of the Roman Empire. All the inland part of the peninsula was now occupied by the Turks, and, when in 1092 the great Seljuk dominion was broken up, the

city of Nikaia or Nice, the place of the famous council, became the capital of a Turkish dynasty. The map will show how near this brought the Turks to Constantinople. And it might hardly have been thought that three hundred and sixty years would pass before the Turks entered the imperial city. But, as ruling over a land conquered from the Roman Empire, the Sultans who reigned at Nikaia called themselves Sultans of *Roum*, that is of *Rome*. It was this great advance of the power of the Seljuk Turks which caused the Christian nations of the West to come to the help of their brethren in the East.

The history of the Crusades concerns us here only so far as, by



A TURKISH MOSQUE.



A MOHAMMEDAN MOSQUE.

affecting both the Eastern Roman Empire and the power of the Seljuk Turks, they did in the end pave the way for the advance of the Ottomans. The effect of the first Crusade was to drive back the Turks from their position at Nikaia which was so threatening to the Empire. The Emperors who now reigned, those of the house of Komnénos, were for the most part either wise statesmen or good soldiers. Under their reigns therefore came another period of renewed strength, though the Empire never again became what it had been under the Macedonians. We are most concerned with their advance in Asia. There, following in the wake of the Crusaders, they were able to win back a

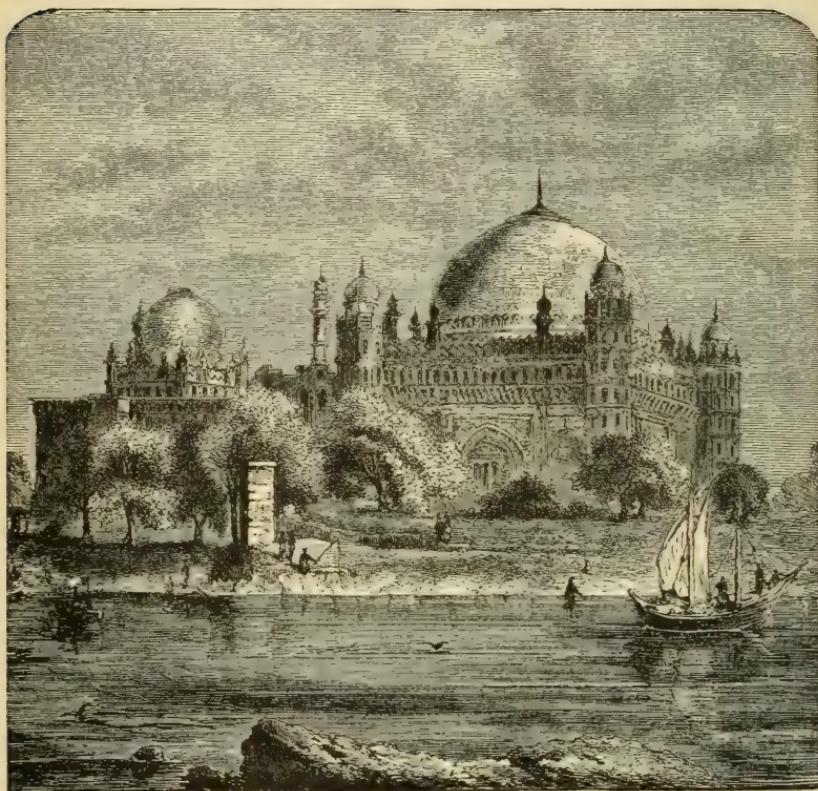
great part of the land, and the capital of the Seljuk Sultans fell back from Nikaia to Ikonion. The dominion of these Sultans gradually broke up after the usual manner of Asiatic powers, and so paved the way for the coming of a mightier power of their own race. But meanwhile events were happening in Europe which equally payed the way for the growth of new powers there. After the time of revival under the Komnenian Emperors came another time of decline, in the latter years of the twelfth century. The Bulgarians threw off the Roman yoke and formed a restored Bulgarian kingdom, which cut the Empire short to the northwest. At the other end of the Empire, a separate Emperor set himself up in the isle of Cyprus. A time of utter weakness and disunion had come, when it seemed as if the Empire must fall altogether before any vigorous enemy.

And so in some sort it happened. A blow presently came which may be looked on as really the ending of the old Roman Empire of the East. In 1204 Constantinople was taken by a band of Crusaders who had turned away from the warfare to which they were bound against the Mohammedans in Asia, to overthrow the eastern bulwark of Christendom in Europe. Now begins the dominion of the Franks or Latins in Eastern Europe. The Christians of the West were known as Latins, as belonging to the Western or Latin Church, which acknowledged the authority of the Bishop of Rome. And they were called Franks, as Western Europeans are called in the East to this day, because most of them came from countries where the French tongue was spoken. But along with the French-speaking Crusaders came the Venetians, who had a great trade in the East, and who had already begun to establish their power in Dalmatia. Constantinople was taken, and Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was set up as a Latin Emperor. So much of *Romania*, as the Eastern Empire was called, as the Franks and Venetians could get hold of was parcelled out among the conquerors. But they never conquered the whole, and Greek princes kept several parts of the Empire. Thus what really happened was that the Empire was split up into a number of small states, Greek and Frank. We now cannot help using the word Greek; for, after the loss of Bulgaria, the Empire was wholly confined to Greek-speaking people, and we need some name to distinguish them from the Franks or Latins. But they still called themselves Romans; and it is strange, in reading the Greek writers, to hear of wars between

the Romans and the Latins, as if we had gone back to the early days of the Old Rome and the Thirty Cities of Latium. Latin Emperors reigned at Constantinople for nearly sixty years. For a few years there was a Latin kingdom of Thessalonica, and there were Latin princes at Athens and in Peloponnésos, while the commonwealth of Venice kept the great islands of Corfu and Crete, and allowed Venetian families to establish themselves as rulers in several of the islands of the Ægæan. On the other hand, Greek princes reigned in Epeiros, and two Greek Empires were established in Asia. One had its seat at Trebizond on the southeast coast of the Euxine, while the other had its seat at Nikaia, the first capital of the Turkish Sultans of Roum. This last set of Emperors gradually won back a considerable territory both in Europe and Asia, and at last, in 1261, they won back Constantinople from the Latins. Thus the Eastern Roman Empire in some sort began afresh, though with much smaller territory and power than it had before the Latin conquest. It was threatened on all sides by Bulgarians, Servians, Latins, and Turks; and no great Emperors reigned in this last stage of the Empire. Yet, even in these last days, there was once more something of a revival, and the Emperors gradually won back nearly the whole of all Peloponnésos.

Thus a way was opened for a new race of conquerors both in Europe and Asia, by the breaking up of the power of the old Emperors who, even as late as the eleventh century, had reigned at once in Italy and in Armenia. Instead of the old Eastern Empire, there was now only a crowd of states, two of which, at Constantinople and Trebizond, kept on the titles of the old Empire. None of them were very great, and most of them at enmity with one another. The thirteenth century too, which saw the break-up of the Empire in Europe, saw also the break-up of the older Mohammedan powers in Asia and the beginning of the last and the most abiding of all. This was, in fact, the time when all the powers of Europe and Asia seemed to be putting on new shapes. In the thirteenth century the Western Empire in some sort came to an end as well as the Eastern. For after Frederick the Second the Emperors maintained no abiding power in Italy. In Spain the Mohammedan power, which had once held nearly the whole peninsula, was shut up within the narrow bounds of the kingdom of Granada. Castile now took its place as the leading power of Spain, and France was likewise established as the ruling power of Gaul. And, while great

Christian powers were thus established in the western lands which had been held by the Mohammedans, the Caliphate of Bagdad itself was overthrown by conquerors from the further lands of Asia. This event, which seemed the most crushing blow of all, was part of a chain of events which brought on the stage a Mohammedan power more terrible than all that had gone before it. We have now come to the time of the first appearance of the Ottoman Turks.



MOSQUE AND TOMB OF SULTAN MOHAMMED.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE OTTOMAN TURKS.

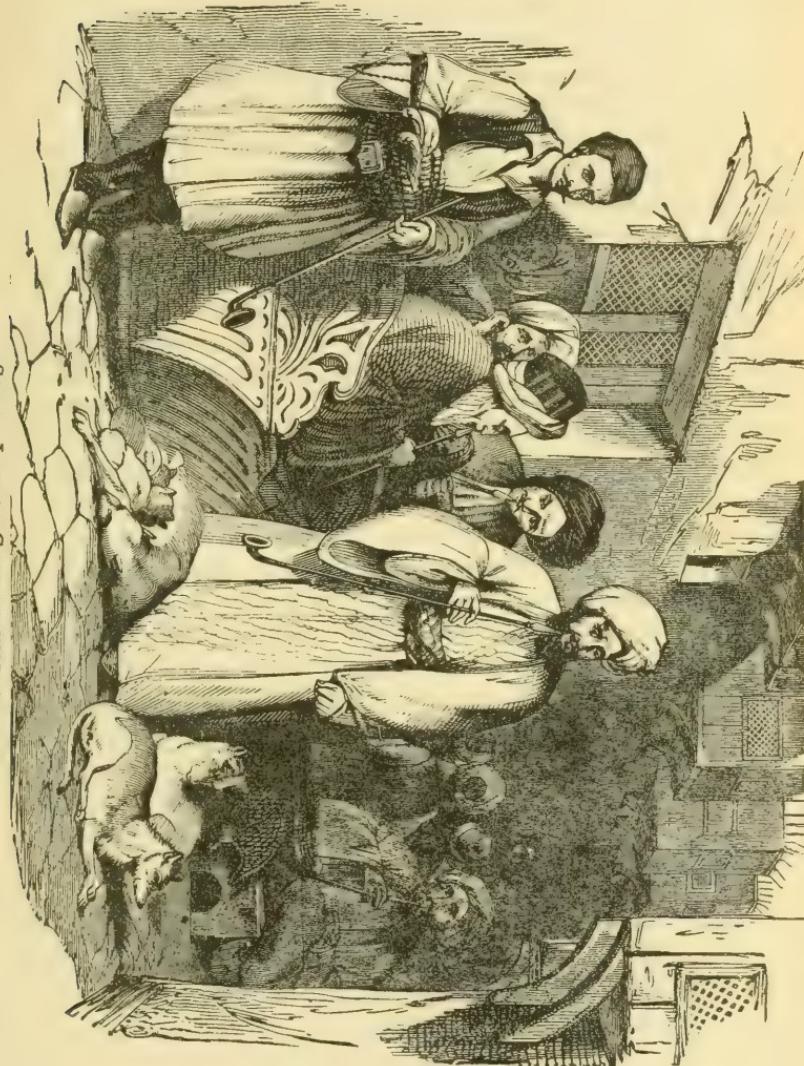
THE necessities of the Seljukian Turks in Asia Minor had reached their far distant and now comparatively ancient home in Khorassan, where there still lived a large tribe of this renowned race under the name of Oghouz Turks.

Actuated, it may be, by sympathy, or it may be by pressure from Tartar foes, Soliman Shah, chief of the Oghouz Turks, broke, like a rift from a river-bank, from his native land, and with four hundred families of his tribe, headed by their male warriors, he wended his way towards Asia Minor, to mingle with his kinsfolk under the Sultan Aladdin of Iconium.

Rough must have been the way, and hard the fare of these immigrant families, as they tramped over mountain and plain, through river and marsh, over the thousands of miles which separated them from their destination. Their chief, Soliman Shah, was drowned in the passage of the river Euphrates; but his son Ertoghrul, the progenitor of the future Ottoman power, immediately placed himself at their head. For weeks and months they wandered, until at last they approached their future home. One day, Ertoghrul, with his brave chiefs leading the van, had just crested a tedious hill, and were descending to the valley below, when they suddenly found themselves in the presence of two contending armies. Ertoghrul quickly formed his men in order of battle, and anxiously watched the fight. "Which side shall we take?" asked his officers. "Yonder is the weakest," said Ertoghrul; "charge, and onward to their rescue." Ertoghrul discovered that the side whose cause he had espoused and won, was no other than that of Sultan Aladdin himself. He was rewarded by a grant of lands near the shores of the Euxine, and those lands, step by step, grew into the Ottoman Empire. He was succeeded by his son Osman, or Othman, A.D. 1299, a born military genius, and the founder of the Turkish race in Europe. From him comes their name of Ottomans, or Ottomans, or Osmanlis. Warriors flocked to the new standard and Othman became the most powerful prince in Western Asia.

One characteristic feature of Ottoman history may strike us from the very beginning. The house of Othman arose on the ruins of the house of Seljuk ; but whatever our own day may be destined to see, no other power has yet arisen on the ruins of the house of Othman. No other Eastern power has had such an abiding life. The Bagdad Caliphate lasted as long by mere reckoning of years ; but for many ages the Bagdad Caliphate was a mere shadow. Other Eastern powers have commonly broken in pieces after a few generations. The Ottoman power has lasted for six hundred years ; and, stranger than all, when it seemed for a moment to be going the way of other Eastern dynasties, when the power of the Ottoman Turk seemed to be breaking in pieces as the power of the Seljuk Turk had broken in pieces before him, the scattered fragments were again joined together, and the work of conquest and rule again began. But by means of this very abiding life, by prolonging the rule of a barbarian power in the midst of modern civilization, the rule of the Ottoman has shown us, in a way in which the earlier Turkish dynasties could not show us, what a power of this kind comes to in the days of its long decay. An Eastern dynasty, above all a Mohammedan dynasty, is great and glorious according to an Eastern standard as long as it remains a conquering dynasty. The Ottoman Turks remained a conquering dynasty longer than any other. Their power was thus so firmly established that it has been able to outlive the causes which broke up earlier dynasties. But, by having its being thus prolonged, it has lived on to give an example of corruption and evil of every kind for which it would be hard to find a parallel among the worst of earlier dynasties.

The Ottoman Turks have never been, in any strict sense, a nation. They were in their beginning a wandering horde, and even in the time of their greatest dominion, they kept up much of the character of a wandering horde. They have nowhere really become the people of the land. Where they have not borne rule over Christians, they have borne rule over other Mohammedans, and they have often oppressed them nearly as much, though not quite in the same way, as they have oppressed their Christian subjects. They have been, we may say, a ruling order, a body ready to admit and promote any one of any nation who chose to join them, provided of course that he accepted the Mohammedan religion. In this has lain their strength and their greatness ; but it has been throughout, not the greatness of a nation,



but the greatness of a conquering army, bearing rule over other nations. Stripping conquest and forced dominion of the false glory which surrounds them, we may say that the Ottomans began as a band of robbers, and that they have gone on as a band of robbers ever since. To a great part of their history, especially to their position in our own times, that description would apply in its fullness. But it would not be wholly fair to speak in this way of the early Ottomans. The settled and self-styled civilized Turk is really more of a robber than the wandering barbarian under whom his power began. When conquest simply means transfer from one despot to another, the conquered often gain rather than lose. The rule of the conquering despot is stronger than that of the despot whom he conquers, and a strong despot usually comes nearer to a good ruler than a weak one. That is to say, he does a kind of justice in his dominions. However great may be his own personal crimes and oppressions, he puts some check on the crimes and oppressions of others. As long, therefore, as the Ottoman rulers were strong, as long as they were conquerors, there was a good side to their rule. Most of the Sultans were stained with horrible crimes in their own persons; but most of the early Sultans had many of the virtues of rulers and conquerors. It was when their power began to decay that the blackest side of their rule came out. The oppression of the Sultans themselves became greater. To oppression was added the foulest corruption, and the weak Sultans were not able, as the strong ones had been, to keep their own servants in some kind of order. In short, the Ottoman rulers were the longest, and the early Ottoman rulers were the greatest of all lines of Eastern despots. Because of their greatness, their power has been more long-lived than any other. Because it has been more long-lived, it has in the end become worse than any other.

We must be prepared then from the beginning to find in the Ottoman rulers much that is utterly repulsive to our moral standard, much that is cruel, much that is foul, joined with much that may fairly be called great. They were in any case great soldiers. If we may apply the name statesmanship to carrying out any kind of purpose, good or bad, they were also great statesmen. And it is not till they have passed into Europe that their worst side distinctly prevails. And he who was at once the greatest of all and the worst of all, was he who fixed his throne in Constantinople. As long as they

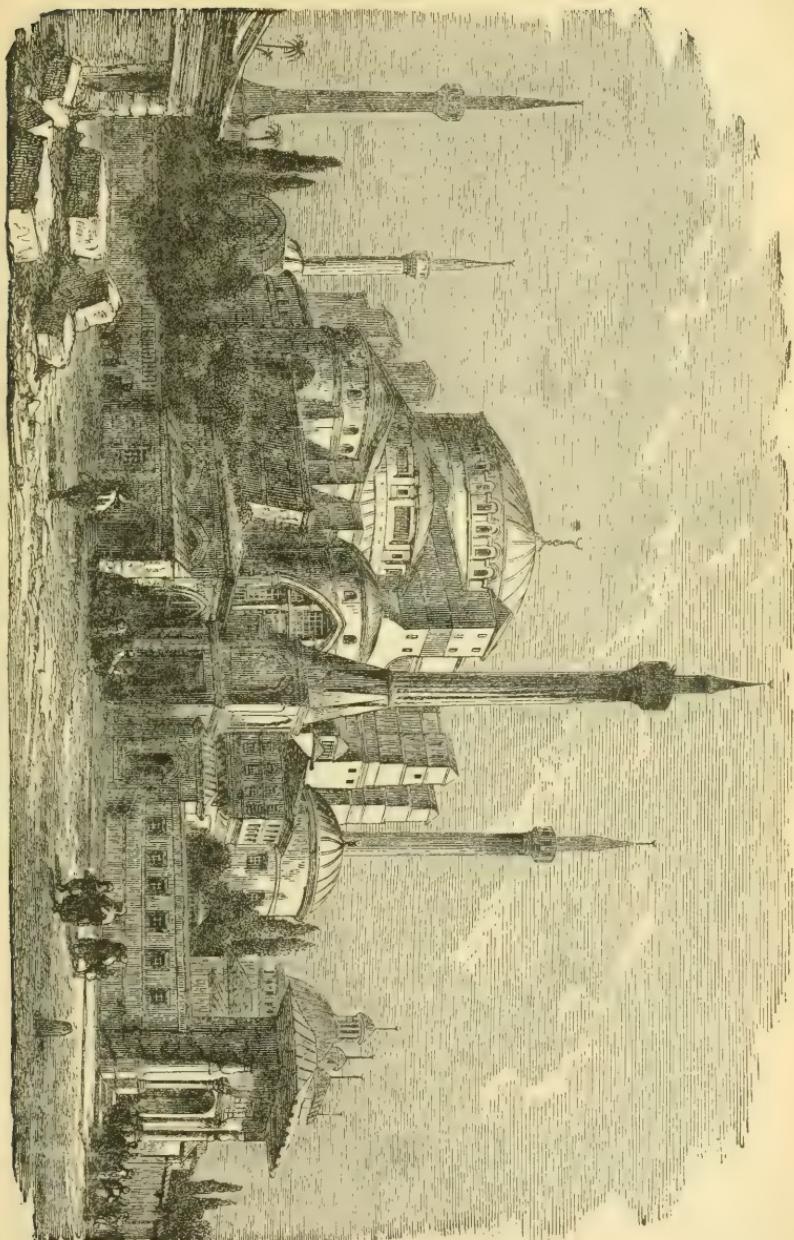
remained in Asia, the Ottomans might pass for one among many Asiatic dynasties. It is their establishment in Europe which gave them their special character.

It was with Othman's son Orkhan, who succeeded him in 1326, that the Ottoman Empire really begins. He threw off his nominal allegiance to the Sultan, though he still bore only the title of Emir. And in his time the Ottomans first made good their footing in Europe. But while his dominion was still only Asiatic, Orkhan began one institution which did more than anything else firmly to establish the Ottoman power. This was the institution of the tribute children. By the law of Mohammed, as we have seen, the unbeliever is allowed to purchase life, property, and the exercise of his religion, by the payment of tribute. Earlier Mohammedan rulers had been satisfied with tribute in the ordinary sense. Orkhan first demanded a tribute of children. The deepest wrongs, that which other tyrants did as an occasional outrage, thus became under the Ottomans a settled law. A fixed proportion of the strongest and most promising boys among the conquered Christian nations were carried off for the service of the Ottoman princes. They were brought up in the Mohammedan faith, and were employed in civil or military functions, according to their capacity. Out of them was formed the famous force of the Janissaries, the new soldiers, who, for three centuries, as long as they were levied in this way, formed the strength of the Ottoman armies. These children, torn from their homes and cut off from every domestic and national tie, knew only the religion and the service into which they were forced, and formed a body of troops such as no other power, Christian or Mohammedan, could command. In this way the strength of the conquered nations was turned against themselves. They could not throw off the yoke because those among them who were their natural leaders were pressed into the service of their enemies. It was not till the practice of levying the tribute on children was discontinued that the conquered nations showed any power to stir. While the force founded by Orkhan lasted in its first shape, the Ottoman armies were irresistible. But all this shows how far the Ottomans were from being a national power. Their victories were won by soldiers who were really of the blood of the Greeks, Slaves, and other conquered nations. In the same way, while the Ottoman power was strongest, the chief posts of the Empire, civil and military, were constantly held,

not by native Turks, but by Christian renegades of all nations. The Ottoman power in short was the power, not of a nation, but simply of an army. The Ottomans began, and they have gone on ever since, as an army of occupation in the lands of other nations.

By the end of Orkhan's reign the Ottoman power was fully established in Asia Minor. Its Emirs had spread their power over all the other Turkish settlements, and nothing was left to the Christians but a few towns, chiefly on the coast. Above all, Philadelphia and Phôkaia long defended themselves gallantly after everything else was lost. The chief Christian power in Asia was now no longer the Roman or Greek Emperor at Constantinople, but the more distant Emperor at Trebizond. Besides their possessions on the south coast of the Euxine, these Emperors also held the old territories of the Empire in the Tauric Chersonésos or Crimea. The Turks had now the whole inland part of Asia Minor. And this inland part of Asia Minor is the only part of the Ottoman dominions where any Turks are really the people of the land. The old Christian population has been quite displaced, and Anadol or Anatolia, the land of the East, is really a Turkish land. Yet it can hardly be said to be an Ottoman land. There the ruling body have borne sway over the descendants of the old Seljuk Turks. The Ottomans in short are strangers everywhere. They are strangers bearing rule over other nations, over Mohammedans in Asia, over Christians in Europe.

The Ottoman rule over Christians in Europe began in the last years of Orkhan. The state of Southeastern Europe in the fourteenth century was very favorable for the purposes of the Turks. We have seen how utterly the old Empire was broken up, and how the Greek-speaking lands were divided among a crowd of states, Greek and Frank. A new power had lately arisen in the Ægæan through the occupation of Rhodes and some of the neighboring islands by the Knights of St. John. A military order is not well fitted for governing its dominions; but no power can be better fitted for defending them, and the Knights of St. John at Rhodes did great things against the Turks. The power of the Emperors at Constantinople, cut short by the Turks in Asia, was cut short by the Bulgarians in Europe. It was only in Peloponnésos that they advanced at the cost of the Latins. Just at the time before the Turks crossed into Europe, a new power had arisen, or rather an old power had grown to a much greater place



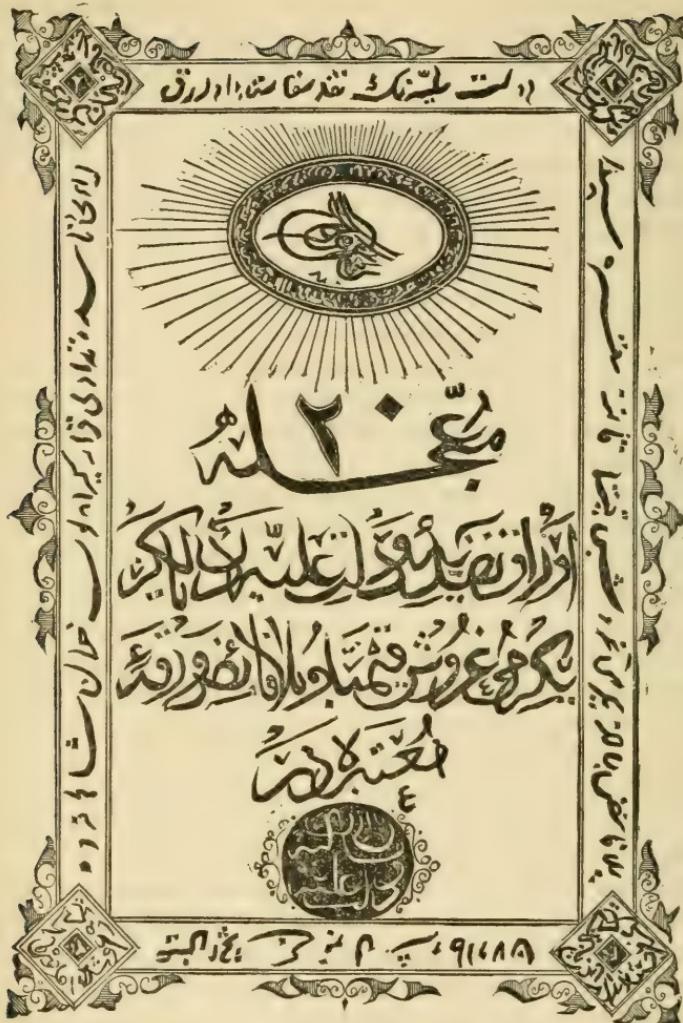
CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

than it held before. Stephen Dushan, King of Servia, who took the title of Emperor, had established a great dominion which took in most part of Macedonia, Albania, and Northern Greece. But the Greek Emperors kept Constantinople and the lands round about it, with detached parts of Macedonia and Greece, including specially the great city of Thessalonica. Had the Servian Emperor been able to win Constantinople, a power would have been formed which might have been able to withstand the Turks. Servia would have been the body, and Constantinople the head. As it was, the Turks found in Servia a body without a head, and in Constantinople a head without a body. The Servian Empire broke up on the death of its great king, and the Greeks were divided by civil wars. Thus, instead of Servians and Greeks together presenting a strong front to the Turks, the Turks were able to swallow up Greeks, Servians, and all the other nations, bit by bit.

The Ottomans did not make their first appearance in Europe as avowed conquerors. They appeared, sometimes as momentary ravagers, sometimes as mercenaries in the Imperial service or as allies of some of the contending parties in the Empire. Thus in 1346 the Emperor John Kantakouzénos called in the Turks to help him in civil war. From this time we may date their lasting presence in Europe, though they did not hold any permanent possessions there till in 1356 they seized Kallipolis in the Thracian Chersonéos. This was the beginning of the Ottoman dominion in Europe. From this time they advanced bit by bit, taking towns and provinces from the Empire and conquering the kingdoms beyond the Empire, so that Constantinople was quite hemmed in. But the Imperial city itself was not taken till nearly a hundred years after the first Turkish settlement in Europe. It must always be remembered that the Turks overcame Servia and Bulgaria long before they won Thessalonica, Constantinople, and Peloponnésos. Their first conquests gathered threateningly round Constantinople; but they did not as yet actually attack it. Nor did they always at once incorporate the lands which they subdued with their immediate dominions. In most of the lands of which the Turks got possession, the process of conquest shows three stages. There is, first, mere ravage for the sake of plunder, and to weaken the land which was ravaged. Then the land is commonly brought under tribute or some other form of subjection, without being

made a part of the Sultan's immediate dominions. Lastly, the land which is already practically conquered becomes a mere Ottoman province. In this way it is worth noticing that, as we shall see further on, a large part of the European dominions of the Turk, though they were subdued long before the taking of Constantinople, were allowed to keep on some shadow of separate being under tributary princes till after Constantinople was taken.

The first lasting settlement of the Turks on European ground was made, as we have seen, while Orkhan still reigned. But it was in the reign of Murad I, who succeeded Orkhan in 1359, that the first settlement at Kallipolis grew into a compact European power. In a very few years from their first occupation of European territory, the Turks had altogether hemmed in what was left of the Empire. As early as 1361 Murad took Adrianople, which became the European capital of the Ottomans till they took Constantinople. Nothing was now left to the Empire but the part of Thrace just around Constantinople, with some of the cities on the Euxine, together with the outlying possessions which the Emperors still kept in Macedonia and Greece. Among them were the greater part of Peloponnēsos and the Chalkidian peninsula with Thessalonica. In Asia all that remained to the Empire was a little strip of land just opposite Constantinople, and the two cities of Philadelphia and Phōkaia, which might now almost be looked on as allied commonwealths rather than as parts of the Empire. But Murad not only cut the Empire short, he also carried his arms into the Slavonic lands to the north. They lay as temptingly open to conquest as the Greek lands. The power of Servia went down at once after the death of Stephen Dushan, and Bulgaria a few years later was split up into three separate kingdoms. Murad's first important conquest in this direction was the taking of Philippopolis in 1363. That city had changed masters several times, but it was then Bulgarian. Bulgaria just now, besides her own divisions, had wars with Hungary to the north and with the Empire to the south. Yet amid all this confusion, several powers did unite to withstand the Turks; and it was only gradually, and after several battles, that either Servia or Bulgaria was conquered. It seems to have been about 1371 that the chief Bulgarian kingdom, that of Trnovo, became tributary. But while Servia and Bulgaria were breaking in pieces, Bosnia to the northwest of them, which lay further away from the Turks, was



A TURKISH BANK-NOTE.

growing in power. A great Slave confederation was formed under the Bosnian King Stephen, and Bosnians, Croats, and Servians for a little while won some successes over the Turks. But at last a great confederate army, Bosnian, Servian, Bulgarian, and Wallachian, was

utterly defeated by the Turks at Cassova in 1389. Murad himself was killed, not in the battle, but by a Servian who pretended to desert. But he was at once succeeded by his son Bajazet, who reaped the fruits of the victory. In the course of two or three years after the battle, Servia and Wallachia became tributary, and the greater part of Bulgaria was altogether conquered.

It is from the battle of Cassova that the Servians, and the Southern Slaves generally, date the fall of their independence. Bosnia, in its corner, still remained but little touched; it was ravaged, but not yet conquered. But all the lands which had made up the great Servian and Bulgarian kingdoms of former times were now either altogether conquered by the Turk, or made tributary to him, or else driven to maintain their independence by ceaseless fighting. And as the lands which the Turks subdued were made into tributary States before they were fully annexed, the Turks were able to use each people that they brought under their power as helpers against the next people whom they attacked. Thus at Cassova Murad had already Christian tributaries fighting on his side. From this time till Servia was completely incorporated with the Turkish dominions, the Servians had to fight in the Turkish armies against the other Christian nations which the Turks attacked. In this way the strength of the Christian nations was used against one another, till the Turk thought the time was come more directly to annex this or that tributary land. In this the policy of the Ottomans was much the same as the policy of the Romans in old times. For they also commonly made the lands which they conquered into dependent States, before they formally made them into Roman provinces. In either case it may be doubted whether the lands which were left in this intermediate state gained much by not being fully annexed at once. Still the way by which the Ottoman Empire came together suggests the way by which it ought to fall asunder. Some of the tributary lands have always kept a certain amount of separate being. Some have, after a long bondage, come back again to the tributary state. In short, experience shows that the natural way for restoring these lands to their ancient independence is by letting them pass once more through the intermediate state. Only this time it must be with their faces turned in the direction of a more thorough freedom, not as in ages past, in the direction of a more thorough bondage.

The accession of Bajazet marks a distinct change in the history of Ottoman conquest. Up to this time the Ottoman princes had shown themselves—except in the exaction of the tribute children—at least not worse than other Eastern conquerors. With Amurath's successor, Bajazet, the darker side of the Ottoman dominion comes more strongly into view. He was the first to begin his reign with the murder of a brother out of cold policy. Under him too that foul moral corruption which has ever since been the distinguishing characteristic of the Ottoman Turk came for the first time into its prominence. Other people have been foul and depraved; what is specially characteristic of the Ottoman Turk is that the common road to power is by the path of the foulest shame. Under Bajazet the best feature of the Mohammedan law, the almost ascetic temperance which it teaches, passed away, and its worst feature, the recognition of slavery, the establishment of the arbitrary right of the conqueror over the conquered, grew into a system of wrong and outrage of which the Prophet himself had never dreamed. Under Bajazet the Turk fully displayed those parts of his character which distinguish him, even more than other Mohammedans, from Western and Christian nations. Yet amid all this corruption, Bajazet could sometimes exercise a stern Eastern justice, and the mission of his race, the mission of warfare and conquest, still went on; Bajazet was surnamed the Thunderbolt, and he was the first of the Ottoman princes to exchange the humbler title of Emir for that of Sultan. Yet, after Bajazet had consolidated the results of the victory of Cassova by his Bulgarian and Servian conquests, the actual dominion of the Ottomans did not make such swift advances under him as it had made under his father Murad. It was rather distinguished by a scourge worse than that of actual conquest, by constant plundering expeditions, carried on chiefly for the sake of booty and slaves—the slaves being specially picked out for the vilest purposes. These ravages spread everywhere from Hungary to Peloponnēsos. But the most remarkable conquest of Bajazet was in Asia. Philadelphia still held out, and its citizens still deemed themselves subjects of the Emperors at Constantinople. Yet, when Bajazet thought proper to add the city to his dominions, the Emperor Manuel and his son were forced, as tributaries of the Sultan, to send their contingent to the Turkish army, and to assist in the conquest of their own city. But enemies presently came against Bajazet both from the West and from

the East. His enemy from the West he overthrew; but he was himself overthrown by his enemy from the East. A large body of Crusaders came to the help of Sigismund, King of Hungary, the same who was afterwards Emperor of the West. But Bajazet, at the head of his own Turks and of his Christian tributaries, who were of course forced to serve with them, overthrew Sigismund and his allies in the battle of Nicopolis in 1396. A number of Christian knights from the West were massacred after the battle, and others were put to ransom; among these last was one whose name connects Eastern and Western history, John, Count of Nevers, afterwards Duke of Burgundy, the second of those dukes of Burgundy who play so great a part in the history of France, England, and Germany. Bajazet also was the first of the Sultans who directly attacked Constantinople. Things looked as if the last traces of the Eastern Empire were now about to be wiped out. But the Ottoman conqueror was presently met by a still more terrible conqueror from the further East. The conquests of Timour, the famous Tamerlane, which spread slaughter and havoc through Mohammedan Asia, gave a moment's respite to Christian Europe. Bajazet was overthrown and taken captive at Angora in 1402. No such blow ever fell on any Ottoman prince before or after.

After the defeat and captivity of Bajazet, things looked as if the Ottoman dominion had run the common course of an Eastern dominion, as if it was broken up forever. And, as we before said, the most wonderful thing in all Ottoman history is that, though it was broken up for a moment, it was able to come together again. The dominions of Bajazet were for a while divided, and their possession was disputed among his three sons. At last they were joined together again under his son Mohammed I. Still the time of confusion was a time of relief to the powers which were threatened by the Turks, and, even after Mohammed had again joined the Ottoman dominions together, he was not strong enough to make any great conquests. Thus the European power of the Ottomans made but small advances during his reign. It was otherwise under his son Murad II., during whose reign of thirty years, from 1421 to 1451, the Turkish power, notwithstanding some reverses, greatly advanced. He failed in an attack on Constantinople; but he took Thessalonica, which had lately passed from the Empire to the Venetians. So in his wars with Hungary he underwent several defeats from the great captain Huniades; but his defeats were balanced

by victories. And in one battle it must be admitted that the Turk was in the right and the Christian in the wrong. In a triumphant campaign, the Hungarian army had reached the Balkan. By the peace which followed, Servia again became independent, and Wallachia was ceded to Hungary. Then Wladislaus, King of Hungary and Poland, was persuaded to break the treaty, but he was defeated at Varna, and the Ottoman power was again restored. Still the crowning of all, by the taking of the Imperial city and the complete subjugation of the lands on the Danube, was not the work of Murad, but was reserved for the days of his son.



AN ORIENTAL PRINCE AND HIS ATTENDANTS.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

MURAD II. was succeeded by his son Mohammed II., surnamed the Conqueror. We may take him as the ideal of his race, the embodiment in their fullest form of Ottoman greatness and Ottoman wickedness. A general and statesman of the highest order even from his youth, a man who knew his own purposes and knew by what ends to achieve his purposes, no man has a clearer right to the title of great, so far as we can conceive greatness apart from goodness. We hear of him also, not merely as soldier and statesman, but as a man of intellectual cultivation in other ways, as master of many languages, as a patron of the art and literature of his time. On the other hand, the three abiding Ottoman vices of cruelty, lust, and faithlessness stand out in him all the more conspicuously from being set on a higher pedestal. He finished the work of his predecessors; he made the Ottoman power in Europe what it has been ever since. He gave a systematic form to the customs of his house and to the dominion which he had won. His first act was the murder of his infant brother, and he made the murder of brothers a standing law of his Empire. He overthrew the last remnants of independent Roman rule, of independent Greek nationality, and he fixed the relations which the Greek part of his subjects were to bear towards their Turkish masters and towards their Christian fellow-subjects. He made the northern and western frontiers of his Empire nearly what they still remain. The Ottoman Empire, in short, as our age has to deal with it, is, before all things, the work of Mohammed the Conqueror. The prince whose throne was fixed in the new Rome held altogether another place from even the mightiest of his predecessors.

Mohammed had reigned two years, he had lived twenty-three, on the memorable day, May 29th, 1453, when the Turks entered the city of the Cæsars, and when the last Emperor Constantine died in the breach. As the Turkish armies spread over Thrace, the forces of the Byzantine Empire retreated until they were confined to the narrow limits of the capital which had hitherto resisted the fierce attacks of

the Ottomans. On the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus Mohammed's grandfather had formerly built a powerful fortress, and Mohammed now determined to erect on the opposite and European side a more formidable castle, as a base of operations against the city. A thousand masons were commanded to assemble in the spring on the spot called Asomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis. It was the erection of this fortress that brought about a remonstrance from Constantine XI., the Greek Emperor, and afterwards a declaration of war on the part of Mohammed.

Closing himself within the narrow limits of the walls of his capital, Constantine Palaeologus, surnamed Dragases, watched anxiously the building of the fortress at Asomaton by Mohammed II. The fortress rose with great rapidity, and was built in a triangular form, each angle being flanked by a strong and massive tower, one on the declivity of the hill, two along the seashore. A thickness of twenty-two feet was assigned for the walls, thirty for the towers, and the whole building was covered with a solid platform of lead.

While Mohammed in person superintended the erection of this fortress, Constantine, alarmed at the extensive preparations he saw making, did his utmost by flattery and by gifts to ward off the blow which he felt was impending; but when he saw that remonstrances and concessions were in vain, and that the "die was cast," he determined, like a brave soldier, that the Mohammedans should not purchase their victory cheaply, and he cast down the gauntlet with the following words to the great Sultan: "Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission can secure peace, pursue your impious warfare. My trust is in God alone, and if it should please Him to modify your heart, I shall rejoice in the happy change. If He delivers the city into your hands I submit without a murmur to His holy will. But until the Judge of the Earth shall pronounce between us it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my people."

Strange! These were the words of Christians to Turks when the empire of the former trembled in the balance; and now, three hundred and twenty-six years afterwards, the empire again trembles in the balance, and the words of Turks to Christian Russia seem but the echo thrown back from the year 1452.

Mohammed was an adept in the art of war, and was indefatigable in his preparations for the coming siege, but they were accompanied

by a nervous excitement which marked the extreme importance of the occasion, and his recognition of the power of the Byzantine Empire, which was arrayed against him.

Frequent were the consultations with his Grand Vizier, his generals and engineers, and plans of the city and the positions for all his batteries were laid out with most scrupulous care. Everything was submitted to the criticism of his own eye, and nothing was to be left to chance. The recent introduction of cannon was to be the chief element in the siege, and a foundry was created at Adrianople to cast cannons which would throw a stone ball of six hundred pounds weight.

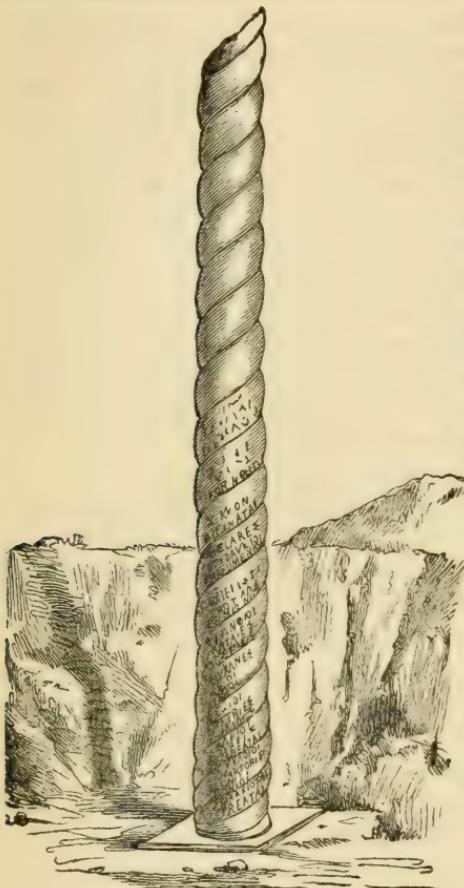
All the aids of both ancient and modern warfare were enlisted for the seige, and men might be seen dragging huge cannon into position, while near them huge wooden towers, on rollers, crept slowly to the front, to be finally filled with troops and placed against the ditch, there to discharge their living freight, by means of ladders thrown from the tower-top, across the ditch, to meet the wall.

The smoke of modern cannon was to cloak the instruments of ancient warfare. Not only was gunpowder to propel the missiles, but great engines for hurling stones, and battering-rams to beat down the walls, were all moving to their carefully-appointed places. Various are the accounts which are given of the formidable army of Turks, which, under their fierce Sultan, was to aid this grim machinery in its work of death; but Gibbon arrives at 258,000 as the total Ottoman force, of which 60,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry were regular troops, and the remainder auxiliaries. Added to these was a naval force of three hundred and twenty vessels, but with the exception of eighteen ships of war the remainder were small craft, used mostly for transport.

Constantinople was defended on one side by the Golden Horn, on the other by the sea, and the third side of the triangle had, and has, a great wall six miles long, with high flanking towers at very short intervals. Opposite and parallel to this wall Mohammed cut a ditch to cover his attack. Fourteen batteries were distributed opposite the most feeble parts of the walls. The principal point of attack was to be the great central gate of St. Romanus. Archers were to shower their arrows wherever the besieged should show themselves, and miners were brought from Servia for subterraneous works. Nothing was forgotten, and all the art and strength of the Ottoman monarch was concentrated for the effort.

On the Christian side preparations for defence were not wanting, but there was an absence of unity of action. An empire does not fall

without a cause, and the intrigues, the dissensions, and the jealousies which had driven the Greeks out of Thrace, and hemmed them into their fortified triangle, now shone out in all its force, and, like a will-o-the-wisp, lured the empire to its final destruction. Conscious of his weakness, occasioned by the intrigues of his subjects, Constantine, eager to gain the aid of any reinforcement, professed at the last moment the spiritual obedience of the Greek to the Roman Church, but the false concession only produced bitterness and disappointment, and the rancor excited against the Genoese forces was almost equal to the hatred of the Turk. It was a forlorn hope of policy, which fell back shattered and defeated; for, instead of reinforcements from without, it only produced fresh dissensions within.



A CURIOUS COLUMN NEAR CONSTANTINOPLE.

This column was long buried, and when or why it was erected is not known; it was excavated in 1855.

women, and children, did not exceed 100,000 persons, and of these all that could be counted upon for the defence of the capital was 5,000 men; but to them were added a brave but small force of Latin volunteers, under the able leadership of John Giustiniani, a Genoese.

The imminence of the danger at last roused the population to a

The total number of inhabitants, including men,

sense of their critical position, and the unremitting exertions and ardor of the Emperor Constantine transmitted itself to the troops. Constantine distributed his small forces along the forts, and himself took the command of the outer wall. He exhorted his men and officers to emulate each other in the defence of all they held dear, and encouraged the timid with hopes of success and promises of reward. Such were his exertions at the last that he inspired an enthusiasm which he would fain have felt himself, for in his own heart he knew that he must fight and die.

A strong chain was thrown across the Golden Horn, and all the ships which arrived at the port were detained for the service of the besieged. Of war ships he could count but fourteen.

The Turkish preparations were at last complete, the troops were in position, the batteries fixed, the soldiers were reminded of the glories of their ancestors, and prayers were offered to Heaven for success, and on the morning of the 6th of April, 1453, the signal was given, and the Ottoman cannon thundered at the gates of Christendom.

At first the Greeks in their ardor for the fight, rushed down the ditch to meet the foe in the open field, but soon fell back exhausted by the advancing hosts. The battle raged fiercely along the line, but night came, and no impression was made upon the gallant defenders.

Day after day was the fight renewed, but morning came and showed the city still confident and strong. At last food was getting scarce, and the horrors of a siege were sorely felt; but soon the spirits of the Greeks were raised, as away on the Sea of Marmora they espied five great ships well laden with supplies, and which, by their colors flying, told that they were friends of those in need. Onward they flew before the breeze, but what a sight now met them as they neared the port! Three hundred Turkish ships were drawn across the straits, each filled with troops, and eager for the fight. The famished Christians, from the lofty towers, watched eagerly the approaching succor, and the hungry wish was father to the thought that the coming fight might win a kindly smile from Fortune.

The news flew quickly through the Turkish ranks that a naval combat was on foot, and soon the waters of the Bosphorus seemed to break upon a beach of turbaned heads—one bare spot there was, as it were a bay, and in it the waves beat, as against a rock, upon the charger of the Sultan, who, riding breast high into the sea, came down

to watch the unequal fight, not doubting but that these rash sailor Franks would soon be punished for their insolence.

But there were brave hearts in those five gallant ships, willing to meet the outnumbering enemy. Gaily they careened before the swelling breeze, their white sails whitening in the sun, and steering straight upon the Turkish line bore down upon the foe. Truly it was a gallant sight, as all must feel, who, having witnessed the beauties of the Bosphorus, can picture the struggling ships, urged on by cries and yells from the armed contending hosts. Suddenly from the Christian ranks there burst a joyous shout as the Turkish ships first wavered and then fled. But above all shouts there arose the bitter taunt of the fierce Sultan, as, mad with rage, he, with threatening gestures, called on his naval captains to make good the fight. But the rent was made, and like chips of straw before the rushing wind, the Turkish craft were swept aside, and amidst ten thousand Christian cheers, the succoring ships sailed in victorious to the Golden Horn. Then many a mother's heart was joyous as she closely clasped her half-famished child.

The days wore on, and fight succeeded fight, but still the Christian front was bold, and the Turkish hosts were baffled. Then the warlike genius of the Sultan came to his aid, and pointed out the weak spot in the armor of his adversaries. Could he but place his ships within the Golden Horn, the enemy's weakest point lay open to attack. But how to reach it? The chain across the mouth could not be broken, and all else was land. No matter, it must be done, and done that very night. The small craft were beached, the strongest men told off for each, and under the shadow of the night, for ten miles on a road of planks, over hill and over dale, in perfect silence, fourscore heavy craft were dragged and launched upon the Golden Horn.

The dawn brought a bitter surprise to the still gallant Greeks. And now Mohammed gathered his engineers, and the heavy cannon were seen moving to the water's edge, where rafts were ready to receive them and form a floating battery. Such was the size of these monster guns, that seven shots a day was all they could be made to fire. Fifty-three weary days and nights had now passed, and hunger had so told upon the courage of the Greeks, that at sight of these floating batteries and preparations of the Turks they grew sick at heart, and they now clamored to the Emperor to deliver up the city. But sternly the Christian king refused, and bid them to their posts to fight, and if needs be to die.

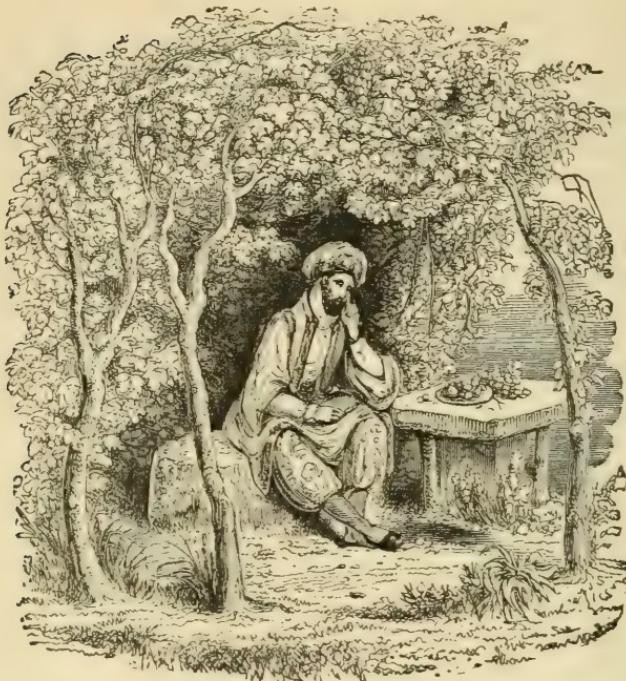
It was on the 29th of May that Mohammed saw his works complete; and all was ready for the final rush of Islamism on Christendom.

The great Byzantine Empire, once foremost in the powers of the world, had shrunk within the narrow space before him, and he was now ready to crush it in his grasp.

Amidst the Turkish ranks the Sheiks and Imaums (ministers of religion) suggested hopes of Paradise to brave soldiers who might to-morrow meet a glorious death, and to those who might survive freely promised rewards and honors. Then, as the sun sunk slowly in the west, two hundred thousand Moslems bowed down their head to Mother Earth in one united prayer. All day the cannon had thundered against the opposing walls, and near the great gate of Saint Romanus a yawning breach was seen. Constantine knew that the storm was soon to burst, but mean jealousies were rife among the Christian ranks. The gallant Giustiniani, like a true soldier, did his duty, and placed the brave Latins here and there, where points seemed weakest. The Emperor was everywhere exhorting to brave deeds, and enthusiasm seemed to follow in his path. When all were placed, and orders given, then with some few chosen knights he retired to the great Church of St. Sophia. He knew that his hour was at hand. He slowly entered the grand and sacred edifice, and there, uncovered, the last Byzantine Emperor, surrounded by his knights, stood before the cross. To-morrow the Byzantine Empire would pass away with him! His tears fell thickly at the thought, and he knelt before the cross and prayed that he might die as it became a Christian knight; then, for the last time, he partook of the sacred emblems of his Saviour, and, turning to those around, he said: "I pray forgiveness if I have injured any one in thought or deed."

Then, striding to the portal of the church, where stood his impatient steed, he placed his helmet on his head, and, mounting into the saddle, the humble Christian penitent rode off as warrior Christian king, to battle and to die.

The sun had set, the evening past, and night fell on the attendant hosts. Christian knights, as they lay under the starry canopy of heaven, cast off the sterner half of man, and let their softer nature free; and loving thoughts of mothers, sisters, wives, went winging through the air to meet in last embrace. And now the solemn calm before the coming storm drew near, and all was hushed and still.



A MODERN ORIENTAL.

Constantine did not sleep, but from a lofty tower watched in the stillness of the night over the Moslem host. At length, as dawn drew near, his quick ear caught the measured tread of Moslems marching to their posts, and many to their graves, and he warned the Christians to their battlements. Soon the stars grew pale, and the minutes of many a gallant life were ebbing fast away. Then suddenly, like a thunder-clap, burst out the stirring roar of war. The shouts of men, the clang of arms, the cannons' roar, the horses' neigh, the loud commands, all mingled in one exciting din as the Moslems rushed into the breach; by sea, by land, along the whole line the fierce attack was made. Wave after wave of troops went forward to perish in the ditch, which was soon filled up and bridged by the bodies of the dead and dying. Wherever the Greeks grew faint there appeared the noble Christian king, and where the king was there the Greeks grew brave, for he was ever foremost in the fight.

Two hours passed of bloodshed, and still the Greeks and Latins bravely held their ground; the Moslems paused, and victory seemed about to touch the hand of Christendom.

Then, from behind the smoke and dust and swelling above the din of war, there came the sound of martial music, drums, fifes, and attaballs, growing louder, louder as it neared the great gate of St. Romanus.

And from out the smoke there rode the Padishah, the fierce Seljukian Sultan, with royal iron mace in hand, and behind him, with calm and measured tread, there came ten thousand chosen Janissaries, and made straight for the great breach.

Onward they came, and then, with one wild shout, they rushed into the breach. Amidst the dust and smoke might be seen the Christian king the foremost in the fight, but no longer by his side stood Justiniani, who, sorely wounded, had retired from the fight.

Fierce was the struggle and furiously raged the fight. Here Turk grappled Christian in the death-struggle, and shouts and groans and loud commands rose upon the air. But still the Christians held their ground. Presently there came a sound at first in front, then swelling louder, louder, like a rushing gale from right to left, from front to rear, "Allahu Akbar! Allahu Akbar!" rent the air. The brave Constantine heard and knew that all was lost; then turning to those around, "Can no man here be found to take away my life," he mournfully exclaimed, but none stepped forth to fell the noble tree. "It is enough, O Lord; now take away my life," and he plunged into the fight, and fought until some unknown hand struck him to the heart, and as he sank among the heap of slain, another name was added to the obituary of heroes, and the Crescent rose over the waters of the Bosphorus, and cast a shadow over the fairest land in Europe. Thus fell the Byzantine Empire, and well might the Emperor and his knights have said:

"Go, stranger, and in Lacedæmon tell
That here obedient to her laws we fell."

We pass over the miserable scenes of the sacking and pillage of the city, which now became the seat of the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan proceeded straight to the church of St. Sophia, and alighting, entered surrounded by his viziers, his pashas, and his guards, and ordered one of the Imaums who accompanied him to summon the faithful and all

true believers to prayer, and he then himself mounted the high altar, and the Moslem prayer went up from the same temple that had but yesterday heard the Christian prayer for victory. The body of the Emperor was sought, and the head cut off and exhibited for a time between the feet of the bronze horse of the equestrian statue of Justinian, in the place called the Augustan. It was subsequently embalmed and sent around the chief cities of Asia.

Now that the Imperial city was at last taken, Mohammed seemed to make it his policy, both to gather in whatever remained unconquered, and to bring most of the states which had hitherto been tributary under his direct rule. Greece itself, though it had been often ravaged by the Turks, had not been added to their dominions. The Emperors had, in the very last days of the Empire before the fall of Constantinople, recovered all Peloponnésos, except some points which were held by Venice. Frank Dukes also reigned at Athens, and another small duchy lingered on in the islands of Leukas and Kephallénia and on the coasts of Akarnania. The Turkish conquest of the mainland was completed by the year 1460, but the two western islands were not taken until 1479. Euboia was conquered in 1471, when the Venetian Governor Erizzo, who had stipulated for the safety of his head, had his body sawn asunder. No deeds of this kind are recorded of the earlier Ottoman princes; but by Mohammed's time the Turks had fully learned those lessons of cruelty and faithlessness which they have gone on practicing ever since. The Empire of Trebizond was conquered in 1461, and the island of Lesbos in 1462. There was now no independent Greek state left. Crete, Corfu, and some smaller islands and points of coast, were held by Venice, and some of the islands of the *Ægean* were still ruled by Frank princes and by the Knights of St. John. But, after the fall of Trebizond, there was no longer any independent Greek state anywhere, and the part of the Greek nation which was under Christian rulers of any kind was now far smaller than the part which was under the Turk.

While the Greeks were thus wholly subdued, the Slaves fared no better. In 1459 Servia was reduced from a tributary principality to an Ottoman province, and six years later Bosnia was annexed also. The last Bosnian king, like the Venetian governor in Euboia, was promised his life; but he and his sons were put to death none the less. One little fragment of the great Slavonic power in those lands alone

remained. The little district of Zeta, a part of the Servian kingdom, was never fully conquered by the Turks. One part of it, the mountain district called Montenegro, has kept its independence to our own times. Standing as an outpost of freedom and Christendom amid surrounding bondage, the Black Mountain has been often attacked, it has been several times overrun, but it has never been conquered. In a ceaseless warfare of four hundred years, neglected, sometimes betrayed, by the Christian powers of Europe, this small people has still held its own against the whole might of the Turkish power. First under hereditary princes, then under warrior bishops, now under hereditary princes again, this little nation of heroes, whose territory is simply so much of the ancient land of their race as they are able to save from barbarian invasion, have still held their own, while the greater powers around them have fallen. To the south of them, the Christian Albanians held out for a long time under their famous chief, George Castriot or Scanderbeg. After his death in 1459, they also came under the yoke. These conquests of Mohammed gave the Ottoman dominion in Europe nearly the same extent which it has now. His victories had been great, but they were balanced by some defeats. The conquest of Servia and Bosnia opened the way to endless inroads into Hungary, Southeastern Germany and Northeastern Italy. But as yet these lands were merely ravaged, and the Turkish power met with some reverses. In 1456 Belgrade, an ancient border fortress, and a constant source of dissension between Christians and Mohammedans, was saved by the last victory of Huniades, and this time Mohammed the Conqueror had to flee. In another part of Europe, if in those days it is to be counted for Europe, Mohammed won the Genoese possessions in the peninsula of Crimca, and the Tartar Khans who ruled in that peninsula and the neighboring lands became vassals of the Sultan. The Ottomans were thus brought into the neighborhood of Poland, Lithuania, and Russia. The last years of Mohammed's reign were marked by a great failure and a great success. He failed to take Rhodes, which belonged to the Knights of St. John; but his troops suddenly seized Otranto in Southern Italy. Had this post been kept, Italy might have fallen as well as Greece; but the Conqueror died the next year, and Otranto was won back.

Thus two Empires, and endless smaller states, came out of the power of the Ottomans under the mightiest of their Sultans. Greeks,

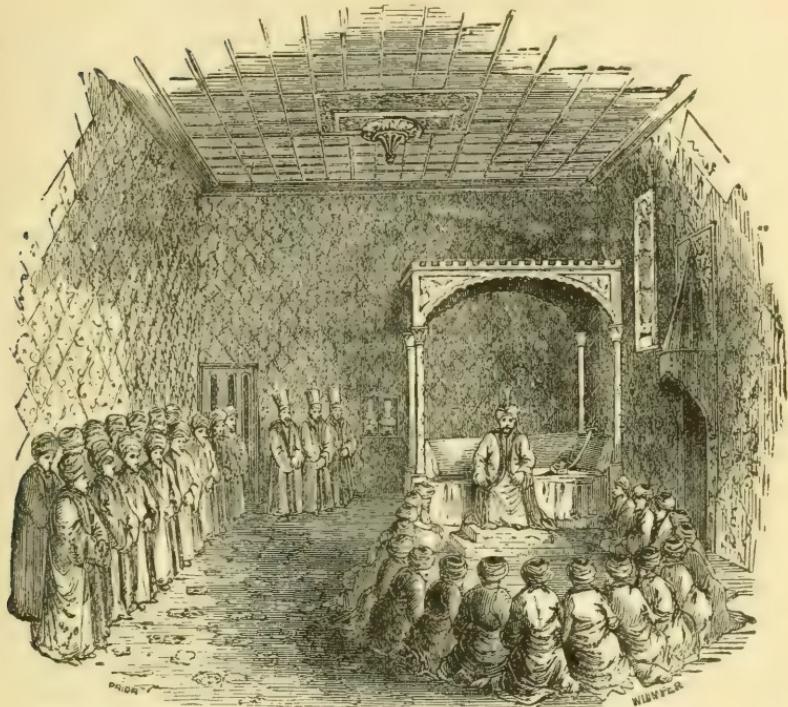


INTERIOR OF A CAFÉ AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

Slaves, Albanians, all came under the yoke. But it must not be forgotten that it was by the arms of men of Greek, Slave, and Albanian blood that they were brought under the yoke. For the Janissaries formed the strength of the Ottoman armies, and the Janissaries were formed of the kidnapped children of the conquered nations. Thus the Christian nations of Southeastern Europe had their own strength turned against them, and were overcome by the arms of their own children. And presently the far-seeing eye of Mohammed found out that their wits might be turned against them as well as their arms. He saw that the Greeks had a keener wit, either than his own Turks or than the other subject nations, and he saw that their keen wit might, in the case of a part of the Greek nation, be made an instrument of his purposes. By his policy the Eastern Church itself was turned into an instrument of Turkish dominion. Speaking roughly, the lower clergy throughout the conquered lands have always been patriotic leaders, while the Bishops and other higher clergy have been slaves and instruments of the Turk. Greek Bishops bore rule over Slavonic churches, and so formed another fetter in the chain by which the conquered nations were held down. In course of time the Sultans extended the same policy to temporal matters. The Greeks, not of Old Greece, but of Constantinople, the Fanariots, as they came to be called, became in some sort a ruling race among their fellow-bondmen. Their ability made them useful, and the Turks learned to make use of their ability in many ways. In all conquests a certain class of the conquered finds its interest in entering the service of the conqueror. As a rule, such men are the worst class of the conquered. They are commonly more corrupt and oppressive than the conquerors themselves. It therefore in no way lessened but rather heightened the bitterness of Ottoman rule, that it was largely carried on by Christian instruments. The Slavonic provinces had in fact to bear a two-fold yoke, Turkish and Greek. But this it should be remembered only applies to the Greeks of Constantinople. The Greeks of Greece itself and the rest of the Empire were no better off than the other subjects of the Turk. It must be remembered too that, after all, the Fanariot Greeks themselves were a subject race, cut off from all share in the higher rule of their country. That was reserved for men of the ruling religion, whether native Turks or renegades of any nation. And lastly it should be remembered that, under the rule of Mohammed

the Conqueror, every man, Turk, Christian, or renegade, held his life and all that he had at the pleasure of Mohammed the Conqueror.

The Turkish rule was now fully established over a considerable part of Europe, over nearly the whole of the lands between the Adriatic and the Euxine. Except where the brave men of Zeta still held out on the Black Mountain and where the city of Ragusa still kept its freedom, no part of those lands was under a national government. The few islands and pieces of coast which had escaped the Turk were under the rule either of Venice or of other Frank powers. From that day, till in our own century Servia and Greece became free, all those lands have been in bondage; the greater part of them remain in bondage still. Their people have not only been subjects of a foreign prince; they have been subjects of a foreign army in their own land. The rule of law has for all those ages ceased in those lands. The people of the land have had only one way of rising out of their state of bondage, namely, by embracing the religion of their conquerors. This many of them did, and so were transferred from the ranks of the oppressed to the ranks of the oppressors. In some parts whole classes did so. This happened specially in Bosnia. There the mass of the land-owners embraced Islam in order to keep their lands, while the body of the people remained faithful. These renegades and their descendants have ever since formed an oligarchy whose rule has been worse than that of the Turks themselves. The same thing happened in Bulgaria to some degree, though to a much less extent than in Bosnia. It was only in Albania that the Mohammedan faith was really adopted by the mass of the people of large districts. In Albania a large part of the country did become Mohammedan, while other parts remained Christian, some tribes being Catholic and some Orthodox. But, as a rule, throughout the European lands which were conquered by the Turk, the mass of the people adhered to their faith, in defiance of all temptations and all oppressions. Rather than forsake their faith, they have endured to live on as bondsmen in their own land, under the scorn and lash of foreign conquerors, while apostasy would at any moment have raised them to the level of their conquerors. They have endured to live on, while their goods, their lives, the honor of their families, were at the mercy of barbarians, while their sons were kidnapped from them to be brought up in the faith of the oppressor and to swell the strength of his armies. In this state of



AN EASTERN MONARCH IN HIS AUDIENCE CHAMBER.

abiding martyrdom they have lived, in different parts of the lands under Turkish rule, for two, for four, for five hundred years. While the nations of Western Europe have been able to advance, they have been kept down under the iron heel of their tyrants.

It may however be asked with perfect fairness, how came the Ottoman Turks, starting from such small beginnings and having at first such small power, to make such great conquests, and to win and to keep so many lands, both Christian and Mussulman? With regard to the conquests of the Ottomans over other Mussulmans, there is nothing wonderful in their making them; the wonderful thing is that they were able to keep them. Their rise to power was exactly like the rise to power of many other Eastern dynasties. Only, while other Eastern dynasties have soon broken in pieces, this one kept on unbroken. Or it would be truer to say, what is really more wonderful, that, after the

fall of Bajazet, the Ottoman power did break in pieces for a moment, but that it was able to come together again. The continued succession of able princes in the House of Othman, the firm administration which they established, their excellent military discipline, and above all the institution of the Janissaries, will account for a great deal. And before long we shall see that the Ottoman Sultans won a further claim to the religious allegiance, not only of their own subjects, but of all orthodox Mussulmans. With regard to their conquests over Christians, the state of the Southeastern lands at that moment gave them many advantages. The Ottomans were a power—*nation* is hardly the word—in the full freshness of youth and enthusiasm, military and religious. Every Janissary, it must be remembered, brought to his work the zeal of a new convert. As yet the Ottomans were in their full strength, under princes who knew how to use their strength. They found in Southeastern Europe a number of disunited powers, jealous of one another, and many of them having no real basis of national life. The Eastern Empire was worn out. It would seem as if the strength of the Greeks had been worn out by winning back Constantinople. Certain it is that the Emperors who reigned at Nikaia in the thirteenth century were far better and more vigorous rulers than the Emperors who reigned at Constantinople in the fourteenth century. Certain it is that the greatness of Constantinople, its strength and its great traditions, helped to prolong the existence of a power whose real day was past, and thereby to hinder the growth of the more vigorous Slavonic nations which might otherwise have stepped into its place. The Frank powers, except Venice, were small and weak, and they were nowhere national. We may believe that their rule was nowhere quite so bad as that of the Turks; still it was everywhere a foreign rule. The Greeks who were under Venice and under the Frank princes, were under rulers who were alien to their subjects in speech, race, and creed. There could be no loyalty or national feeling felt towards them. It is not very wonderful that the Turkish Sultans, with their stern determination and their admirably disciplined armies, could swallow up these powers, disunited and some of them decaying, one by one. Again, the custom of making their conquests for a while merely tributary, instead of at once fully annexing them, helped the purpose of the Turk by enabling him to help in subduing the nation next beyond it. So did the custom

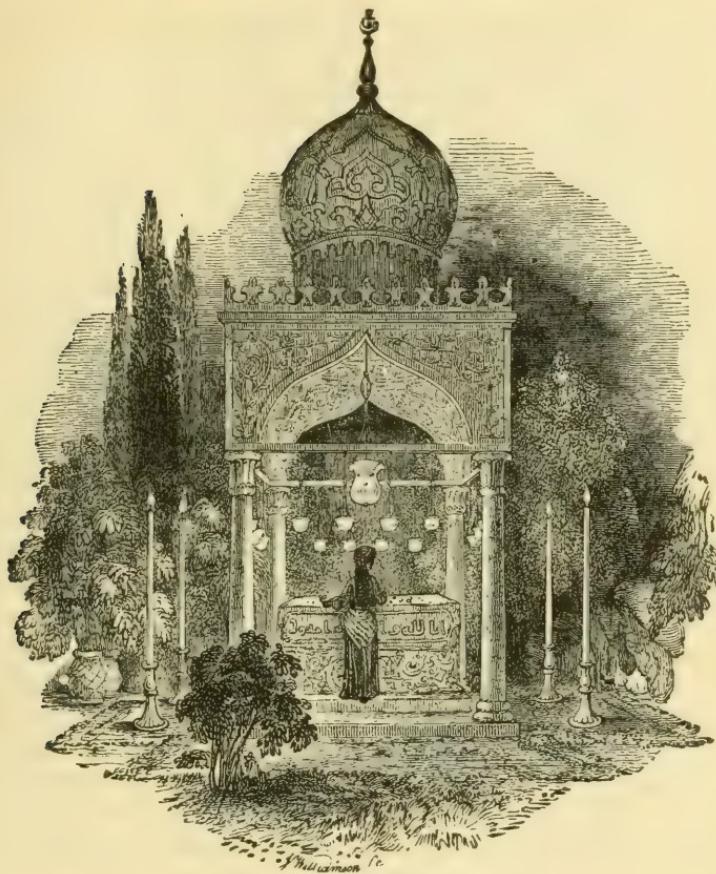
of harrying and plundering lands before their actual conquest was attempted. Men might be tempted to doubt whether regular bondage to the Turk might not be a less evil than having their lands ravaged and their children carried away into slavery.

As most things in history have their parallel, it may be well to notice that the cause which brought the Ottoman power nearer to destruction than it ever was brought at any other time was essentially the same as one of the causes which most promoted its success. Any two sects of Christians, any two sects of Mohammedans, are really separated from one another by a difference which should seem very slight compared with the difference which separates both of them from men of the other religion. Yet in practice it is not always so. The Eastern Empire was saved from Bajazet, and its existence was prolonged for fifty years, because Timour, who belonged to the Shiah sect of Mussulmans, waged a religious war on the Ottomans, who have always belonged to the Sonnite sect. And in exactly the same way, nothing helped the Ottomans so much as the dissensions between the Eastern and Western Churches. Many of the Greeks said that they would rather see the Turks in St. Sophia than the Latins, and they lived to see it. And the Latins, with a few noble exceptions, could never be got to give any real help to the Greeks. All this illustrates the law that the quarrels of near kinsfolk are the most bitter of any. And it is after all another instance of this same law which, as has already been said, makes Christianity and Islam rival religions above all others.

The Turkish dominion in Europe was now thoroughly accomplished. For some years after the death of Mohammed the Conqueror, it was hardly at all enlarged. The next Sultan, Bajazet the Second, who reigned from 1481 to 1512, was not a man of war nor in any way a man of genius like his father. His character was an odd mixture of sensuality and religious mysticism, with a decided taste for science and literature. His wars were confined to winning a few points from Venice, and to constant ravages of Hungary and the other Christian lands to the north. Here we may mark how evil deeds produce evil. The horrible cruelties of the Turks in these incursions provoked equal cruelties on the part of the Christians, and so a black strife of retaliation went on. Such a reign as this was naturally unsatisfactory to the ruling race. Bajazet was deposed, and, after the manner of deposed

princes, he speedily died. Then came the reign of his son Selim, called the Inflexible, from 1512 to 1520. His was a reign of conquest, but of conquest waged mainly against Mohammedan enemies beyond the bounds of Europe. Syria and Egypt were added to the Ottoman dominion, and the Sultan added to that secular title the spiritual authority of the Caliphate. The real Caliphs of the Abbasside house had come to an end when Bagdad was taken by the Moguls; but a line of nominal Caliphs, who had no temporal power whatever, had gone on in Egypt. From the last of these phantoms Selim obtained a cession of his rights, and ever since the Ottoman Sultans have been acknowledged as chiefs of their religion by all Orthodox Mussulmans, that is all who belong to the Sonnite sect and admit the lawfulness of the first three Caliphs. The Persians and other Shiashs of course do not acknowledge the religious supremacy of the Sultan, any more than the Orthodox and the Reformed Churches in Christendom acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. The Caliph, it should be remembered, is Pope and Emperor in one. For one who was already Sultan thus to become Caliph was much the same as if in the West one who was already Emperor had also become Pope.

The rule of the new Caliph was in some things worse than that of any of the Emirs and Sultans who had gone before him. In systematic blood-thirstiness, whether towards Christians, towards heretical Mohammedans, or towards his own ministers and servants, Selim outdid all who had gone before him. But here comes out one of the special features of Ottoman rule. The one check on the despot's will is the law of the Prophet. What the law of the Prophet bids on any particular matter the Sultan must learn from the official expounders of that law. And it must be said, in justice to these Mohammedan doctors, that, if they have sometimes sanctioned special deeds of wrong, they have also sometimes hindered them. So it was in the reign of Selim. The Mufti Djemali, whose name deserves to be remembered, several times turned the Sultan from bloody purposes. At last he withheld Selim when he wished to massacre all the Christians in his dominions and to forbid the exercise of the Christian religion. Now such a purpose was utterly contrary to the text of the Koran, and the act of Djemali in hindering it was the act of a righteous man and an honest expounder of his own law. But be it remembered that, if the question had been, not whether Christians should be massacred,



A MOHAMMEDAN TOMB.

but whether they should be admitted to equality with Mohammedans. Djemali must equally have withheld the Sultan's purpose. The contemptuous toleration which the Koran enforces equally forbids massacres on the one side and real emancipation on the other.

The next reign was a long and famous one, that of Soliman I., called the Magnificent and the Lawgiver, who reigned from 1520 to 1566. Mohammed had established the Empire; Soliman had to extend it. But Soliman was a nobler spirit than Mohammed. Under any other system, he would have been a good as well as a great ruler. And allowing for some of those occasional crimes which seem inseparable

from every Eastern despotism—crimes which in his case chiefly touched his own ministers and his own family—we may say that he was a good prince according to his light. The Ottoman Empire was now at the height of its power. Its army was the strongest and best disciplined of armies. But the Christian nations were now growing up to a level with their Mohammedan enemies. Even the long and cruel wars among the Christian powers themselves, while they hindered those powers from joining together to withstand the Turk, schooled them in the end severally to cope with him. Soliman took Rhodes early in his reign, and the Knights withdrew to Malta. He again besieged them at Malta in the last years of his reign, but this time without success. But the greatest of Soliman's victories and the most instructive for our purpose, are those which he won in Hungary. At the beginning of his reign, in 1521, he took Belgrade, the key to Hungary. Five years later, the last of the separate Kings of Hungary, Louis II., died in battle against the Turks at Mohacs. After that the crown of Hungary was for a long while disputed between rival Kings. Thus at once on Louis's death, John Zapolya, Prince of Transylvania, and Ferdinand of Austria, who was afterwards Emperor, were both chosen by different parties. Soliman found it to his interest to support Zapolya; he even besieged Vienna, though in vain. The end was that the Emperors kept that part of Hungary which bordered on Austria and their other dominions, while princes who were vassals of the Turk reigned in Transylvania and the eastern part of the kingdom. But the Turk himself took a larger share of Hungary than either, and a pasha ruled at Buda, as well as at Belgrade. Here too the progress of the Turks was helped by disunion among the Christians. Just as further south the Turks profited by the dissensions between the Catholics and the Orthodox, so in Hungary they profited by the dissensions between the Catholics and the Protestants. These last were of various sects, but all alike were persecuted by the bigoted Austrian Kings.

Besides the conquests of Soliman in Hungary, the relations between the Turk and the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were now definitely settled. They were to be vassal states, paying tribute; but the Sultan was to have no part in their internal government. No Turk was to live in the country, and the princes were to be freely chosen by the nobles and clergy of the principalities. This system



AN EASTERN BAND OF MUSICIANS.

lasted from 1536 to 1711. Then the Sultans took to appointing and deposing the princes at pleasure. They appointed Fanariot Greeks; and so, strangely enough, the Greeks, bondmen in their own land, became rulers in another.

Splendid as was the character and the rule of Soliman, still it is from his day that both Turkish and Christian writers date the decline of the Turkish power. Soliman ceased to manage all state affairs so directly as earlier Sultans had done. The power of the Viziers and the influence of the women increased. The taxes were farmed out to Jews, Greeks, and others, a system which always at once lessens the revenue of the sovereign and increases the burthens of the subject. Conquest brought with it luxury, love of ease, love of wealth. The soldiers fought less for victory than for plunder. Certain it is that, while up to Soliman's time the Ottoman power had steadily advanced, after his time it began to go down. The Turkish lords of New Rome, like their Roman and Greek predecessors, had their times of revival,

their days of unexpected conquest. But, on the whole, the Ottoman power now steadily declined.

After Soliman came a second Selim, known as the Drunkard, a name which marks the little heed which he paid to the precepts of his own law. His short reign, from 1566 to 1574, was marked by the first great reverse of the Ottoman arms. This was the overthrow of the Turkish fleet by the fleets of Spain and of Venice in the great fight of Lepanto in 1571. It has been often said, and said with perfect truth, that though the Turk was defeated in the battle, yet he had really the better in the war. For the Turk lost only his fleet, which might be replaced, while the Venetians lost the great island of Cyprus, which has ever since formed part of the Turkish dominions. But the battle of Lepanto none the less marks the turning-point in the history of the Ottoman power. It broke the spell, and taught men that the Turks could be conquered. Hitherto, though they had failed in particular enterprises, their career had been one of constant advance. Now, for the first time, they were utterly defeated in a great battle. And, with the military power of the Ottomans, their moral power decayed also. The line of the great Sultans had come to an end. Several of the later Sultans were men of vigor and ability; but the succession of great rulers which, unless we except Bajazet II., had gone on without a break from Othman to Soliman the Lawgiver, now stopped. The power of the Sultans over their distant dominions was lessened, while the power of the pashas grew. The discipline of the Ottoman armies was relaxed, and the courts of most Sultans became a scene of corruption of every kind. Early in the seventeenth century men marked the decay of the Turkish power, and expected that it would presently fall to pieces. Why did it not fall? The growth of the Turkish power is easily explained. A succession of such men as the early Sultans, wielding such a force as the Janissaries, could not fail to conquer. Why their power lasted so long after it began to decay may seem, at first sight, less easy to explain. But the causes are not very far to seek. The preservation of the same ruling family, and that a family whose head is not only Sultan of the Ottomans, but is deemed by Orthodox Mussulmans to be the Caliph of the Prophet, alone counts for a good deal. More important still has been the possession of the Imperial city. New Rome, under her elder lords, held on under greater dangers than have ever threatened their Otto-

man successors. In quite late times the Turkish power has been propped up by the wicked policy of the governments of Western Europe. But, long before that policy began, men had begun to ask why the Ottoman power did not fall. The possession of Constantinople is of itself perhaps reason enough. In the case of the later Byzantine Emperors, the possession of Constantinople prolonged the existence of a power which otherwise must have fallen, and whose prolonged existence did no good to the world. The case is exactly the same with the dominion of the Ottomans.

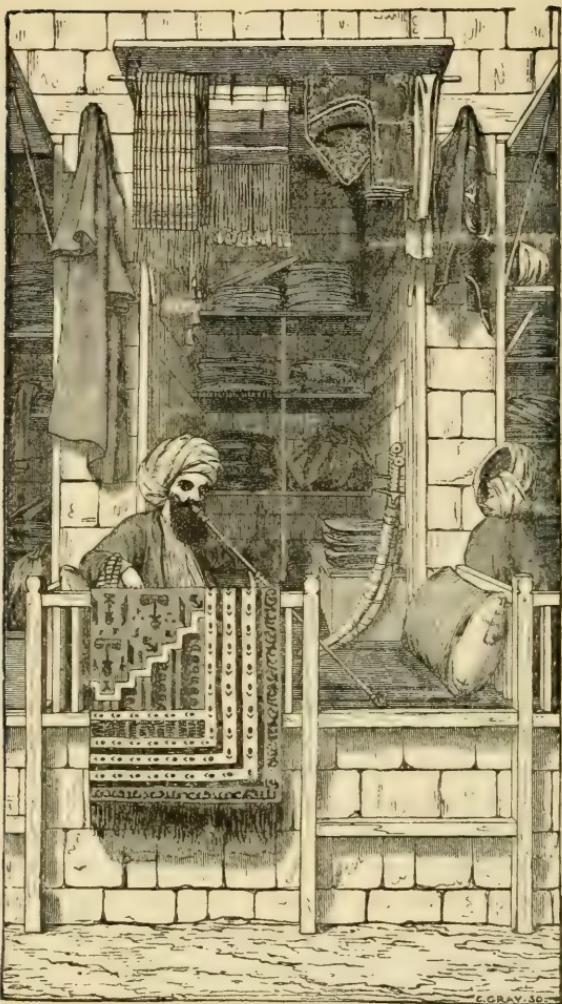
We have thus traced the growth of the Ottoman power, from its first small beginnings till it had swelled into a vast dominion, first in Asia and then in Europe. It had grown to that extent of power by the great qualities of a long succession of princes, whose skill in the craft of conquerors and rulers sometimes goes far to make us forget their crimes. And, in the case of the Ottoman Sultans, it is not merely their personal crimes that we are tempted to forget. Their personal crimes may be paralleled in the history of other times and other nations. But there has never been in European history, perhaps not in the history of the whole world, any other power which was in everything so thoroughly a fabric of wrong as the power of the Ottomans. There has been no other dominion of the same extent lasting for so long a time, which has been in the same way wholly grounded on the degradation and oppression of the mass of those who were under its rule. Others among the great empires of the world have done much wrong and caused much suffering; but they have for the most part done something else besides doing wrong and causing suffering. Most of the other powers of the world, at all events most of those which play a part in the history of Europe, if they had a dark side, had also a bright one. To take the great example of all, the establishment of the Roman dominion carried with it much of wrong, much of suffering, much wiping out of older national life. But the Empire of Rome had its good side also. If Rome destroyed, she also created. If she conquered, she also civilized; if she oppressed, she also educated, and in the end evangelized. She handed on to the growing nations of Europe the precious inheritance of her tongue, her law, and her religion. The rule of the Ottoman Turk has no such balance of good to set against its evil. His mission has been simply a mission of destruction and oppression. From him the subject nations could gain

nothing and learn nothing, except how to endure wrong patiently. His rule was not merely the rule of strangers over nations in their own land. It was the rule of the barbarian over the civilized man, the rule of the unbeliever over the Christian. The direct results of Turkish conquest have been that, while the nations of Western Europe have enjoyed five hundred years of progress, the nations of South-eastern Europe have suffered five hundred years of bondage and of all that follows on bondage. The rule of the Turk, by whatever diplomatic euphemisms it may be called, means the bondage and degradation of all who come beneath his rule. Such bondage and degradation is not an incidental evil which may be reformed; it is the essence of the whole system, the groundwork on which the Ottoman power is built. The power which Othman began, which Mohammed the Conqueror firmly established, which Soliman the Lawgiver raised to its highest pitch of power and splendor, is, beyond all powers that the world ever saw, the embodiment of wrong. In the most glorious regions of the world, the rule of the Turk has been the abomination of desolation, and nothing else. Out of it no direct good can come; indirect good can come of it in one shape only. The natives of Southeastern Europe came under the yoke through disunion. Greek, Slave, Frank, could not be brought to combine against the Turk. Orthodox and Catholic could not be brought to combine against the Mussulman. If the long ages during which those nations have paid the penalty of disunion and intolerance shall have taught them lessons of union and tolerance, they may have gained something indirectly, even from five hundred years of Turkish bondage. We have thus far traced the steps by which they come under the yoke. We have now to trace the steps by which, on the one hand, the yoke was made harder, while, on the other hand, hopes began to dawn which promised that the yoke might one day be thrown off. We have in this chapter traced the gradual course of the growth of the Ottoman power; in the next chapter we must go on to trace the gradual course of its decline.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DECAY OF THE TURKISH POWER.

ALLOWING for occasional fits of revived energy, the Ottoman power went steadily down after the time of Soliman the Lawgiver. It went down in two ways. Though territory was still sometimes won, yet on the whole the Ottoman frontiers fell back. After Soliman no lasting conquests of any importance were made, except those of the islands of Cyprus and Crete. The frontier on the north towards Hungary, and in later times towards Russia, has steadily gone back. And, last of all, in our own age large parts of the Ottoman territory have been separated from it to form distinct states, either tributary or wholly independent. In these ways the extent of the Ottoman dominion on the map has lessened wonderfully indeed since the days of Soliman. And, during the greater part of the times with which we are dealing, the power of the Sultans was getting less and less in the dominions which were left to them. The central administration became more and more corrupt, more under the influence of ministers, favorites, and women than under the authority of the Sultans themselves. The Pashas or Governors of provinces became more and more independent, and in some cases they made their offices practically hereditary. In some parts indeed, especially toward the end of the last century, when the power of the Sultans was at its lowest, there was utter anarchy without any control of any kind. Through the seventeenth century especially, we may mark the short reigns of the Sultans, as contrasted with the long reigns of most of the great Sultans. Many of them were deposed and murdered, as they have again begun to be in our own times. Nor must we forget, as one cause of decay, the wretched education, if we may so call it, of the Sultans themselves. Kept in a kind of imprisonment till they came to the throne, with every means of enjoying themselves, but with no means of learning the duties of rulers, they came forth from prison to be clothed with absolute power. One is really inclined to wonder that they were not even worse than they were, and that any of them showed any sign of virtue or ability of any kind.



A TURKISH BAZAAR.

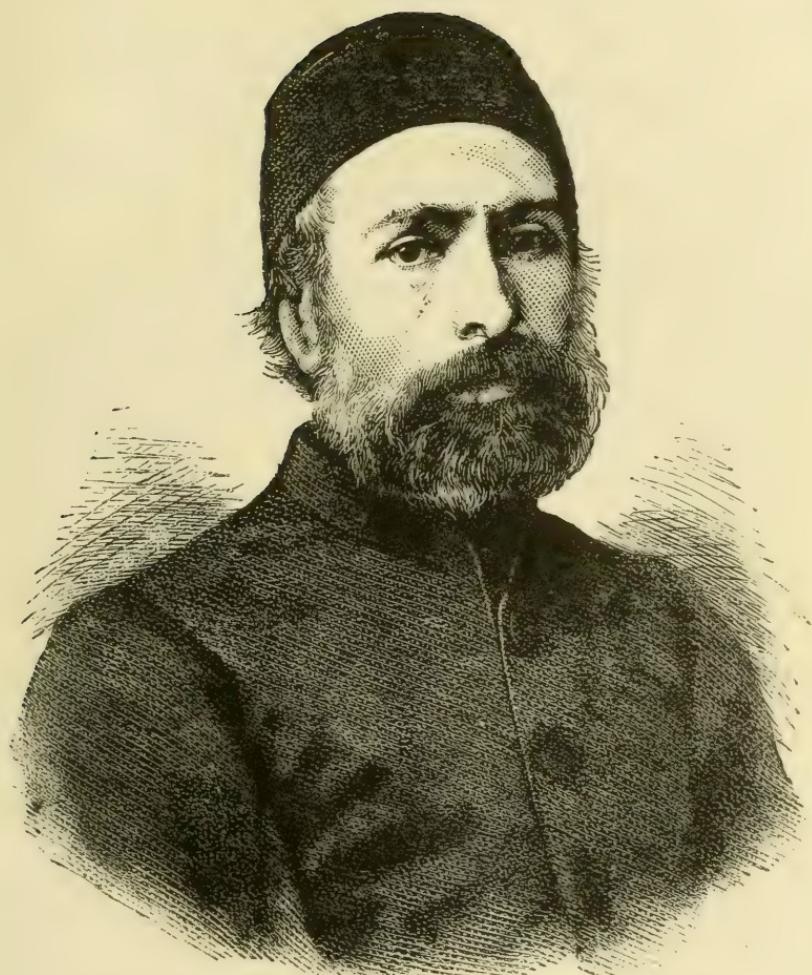
This may pass as a general picture of the character of Ottoman rule during the days of the decay of the Ottoman power. But it concerns us more to know what was the effect of this state of things on the nations which the Turks held in bondage. It must not be thought that the decay of the power of the Sultans brought any direct or immediate relief to the subject nations. Some indirect advantages

they did gain from it; but in the main the weakening of the power of the Sultans, the general decay of their empire, meant increased oppression; it meant heavier bondage to be borne by their Christian subjects. The great Sultans, as a rule, were not men who delighted in oppression for oppression's sake. Their personal crimes mainly touched those who were personally near to them; they had wisdom enough to see that they would gain nothing by making the bondage of the conquered nations intolerable. In all despotisms there is more chance of justice and mercy from the head despot than from his subordinates, and many a tyrant has deemed tyranny a privilege of the crown which no subordinate might share. As the power of the Sultans grew weaker, the subject nations lost their one chance of redress. In such a state of things grinding local oppression at the hands of a crowd of petty tyrants takes the place of the equal, if stern, rule of the common master of all. Under such grinding local oppression, lands were untilled, houses were uninhabited, the population of the country sensibly lessened. But, as the demands both of central and of local rulers did not lessen, the burdens of those who survived were only made the heavier. Such, with a few moments of relief, has been the general state of things in Southeastern Europe since the decline of the empire began.

The beginning of better times, or at least of brighter hopes, for the subject nations, may be dated from the latter years of the seventeenth century, and was mainly owing to two causes, the remission of the tribute of children and the advance of the Christian powers at the expense of the Turk. As long as the tribute of children was levied, the subject nations really could not stir. From the time when it ceased, even when there was no actual improvement in their condition, there was the beginning of hope. Every success gained by any Christian power against their masters raised the hopes and heightened the spirit of those who were under the yoke. Herein comes out the main difference between a national government and the rule of strangers. When any Christian power was at war with the Turk, the enslaved nations looked on the enemies of the Turk, not as their enemies, but as their friends. Every failure on the part of their masters, every danger that threatened their masters, gave them a hope of deliverance. Those who made war on the Turk seemed, not the enemies of their country, but its friends. The subject nations

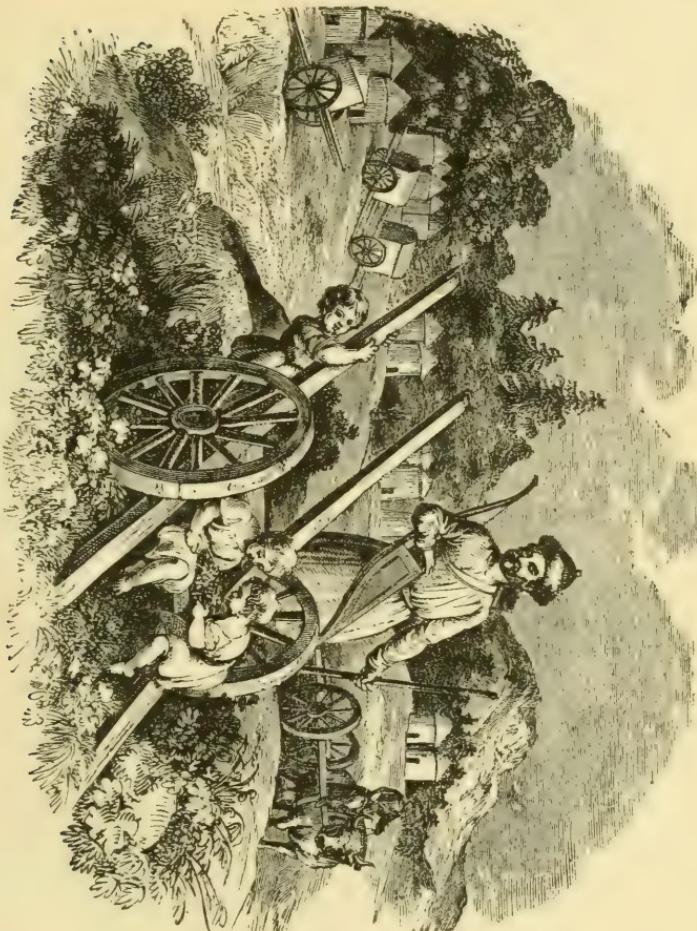
have often been very badly treated by Christian powers who professed to be their friends. Hopes have often been kindled, promises have often been made, which were never fulfilled. Still, all these causes joined together to stir up men's minds, and to raise them from the state of utter wretchedness and despair under which they had been bowed down for so many generations.

From the middle of the seventeenth century the Turks had constant wars with the neighboring Christian powers, wars in which, though the Turks sometimes won victories and recovered provinces, their dominion on the whole went back. The chief powers with which they had to strive up to the latter part of the seventeenth century were the commonwealth of Venice and the kingdom of Hungary, then held by the Emperors of the House of Austria. They had also wars with Poland, when the Polish kingdom, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, stretched much further to the southeast than it did before or after. And lastly, they have had wars with Russia, which, for a long time past, have been of greater moment than any of the others. But, in the latter part of the sixteenth and the greater part of the seventeenth century, the chief wars were those with Venice and with the Emperors in their character of Kings of Hungary. Both the Venetian and the Hungarian wars greatly affected the interests of the subject nations. The Hungarian wars chiefly affected the Slaves, and to some extent the Roumans. The Venetian wars mainly affected the Greeks, and to some extent also the Slaves. The possessions of Venice in the East consisted of islands and points or lines of coast. These might easily be lost and won, as they often were, without the loss or gain of one settlement greatly affecting any other. But the kingdom of Hungary had, before the time of Soliman, lain as a compact mass, with a continuous frontier, to the north of the Ottoman dominions. And, as the Ottoman frontier went back, Hungary gradually took that character again. Along the Danube and its great tributaries, sometimes the power of the Emperors, sometimes the power of the Sultans, advanced. But on the whole the Ottoman frontier fell back. It will be seen by the map how great a territory has been won back from the Turks since the days of Soliman. On the other hand, though the Venetians gained some successes, though they often won back lands which they had lost and sometimes even won new lands, still, on the whole, the Venetian power fell back, and



EDHEM PASHA, GRAND VIZIER OF TURKEY.

TARTAR RURAL LIFE.



the Ottoman power advanced. In both cases, the change of frontier between the Turk and Venice or between the Turk and the Emperor was, for the Greek and Slavonic inhabitants of the disputed lands, a mere change of masters. Still there was the difference between civilized and barbarian masters. The rule of Venice in her distant possessions was bad, and often oppressive. It could awaken no kind of national or loyal feeling on the part of the subjects of the Commonwealth, yet it was not brutal and bloody, like that of the Turks. And, on the Hungarian frontier, when the Austrian kings ceased to per-

secute, instead of Hungarian Protestants welcoming the Turk as a deliverer, the Christian subjects of the Turk welcomed every success of the imperial arms bringing deliverance to themselves.

Besides Venice and Hungary, the Turks had wars with Poland and Russia, of which we shall say more presently. Notwithstanding some occasional successes, the Turkish power gave way at all these points. During this period wars with the Turks were going on at various points from Peloponnēsos to the mouth of the Don. But the war in Hungary formed the centre of all. This was now the region where the great struggle between Turks and Christians was waged, and in that region at this time the Turkish frontier steadily went back. The wars of this time were like a vast battle, in which Venice at one end, Poland and Russia at the other, were attacking and defending this and that outpost, while the main struggle went on in the lands upon the Danube.

We have seen that the conquests of Soliman left only a small part of Hungary to its nominal king the Emperor. The greater part of the land was ruled by a Turkish Pasha, while Transylvania and part of Hungary itself formed a vassal principality. The state of things in these lands often changed, and there were several wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But on the whole, the Turks kept their predominance in Hungary. In the latter half of the seventeenth century things began to change. In 1663, while the siege of Candia was still going on, when Mohammed IV. was Sultan and Leopold the First was Emperor and King of Hungary, a war began in which for the first time the Imperial arms had the advantage. The war was famous for the great battle of Saint Gotthard, fought in 1664, in which the imperial general Motecuculi won a great victory over the Turks under the Vizier Koprili. This battle was by land much the same as Lepanta was by sea. It was the first great overthrow of the Turks; it therefore marks the turning-point in their history, for it was the beginning of a long series of victories over the Turks on the part both of the Emperors and of other Christian powers.

The battle was followed by a truce for twenty years between the Emperor and the Turks. Meanwhile the affairs of the Cossacks, the wild people of the border-lands between Poland, Russia, and the Turkish vassal states north of the Euxine, led to wars both with Poland and Russia. The Polish war lasted from 1672 to 1676. In

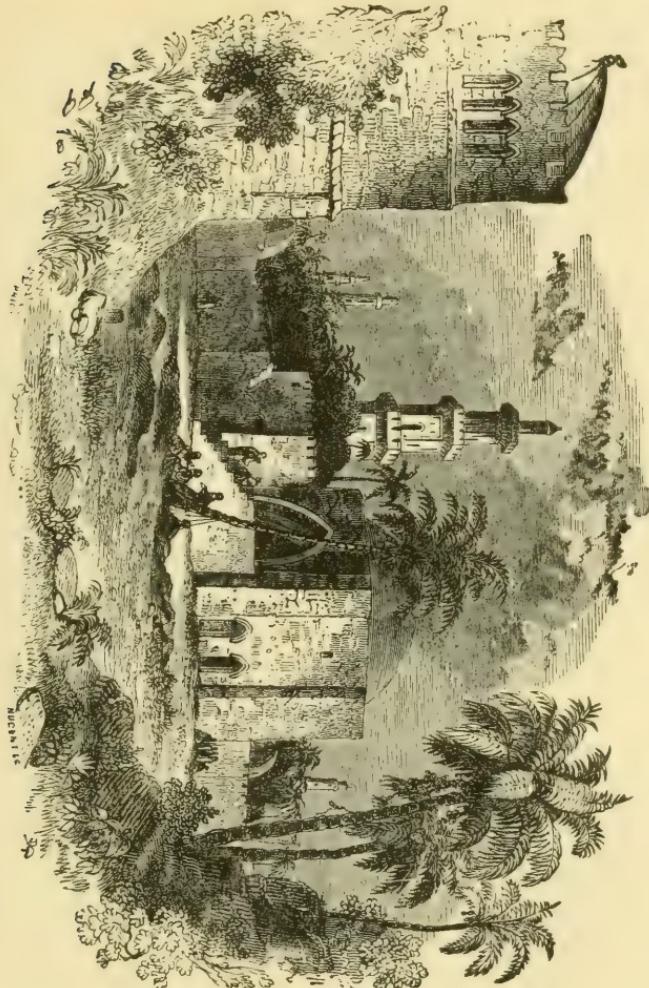
this, though the famous John Sobieski won several brilliant victories both before and after his election to the Polish crown, yet Poland lost the strong town of Kamenetz, and the whole province of Podolia. In this war both Sultan Mohammed and his Minister Koprili had a share. Its issue is instructive. Sobieski won battles, but the Turks kept Podolia. For the Turks were just now ruled, in the person of Koprili, by a single wise and strong will, while, though the Poles are one of the bravest nations on earth, yet the weak and disorderly nature of their government made them constantly lose in other ways what they won in fighting. In the Russian war, the first war of any moment between Russia and the Turk, the Sultan, who had just won a superiority over the Cossacks of Ukraine from the Poles, lost it again to the Russians. But the real beginnings of the struggle between Russia and the Turk come a few years later, though still within the times with which we are dealing. It will be better to go back to what were at the time the more important wars in Hungary and Greece.

We have already seen that the religious intolerance of the Austrian Kings in Hungary gave a great advantage to the Turks, and that it often made the Protestants of Hungary think, with good reason, that the rule of the Turk was the less heavy bondage of the two. No king did himself and his subjects more harm in this way than the Emperor Leopold I. His persecutions, and the revolts to which they led, laid not only Hungary but the Empire itself open to the Turks. Mohammed IV. was still Sultan; but he had lost his wise minister Koprili, and the present vizier, Kara Mustapha, was fond of planning enterprises too great for his power to carry out. It was he who had conducted the unsuccessful war with Russia; now in 1682 he undertook, not only to complete the conquest of Hungary, but once more, like Soliman, to invade Germany itself. In 1683 the Turks again besieged Vienna, and the city was saved, not at all by the Emperor, but by John Sobieski and his Poles. Austria and Hungary were in truth delivered from the Turk by the swords of a Slavonic people, the people of a kingdom which within a hundred years Austria helped to dismember. A war now went on, which lasted till 1698. The Turks were gradually driven out of Hungary. In this war Sobieski at the beginning, and Prince Eugene of Savoy in its later stages, won some of their most famous victories. It might at the time be

doubted whether Hungary gained much by being delivered from the Turk, only to be put under such a king as Leopold. No doubt Hungary has had much to complain of at the hands of her Austrian kings; but the same rule applies here as everywhere else. The Christian government can amend and reform; the Mohammedan government cannot. During the reign of the next Sultan, Soliman II., came the administration of another Koprili, the one who has been already mentioned as one of the very few Turkish rulers who ever really thought of the welfare of the Christians under Turkish rule.

While the centre, as we may call it, of the general Christian army was thus victoriously bearing the main brunt of the strife in Hungary, much was also done by what we may call the two wings, the ancient power of Venice, the seemingly new, but really only revived, power of Russia. It was now that Venice began to play a great part on the mainland of Greece. We have seen that Peloponnésos had wholly fallen into the hands of the Turks, the greater part under Mohammed and the little that was left by him under Soliman. But in some of the wilder parts of the country, as in the peninsula of Maina, the Christians long kept a rude independence. It was not till 1614 that the people of Maina were compelled to pay the *haratch*, the tribute by which the non-Mussulman buys the right to toleration at the hands of the Mussulman. The Greek coasts were often visited by Spanish and other European ships in their wars with the Turk, so that the Greek inhabitants really suffered instead of their masters. At last, in the year after the siege of Vienna, when the Turkish power was giving way in Hungary, it seemed a good time for Venice to strike a blow. So in 1684 the great Venetian commander, Francesco Morosini, who was chosen Doge in the course of the war, began the conquest of the peninsula. It was thought that Peloponnésos would be more easily held than Crete. The Venetian forces, with help from other parts of Europe, conquered all Peloponnésos. The war also went on in Attica and Euboia: Athens was taken, and it was in this siege that the Parthenon was ruined. It had been a church under the Emperors and under the Frank Eukes; but the Turks had turned it into a powder magazine, and a falling shell caused an explosion which broke it down. But the Venetians were not able to keep anything beyond the isthmus; Peloponnésos itself they did keep for a while. Thus a large part of Greece was placed under a government which if not

THE GREAT MOSQUE AT GAZA.



national, was at least civilized. The Greeks at this time had no hope for anything better than a change of masters. But the Venetian was at least a better master than the Turk: Peloponnésos passed under political bondage to the republic; but its people were saved from personal oppression and degradation.

But meanwhile events were happening in what we may call the other wing of the great battle, which were the beginning of much that has

gone on with increasing importance down to our own time. This is the beginning of those long wars between Russia and the Turk at which we have already glanced. At the time which we have now reached, two of the great seats of the Tartar power, at Kasan and at Astrakhan, had long been held by Russia. But the Tartars of the peninsula of Crimea and the neighboring lands still remained. And, as long as they remained, Russia, whose fleet had in old times sailed over the Euxine to attack Constantinople, was thoroughly cut off from that sea. The Khans of the Crimea had been vassals of the Sultans ever since the time of Mohammed the Conqueror, and their affairs, and those of the Cossacks to the north of them, led to disputes between Russia, Poland, and the Turks. Hitherto the Euxine had been wholly under the power of the Turks, and was chiefly used for their trade in slaves. No European nation had had any commerce there since Mohammed the Conqueror had taken the Genoese possessions in the Crimea. The object of Russia was now for a long time to get free access to the sea, which the Turks of course tried to keep to themselves. This strife was begun when Peter the Great took Azov in 1696. For a long while after that time the possession of Azov, as the key of the Euxine, was the great point of contention between Russia and the Turks. It was disputed with fluctuating success during a great part of the next century.

Thus, at the end of the seventeenth century, the Turks had been at war with all their Christian neighbors, and they had lost territory at all points except one. They had gained Podolia; but they had lost Peloponnésos, Hungary, and Azov. Most of these territories they formally gave up by treaties in 1699 and 1700. The peace of Carlowitz in 1699 marks a point in the history, or more truly in the decline, of the Ottoman power. Up to this time the Sultans had deemed themselves the superiors of all European princes, and had treated their ambassadors with great haughtiness. Sometimes they imprisoned ambassadors, and dealt in other ways contrary to the received law of nations. Strictly following the law of their own Prophet, they would not make peace with any Christian power; they would only grant truces. Now in the reign of Mustapha II., they were driven to treat with European powers on equal terms, and formally to give up territory. They formally ceded Peloponnésos to Venice, and gave back Podolia to Poland. But, oddly enough, it was not a peace forever,

but only a truce for twenty-five years, which was concluded between the Turk and the power which had won most back from him. By this truce the Turks gave up all Hungary, except the district called the Banat of Temesvar, with Transylvania and the greater part of Slavonia. This treaty, it should be remarked, was concluded under the mediation of England and the United Provinces. This shows that we have now got to the beginnings of modern diplomacy. Russia was not a party to the Peace of Carlowitz; but she concluded an armistice for two years, which in the next year was changed into a thirty years' truce. By this truce Russia kept Azov.

The Turkish power thus received one of the heaviest blows that was ever dealt to it. From that blow it has never really recovered. The power of the Turk has never again been what it was before the wars which were ended by the Peace of Carlowitz. But we have already said that the Ottoman power, just like the Byzantine power before it, had times of revival, which alternated with times of decay. So through a great part of the eighteenth century the Turks were still able to win victories, and, though they won no new ground, they sometimes won back a good deal of what they had lost. There soon were wars again between the Turks and all their European enemies, except Poland, whose day of greatness has now come quite to an end. War with Russia broke out again in 1711, and this time the Turks had the better. By the treaty of the Pruth, Azov was restored to the Turk. This was followed by the Turkish conquest of Peloponnēsos, Ténos, and whatever else Venice held on the Eastern side of Greece in 1715. The Turks went on to threaten Corfu and Dalmatia; but in 1716 the Emperor Charles VI., who of course was also King of Hungary, made an alliance with Venice. Charles VI. was more powerful than any Emperor had been since Charles V. Men began to hope that the Turks might be altogether conquered, and that a Christian Emperor might again reign at Constantinople. This indeed did not happen; but the Imperial armies, under Prince Eugene, made large conquests from the Turks. The small part of Hungary and Slavonia which the Turks kept was won back, and Belgrade, with a large part of Servia, a small strip of Bosnia, and the western part of Wallachia, became part of the dominions of the House of Austria. Things were now different from what they had been under Leopold. Every inch of territory won from the Turk was so much won for civilization and

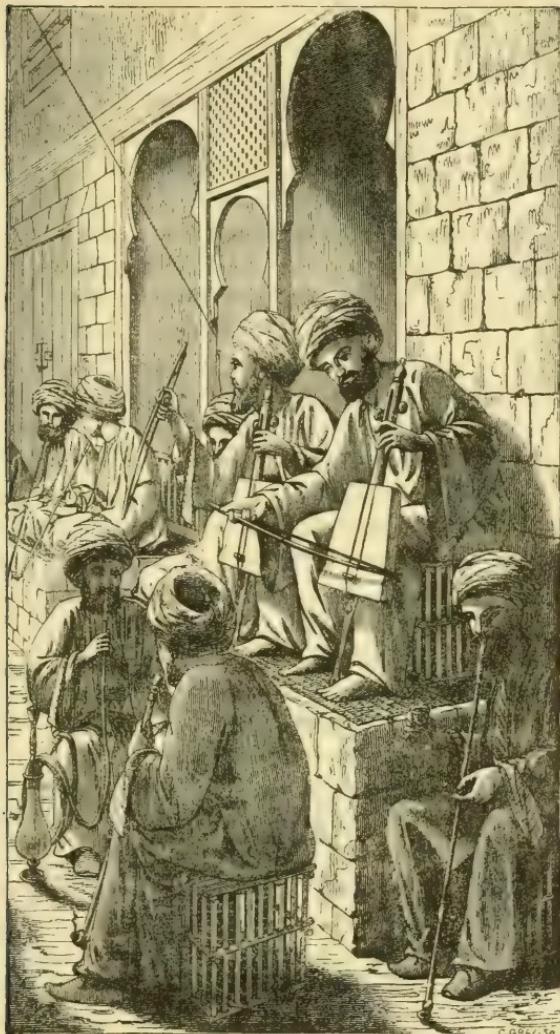
comparative good government, and the Imperial armies were welcomed as deliverers by the people of the lands which they set free. By the Peace of Passarowitz, in 1718, made for another term of twenty-five years, all these conquests were confirmed to the Emperor. But he shamefully neglected the interests of Venice, and Peloponnesos was again confirmed to the Turk, when there were hopes of winning it back.

Venice now, as a power, passes out of our story, though we shall hear again of the fate of what was left of her Eastern possessions. Through the rest of the eighteenth century Austria and Russia are the powers which keep up the struggle; in the nineteenth century it is Russia only.

There is no need to go through every detail of war and diplomacy in these times, but only to mark those events which form real landmarks in the decline of the Turkish power. Thus it has no bearing on our subject, though we may mark it for its very strangeness, that in the latter days of Peter the Great the Czar and the Sultan joined together to make conquests from Persia. And when the war began again in Europe, the tide seemed at first to have turned to the side of the Turks. Russia was eager to get back Azov, and the Emperor Charles was ready to go on with the conquests which had begun early in his reign.

War began again on the part of Russia in 1735, and of Austria in 1737. The Russians made conquests, but did not keep them; and, now that the Emperor Charles had no longer a great general like Eugene, he lost much of what he had won in the earlier war. By the peace of Belgrade, in 1739, Belgrade, with all that had been won in Servia, Bosnia, and Wallachia was given back by the Emperor to the Turk. In the next war between Austria and the Turk, which was waged in the last years of the Emperor Joseph the Second, Belgrade was again taken, and other conquests were made; but nearly all was given back by the Emperor Leopold the Second at the Peace of Sistova in 1791, when the Turk again got Belgrade. In this last war the Servians fought most gallantly on the imperial side, and learned much military discipline. But, as usual, they were made the playthings of policy in other directions, and were shamefully given up to their cruel masters.

The war which was ended by the Peace of Sistova was the last of



AN EGYPTIAN ORCHESTRA.

the wars between the Turks and the Emperors of the House of Austria for the possession of Hungary, Servia, and the other lands on the Danube. The result of all these wars was that Hungary was freed from the Turk, but that Servia and Bosnia were left in his clutches.

But it must always be borne in mind that all these lands alike, Hungary, Servia, and the rest, have been lost and won again in exactly the same way. The frontier which now divides the Hungarian kingdom from the Turk is simply the result of the successive victories and defeats of the Austrian arms, from the deliverance of Vienna in 1683 to the betrayal of Belgrade in 1791. There is no reason but the accidents of those wars, the accident that Charles VI. had a great general early in his reign and had no great general in his later years, to account for the fact, that part of the lands on the Danube are now under a civilized government, while part are left under the Turk.

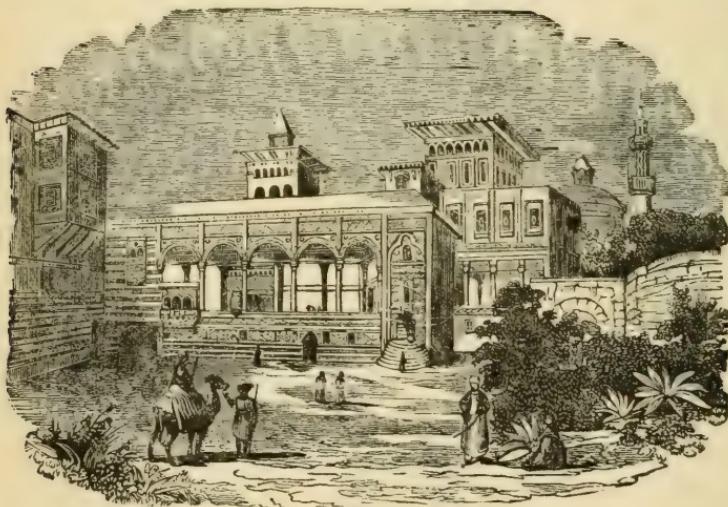
The wars between Austria and the Turk are thus ended. They ended in establishing the frontier which remains still, except so far as one of the lands which were given up to the Turk has won its freedom for itself. But the wars between the Turk and Russia still went on. As long as the Austrian wars went on, there was commonly a Russian war at the same time, while there were other wars with Russia in which Austria had no share. Thus, at the Peace of Belgrade in 1736, when Austria gave up so much, it was agreed that the fortifications of Azov should be destroyed, and that Russia should be shut out from the Euxine. It was not till the reign of Catherine II. that the real advance of Russia began. The first war of her reign began with the declaration of war by the Turk in 1768, and it was ended by the famous treaty of Kainardshe in 1774. Two points are specially to be noticed in the wars which now begin. This first war had a special effect in stirring up the Greeks to revolt. A Russian fleet appeared in the *Ægæan*, and the Greeks of Peloponnēsos rose against their oppressors. They were badly used by Russia, just as the Servians were by Austria; they were by no means backed up as they ought to have been against the Turks, or protected from their vengeance. Still it was a great thing for the Greeks again to feel that their masters had powerful enemies, and that they themselves could do something against their masters. And now too the people of Montenegro begin to play a part in all the wars against the Turk. They had always kept their own independence by endless fighting. Their land had been often overrun, but it was never really conquered. Montenegro was now under the rule of its Bishops, who, somewhat strangely according to our notions, acted also as civil and military chiefs. Russia had long

given the Montenegrins a certain measure of help and encouragement, and in all the wars from this time, Montenegro, as an Orthodox land always at war with the Turk, was found a useful ally.

The treaty of Kainardshe, which finished this war, marks an important stage in the history. The Ottoman power was now for the first time brought into some measure of dependence. By this treaty Russia at last gained the long disputed possession of Azov, with some other points on the Euxine, and the Tartars of the Crimea were recognized as a state independent of the Turk. It is worth notice that, by the treaty, the spiritual authority of the Sultan, as Caliph of the Prophet, was fully recognized on behalf of these Tartars, at the same time that they were released from his temporal authority. The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were restored to the Turk, on condition of his observing their ancient privileges and at the same time acknowledging a right in Russia to remonstrate in case of any breach of them. Russia was acknowledged by this treaty as the protector of the Christian subjects of the Turk; in truth the principle was proclaimed, though not in so many words, that Turkish rule was something different from anything that we understand by government. It was practically proclaimed that those whom he called his subjects had need of the protection of another power against the man who called himself their sovereign. Both at the time and ever after, this treaty has been looked on as the beginning of the fall of the dominion of the Turk. For it did in truth make the Ottoman power in some sort dependent on Russia; ever since the power of the Turk has steadily gone down and the power of Russia has steadily advanced, and we must set down every advance made by Russia at the cost of the Turk as, indirectly at least, a step towards the deliverance of the subject nations.

After the Treaty of Kainardshe those steps pressed fast upon one another. In 1783 the Crimea was altogether incorporated with Russia, which thus at last obtained a great seaboard on the Euxine. This was one of those things which could not fail to happen. The Tartars of the Crimea could not possibly continue as an independent state. It was something like Texas, which, when it was cut off from Mexico, could not fail to be joined to the United States. Russia, a growing power, could not be kept back from the sea. The next war, from 1787 to 1791, was the last in which Austria shared, that which was ended by the Peace of Sistova, when Belgrade was last given back to

the Turk. It almost seemed as if, between the two Christian powers, the Turk would have been altogether crushed. But, as we have seen, the Emperor Leopold drew back, and the loss of the Austrian alliance, together with the general state of affairs in Europe, caused Russia to draw back also. Still this war gave Russia the famous fortress of Otshakov and advanced the Russian frontier to the Dniester. Russia thus gained, but Christendom lost. For this increase of the territory of Russia did not mean the deliverance of any Christian people, while the surrender of Belgrade was the betrayal of a Christian city to the barbarians. It did not perhaps much matter when Russia ended a war in which Montenegro had helped her without making stipulations on behalf of Montenegro. For the Montenegrins could help themselves and keep their own borders. It was different when Greeks and Servians, who had helped Russia and Austria, were again left under the rule of the Turk. Still the whole course of events helped to raise the hopes of the subject nations, and to make them feel their strength. Before the next war between Russia and the Turk began, one of the subject nations had done great things for its own deliverance.



EXTERIOR OF A MODERN TURKISH HOUSE.

CHAPTER XIX.

REVOLTS AGAINST THE OTTOMAN POWER.

THE surrender of Belgrade to the Turk was the last and the most shameful act of the wars between the Turk and the Emperors. As soon as the Servians were given back to the Turk after a taste of civilized government, they found themselves worse off than ever. The Emperor, in giving up Belgrade, did indeed stipulate for an amnesty for the Servians who had acted on his side; but just at that moment amnesties and stipulations of any kind did not count for much. It would have been a hard fate, if men who had been once set free had been given back to one of the great Sultans, or even to one of the Saracen Caliphs. But a harder fate than either was in store for the Servians whom the Peace of Sistova gave back to the Turk. The greater part of the Ottoman dominion was now in a state of utter anarchy. Servia was in the hands of local military chiefs, the leaders of the rebellious Janissaries. In some parts bands of men which might be called armies went about taking towns and ravaging the country at pleasure. Brave men among the Christians took to a life of wild independence, throwing off, for themselves at least, the Turkish yoke altogether. In other parts the Sultans found it necessary to allow the Christians to bear arms, in defence alike of themselves and of the Sultan's authority against Mussulman rebels. Thus, in all these ways, the subject nations were gaining courage and were learning the use of arms. And it must be remembered that now the bravest and strongest of their children were no longer taken from them, but were left to grow up as leaders of their countrymen. In such a state of things as this, the rule of the Sultan, where it was to be had, was the least of many evils. We therefore sometimes actually find an alliance between the Sultan and the Christians against their local oppressors. This was the case in Servia. The Servians, under the yoke of their local oppressors, cried to the Sultan for help, and the Sultan was for a while disposed to favor their efforts against his rebellious officers. But the war against local oppressors gradually swelled into a war against the chief oppressor himself. The war which began

ORIENTAL FORMS OF OBEDIENCE.



in 1804 with an appeal to the Sultan against local oppressors grew in the next year into war with the Sultan himself, which led in the end to the deliverance of Servia.

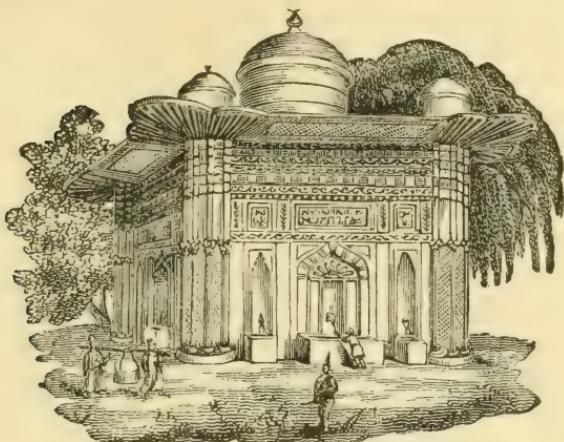
By this time the affairs of Servia, and of the subject nations generally, were getting mixed up, in a way in which they had not been before, with the general affairs of Europe. It was not now merely the powers whose dominions bordered on those of the Turk, but Western powers like France and England, which came to have a direct share in the affairs of the Southeastern lands. After the surrender of Belgrade, but before the Servian revolt really began, Russia and the Turk had become allies. The revolutionary French,

under Bonaparte, had in 1798 attacked Egypt, and this led the Turk into an alliance with Russia and England. Oddly enough, one result of this alliance between a Mussulman, a Protestant, and an Orthodox power was to set up again for a little while the temporal dominion of the Pope which the French had upset. At a later stage, in 1805, Russia again demanded a more distinct acknowledgment of the Russian protectorate over the Christians. Sultan Selim wept, and presently came under the influence of France, which power, by annexing the Illyrian provinces of Austria, had become his neighbor. Selim presently, Turk-like, broke his faith by deposing the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia contrary to treaty, and now England and Russia were both armed against him. The barbarian bragged as usual, and this time with more reason than usual. A Turkish fleet was burned in the Propontis by the English; a little more energy, and Constantinople might have been taken, and Europe might have been cleansed of Asiatic intruders. Later still, when Bonaparte and Alexander of Russia were for a while friends, there were further schemes for getting rid of the Turk altogether, and for dividing his dominions between Russia, Austria, and France. Such a division would doubtless have been an immediate gain for the subject nations. Any civilized masters, Russian, Austrian, or French, would have been better than the Turks, even under a reforming Selim. But for some at least of the subject nations better things were in store. They were, partly by their own valor, partly by help from Christian nations, to be raised to a state in which they had no need to acknowledge any masters at all.

The war between Russia and the Turk went on till it was ended in 1812 by the Peace of Bucharest. By that peace Russia kept Bessarabia and all Moldavia east of the Pruth, which river became the boundary instead of the Dniester. The war concerns us chiefly so far as its course influenced the course of the war between the Turk and the Servian patriots. Whenever Selim was frightened by the advance of Russia, he made promises to the Servians; whenever he thought that he had a chance against Russia, he withdrew or broke his promises. Up to 1805 the Servian war was not strictly war against the Sultan, it was a war against the Sultan's rebellious enemies. Under their leader, Czerni, Kara, or Black George, the Servians fought valiantly against their local tyrants, but they tried to make favorable terms with the Sultan through the mediation of Russia.

Selim, instead of granting any terms, attacked the men who had been fighting against his enemies. But Czerni George and the other Servian chiefs crushed his forces right and left, and the Russian army was on the march. Selim offered to let Servia go free in everything, except payment of tribute and keeping a small Turkish garrison in Belgrade. But, as soon as Selim heard of the French successes against Russia, he retracted his promises and went on with the war. Presently, in 1807, Selim was deposed and soon after murdered, as was also Mustapha who was set up in his stead. Then, in 1808, began the reign of the fierce Mahmoud II., another Turkish reformer, the nature of whose reforms are well remembered by the people of Chios. The war went on till the peace with Russia in 1812. That treaty contained some provisions on behalf of Servia which were meant to make Servia a tributary state, free from all Turkish interference in its internal affairs. But now the Turk no longer feared Russia; he feared her still less when Bonaparte was marching against her. Mahmoud therefore thought himself strong enough to break the treaty. Servia was attacked again; Czerni George lost heart, and took shelter in the Austrian dominions. Servia was conquered, and the old tyranny was brought back again. Her first deliverer had fled; but a new deliverer arose in Milosh Obrenovich. He gradually won the freedom of the land, and in 1817 he was chosen Prince. Servian affairs dragged on for several years; this and that agreement was made with the Turk, but none were fully carried out. By the treaty of Akerman, in 1826, Mahmoud consented to Servian independence. The land was to be free, excepting only the payment of tribute and the keeping of Turkish garrisons in certain fortresses; but it was not till the treaty of Adrianople in 1829 that the provisions for the independence of Servia were really carried out.

Since then Servia has been a separate state under its own princes; but more than one change of dynasty has taken place between Milosh and his descendants and the descendants of Czerni George. The land has flourished and advanced in every way, as it never could have done under Turkish masters. The Prince of Servia rules over a free people. But for a long time freedom was imperfect, as long as the Turks kept garrisons in Belgrade and other fortresses. In 1862 Servia had a proof that, where the Turkish soldier is allowed to tread, he will do as he has ever done. A brutal outrage of the usual Turkish kind on a



TURKISH FOUNTAIN.

young Servian was resisted ; the barbarian garrison presently bombarded Belgrade. Diplomacy dragged on its weary course ; but at last, after five years, Servia was wholly freed from the presence of the enemy. The Turkish troops were withdrawn, and since then Servia has been wholly free, saving the tribute which goes, which sometimes does not go, from the purses of her free children, for the tyrant whose yoke she has thrown off to squander on his vices and follies.

The Greek revolution began in 1821. It was mainly the work of the Greeks themselves, counting among them the Christian Albanians. They had some help, but not very much, from the other subject nations. The Servians had their own war of independence going on ; but a few Bulgarian and Rouman volunteers did good service in Greece. But more was done by volunteers from England, France, and other western countries. Lord Byron's name is well known as one who in his latter days gave himself for the Greek cause. And great things were done by the Greeks and Albanians themselves, as by the Souliot hero Mark Botzaris, and by Alexander Mavrokordatos, who was not a military man, but a Fanariot of Constantinople, almost the only one of that class who did anything. He bravely defended Misolonghi against the Turks in one of its two sieges. In short, among many ups and downs, the Greeks, with such help as they had, were able to hold the greater part of Greece itself against the Turks.

After the war had gone on for some years, Sultan Mahmoud found

that neither his massacres in other places nor the armies which he sent against Greece itself could break the spirit of the Greek people. Greece at one end, Servia at the other end, were too strong for him. He had to send for what was really foreign help. In the break-up of the Turkish power, Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, had made himself practically independent of the Sultan. Mahmoud, in order to bring back the Greeks under his yoke, had to humble himself to ask for help of his rebellious vassal. In a war against Christians, where plunder and slaves might be had, Mehemet-Ali was ready to help; so he sent his son Ibrahim with an Egyptian force. The Greeks, who had held their ground against the Turks alone, found Turks and Egyptians together too strong for them. Ibrahim acted on the principle of making the land a desert, by slaying or enslaving the whole Christian population. Thus he went on, committing every kind of crime and outrage in Crete, Peloponnésos, and elsewhere, from 1824 to 1827.

In 1826 England and Russia agreed on a scheme for the liberation of Greece which was distinctly drawn up, not in the narrow interests of England or of Russia, but in the interests of humanity. Both powers disclaimed any advantage for themselves; they sought the advantage of others and of humanity in general. Greece was to become a separate tributary state, like Servia. Presently Mahmoud signed the treaty of Akerman with Russia, which is an important stage in the history of all the principalities on the Danube; but with regard to Greece Mahmoud was obstinate.

In July, 1827, England, France, and Russia signed the Treaty of London, by which they bound themselves to compel the Turk, by force if it should be needful, to acknowledge the freedom of Greece. In November was fought the great battle of Navarino. Three great European powers joined their forces to crush the power of the barbarian and to set free his victims. The Turkish and Egyptian fleet was destroyed and Greece was saved. Mahmoud had to yield, and by accepting the Treaty of London, to consent to the liberation of Greece.

The pride of the Turk was utterly humbled; his power was utterly broken and a large part of his dominions was taken from him. Servia and Greece were now free; Greece became not only free, but altogether independent. This last was a special humbling of Mahmoud's pride. He had insolently said that he would allow no interference between

him and those whom he called his subjects. He was presently driven to acknowledge the independence of those subjects, to deal with them as an independent power, to receive a minister from them, and to send a minister to them.

Sultan Mahmoud, who had shown himself one of the bloodiest tyrants in history, set up in his later days for a reformer, and put forth proclamations, promising all kinds of good government to his subjects of all religions. But while his pretended reforms did little good to the Christians, they set his Mohammedan subjects against him. There were Mohammedan revolts in Bosnia, Albania, and other parts, and Mehemet-Ali of Egypt began to found a dominion of his own, at the expense of the Ottoman Turks. He held Egypt and Crete, and presently conquered Syria. As usual, the rule of the new despot was not so bad as that of the old one. Mehemet was a tyrant of that kind which will not endure smaller tyrants; so he established, if not really good government, at least something of stern order in his dominions.

Mahmoud was succeeded in 1839, by Abdul Medjid, who gave promise at first of an efficient administration, but soon surrendered himself to voluptuous pleasures. The Christians were everywhere ill-treated, and appealed in vain for protection. At last they presented their complaints to Emperor Nicholas of Russia, who gave to them an attentive ear. It had been a favorite idea of Peter I. and Catherine II. to embrace the Christian provinces of Turkey within their dominions, and to expel the Turks from Southeastern Europe. This project now began to occupy the mind of Nicholas, and was even discussed with England. The Russian Emperor finally made an open demand for the protectorate over all the Christians in Turkey, in March, 1853, and to support his demands a Russian army of eighty thousand men occupied the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.

The Turks declared war against Russia in October, 1853, and in March of the following year, England and France came to their assistance. A few months later, Sardinia joined the alliance. The war was ended by the treaty of Paris in 1856, by which a portion of Bessarabia was ceded to Moldavia and Wallachia. By the terms of the treaty the latter were required to acknowledge the authority of the sublime Porte, but were, at the same time, taken under the protection of the Western powers; and the Christian subjects of the Sultan were accorded equal rights with the Mohammedans.

Since 1856 there have been several revolts of the subject nations, and several wars have been waged by the Turks against the independent state of Montenegro.

During the reign of Abdul-Aziz, which began in 1861, the people of Crete revolted, and kept up a gallant struggle from 1866 to 1868. They were in the end conquered, and there followed a long and cruel war of persecution by the Turks. Other disturbances took place during this reign, resulting from various causes; and since 1875 there have been open revolts in Herzegovina, Bosnia, and Bulgaria; and the Turks have been involved in war with Montenegro and Servia, which will be more fully detailed in subsequent pages.



INTERIOR OF A MODERN TURKISH HOUSE.

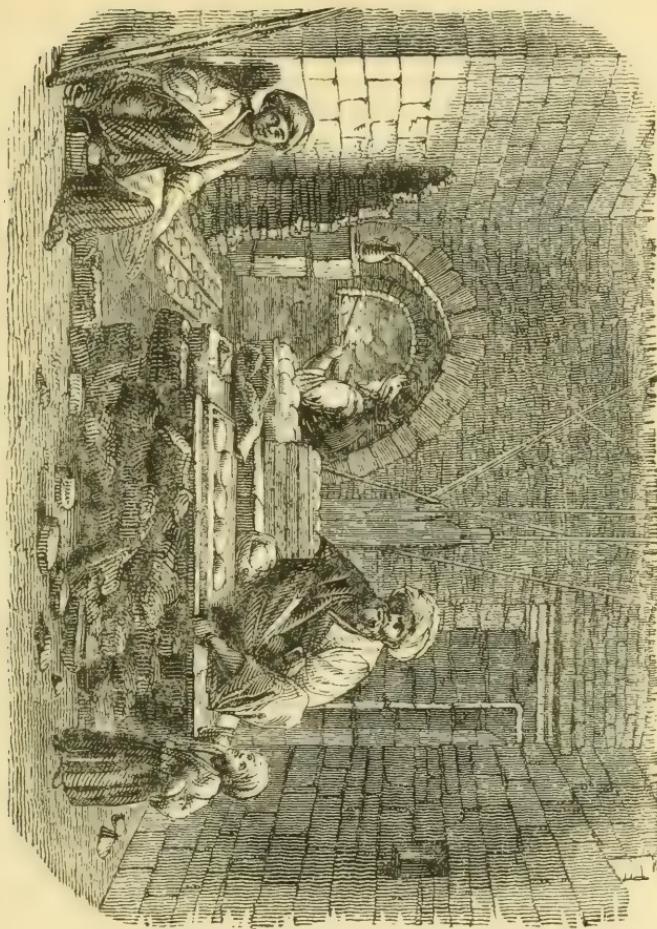
CHAPTER XX.

THE TURKISH ADMINISTRATION.

THE Ottoman Empire, comprising all its provinces, in Europe and in Asia, under the immediate rule of the Sultan at Constantinople, has a total population estimated at twenty-eight millions and a half. Thirteen millions and a half are considered to be of the Ottoman Turkish nation, of whom less than two millions are found in European Turkey. The Mussulman population, in all, numbers about eighteen or nineteen millions, including, besides the Ottoman Turks, over four millions of Turcomans, Arabs, Albanians, Kurds, and Circassians, mixed up with others in different parts, and probably half a million of the Bulgarian and Slav races, more especially in Bosnia, who have adopted the religion of their conquerors. The ten millions of people reckoned as Christians are divided chiefly between the Orthodox or Greek-Russian Church, the Armenian, and the Bulgarian ecclesiastical communions, with over half a million Roman Catholics, and a few Nestorians or Jacobites, besides the Jews and Gypsies. In general, throughout the Turkish Empire there is perfect liberty of religious worship; but the non-Mussulman Churches and sects are not allowed to make converts by the open preaching of their doctrines in public. The Christians, of whatsoever race, indiscriminately called Rayahs, are excluded from civil offices and exempted from military service, instead of which they pay a certain tax in money; but they are allowed to manage their own affairs in small local communities, free from Government interference. In all private and social relations amongst themselves, where none of their Mohammedan neighbors happen to be concerned, the Rayahs enjoy a large share of practical liberty, which they have used, in most instances, to prosper fairly by their agricultural, industrial, and trading occupations. The Bulgarians in European Turkey, and the Armenians in Asia Minor, as well as at Constantinople, have long been accustomed to do nearly all the real steady work of farming, manufacturing, and ordinary labor; while the Greeks have followed the profitable pursuits of commerce and finance and all manner of intrigue. The Mussulman lords of

this extensive region, as a general rule, are content to indulge their natural indolence, and their pride as a superior class of privileged proprietors, without producing any contribution to the wealth of the country. The Turkish or Syrian peasant will, of course, labor as much as he is obliged to do for his mere livelihood; and there are Mohammedan tradesmen and craftsmen, along with others, in the cities and towns of Turkey. But the Turkish rural landowner or squire, who is entitled Agha or Beg, has too high a sense of his personal dignity ever to condescend to useful business. These classes of the Turkish population are nevertheless equal, in most domestic and social virtues, though not in the virtue of industry, to those of any other nation. Their honesty, sobriety, and veracity, and their kindliness of disposition, when not inflamed by religious animosities, are fully attested by every foreign resident in Turkey. A very different character is ascribed to the class of metropolitan Turks at Stamboul, the place-hunters, officials and courtiers of the Sultan's Government, from whom the Pashas and Beys exercising power in his name are selected. There is probably not a more corrupt and worthless set of men, intrusted with rule over their fellow-subjects, in any country of the world; extortionate, unjust, and cruel beyond our conception, and frequently addicted to the most infamous vices. This frightful demoralization of the Turkish governing class, which has not yet infected the whole Turkish nation, is the result of four centuries of absolute domination. It is not the moral teaching of the Koran, though much harm is done by polygamy, chiefly practiced by men of wealth and rank; nor is it any inherent wickedness that has developed such monstrous governmental iniquity among the Ottoman lords of the East. They have become so depraved from the possession of despotic power, like the ancient Romans of the Western and Eastern Empire; and we have no reason to say that Englishmen or Americans, placed in the same position, would have behaved much better, unless restrained by the purifying influence of the Christian faith.

These remarks will serve for an introduction to a brief account of the administration of the Turkish Empire. Its vast and various territories, extending from the banks of the Danube and the shores of the Adriatic to those of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, are divided into twenty-two Provinces, eight of them in Europe and fourteen in Asia. Those in Europe are the metropolitan district of Constantinople,



AN ORIENTAL BAKER.

to which is annexed the neighborhood of Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus; the province of Adrianople, including the better part of Roumelia or Thrace, limited northward by the Balkans; the Danubian province, called Touna, which extends from Varna, on the Black Sea coast, westward as far as Widdin, on the Danube, adjoining the Servian and Roumanian frontiers; the province of Bosnia and that of Herzegovina, which occupy the northwestern corner of the Turkish Empire, adjacent to the Austrian dominions; the province of Salonica, including the ancient Macedonia, on the shores of the

Ægean Sea; the southwestern provinces of Monastir or Prisrend, and of Scodra and Yannina, or Albania and Epirus; besides which there is the island province of Crete or Candia, and one comprising the Greek isles of Rhodes, Chios, Mytilene, Cos, and Cyprus. There is a similar subdivision of Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia, into fourteen Provinces. The most considerable are those of Aidin (with Smyrna), Aleppo, Bagdad, Trebizond, Erzeroum, Adana, Tripoli Syria, and Koordistan. The Governor of a Province or Vilayet is styled the Vali, and is usually a man of the rank of Pasha, but absolutely dependent on Court favor. He gets his appointment from the Council of State at Constantinople by dint of gross bribery, and his tenure of office being very short and uncertain, he strives to enrich himself as quickly as possible by every sort of trickery, and by squeezing the unfortunate people under his rule. Each Vilayet is further divided into five or six Livas or Sandjaks, which are managed respectively by their Mutecarrifs, under the general instructions of the Vali; and each Sandjak comprises so many Cazas, under their respective Caimacams, or Mushirs, these sub-governors being likewise appointed in Constantinople. Below this grade of Turkish Government officials, and their spheres of iniquitous oppression, are the Nahiehs, or Communes, each presided over by a Mayor, called the Mudir, who is elected by the inhabitants, and who may be a Christian; there are also the Codja-bashis, or head men of villages, under the orders of the Mudir. A Council, which in the Turkish language is a "Medjliss," and in which one or two Christians may sit with a dozen Mohammedans, assists every grade of executive officials; the Vali has his Medjliss, including the provincial judges or Muftis; the Mutecarrif has his, consisting of the magistrates or Cadis, the leading clergymen, and four elected members; the Mushir or Caimacam, and the Mudir of a Commune, have similar nominal assistants. But it too often proves that the Medjliss is only a screen for the illegal and oppressive acts of the administration. The whole of this complicated machinery, in fact, is applied by the ruling Pasha to the purpose of extorting money, in a variety of irregular ways, but mainly by intimidation, from the more helpless classes of the Sultan's subjects, and the Rayahs are most helpless, because their complaints will never be heard by the Sultan.

With regard to the judicial system and the dispensation of civil and criminal law, there is a distinct set of law courts, with peculiar

jurisdiction, composed of Mussulman and Christian Judges sitting together, for the trial of cases in which any of the Christian subjects of the Sultan are plaintiffs or defendants. The ordinary Moslem courts of law, which deal with all cases in which only Mussulman plaintiffs and defendants or accused persons and prosecutors, are concerned, have an entirely different character. They are composed of Mollahs, or Judges of the Law of the Koran, which is styled the *Cher'i*, and the supreme head of this learned body is the *Sheikh-ul-Islam*, who is at once Lord Chancellor and Primate of the Mohammedian Church. But the law deduced from the moral and religious precepts of Mohammedanism, by a succession of literary scholars and commentators since the Middle Ages, is now supplemented with rules derived from the old Roman or Civil Law of the Empire, and from the French Code Napoleon; so that it is tolerably fit for application to modern secular affairs. The district judges of the Moslem law-courts are said to be men of tolerable integrity; and it seems to be acknowledged, on the whole, that the Turkish judiciary is much sounder than the administrative or executive branches of government. The *Sheikh-ul-Islam*, indeed, is a venerable personage at Stamboul, the organ of ecclesiastical and legal authority, placed high above those temptations of servility and venality which beset the Sultan's courtiers, parasites, and Ministers of State. The Mollahs, and the various degrees of rabbis, teachers, scribes, and lawyers, constitute a fairly respectable corporation, with the *Sheikh-ul-Islam* at their head, willing to exert their influence for the protection of good Mussulman subjects against the abuses governmental, unfortunate Christians, and power. But the Jews have no such effectual protection. The Patriarch of the Greek Church has usually been a mere instrument of Turkish tyranny. The Bulgarian national Church, till lately overborne and suppressed by



ORIENTAL FORM OF WORSHIP.

the Greek, has regained its ecclesiastical independence, but the chief of its hierarchy does not possess any credit or influence with the Sultan's Government; nor can the Armenian Patriarch or the Jewish Chief Rabbi interfere on behalf of their fellow-religionists with any hope of obtaining redress.

The source, indeed, of all that is evil in the home administration of the Turkish Empire will be found in its being absolutely centralized in the will of an autocratic ruler, who is incapable, from hereditary indolence and necessary ignorance, of really governing by himself, and must therefore commit his power to the hands of a few men about his Court, who do not care how sorely the non-Mussulman subjects are oppressed. This negative condition alone, even without the shameless profligacy and ruthless rapacity of Ministers and Pashas, corrupting and perverting the entire administration of Turkey, would seem to make it hopeless that equal justice can ever be done to Christians and Mohammedans under the Sultan's reign. The Christians of every race and class in Turkey are still treated as a conquered people, to be fleeced, insulted and kept in perpetual degradation, by their Moslem conquerors, though four or five centuries have elapsed since the date of their conquest.

The modern institution of the Medjlisses, or provincial and municipal councils, has only made the state of things worse than before. In the absence of a free press and an expression of public opinion, the working of these municipal councils, so fine in theory, does but multiply the oppressors of the people. Instead of one great tyrant, there are fifty smaller ones, each bent on enriching himself at the expense of the community. The mudir appointed at Constantinople may possibly be an honest man, and may have come with a determination to resist oppression, but no sooner does he attempt to thwart the designs of the Medjลiss than the members unite against him, and send to Constantinople a "mazbata" or round-robin—an instrument of irresistible force in Turkey—praying for his removal, and accusing him of all sorts of crimes and misdemeanors. This petition is always attended to, since the mudirlik is a most valuable piece of patronage at Constantinople, for it brings in a certain money value to some great Pasha, who sits in his "yali" on the Bosphorus and dispenses places at so many thousand piastres each.

The theory of the election of the members of the Medjลiss is that the

notables of the town are elected by the popular voice; but in reality they are always the creatures of the Pasha. In these municipal councils Christians are supposed by very credulous Ottomaniacs to have a voice; we believe that one or two are admitted to a seat in the Medjliss of the Pashalik, to carry out a theory; but we never heard of one being hardy enough to open his mouth. The Medjliss, or Council of the Mushir, regulates the taxes, sending the demand for the sum required to the Kaimakams; these apportion it to the mudirs, who divide and apportion so much to each muktar, or chief of a village, who must collect the money. The municipal councils also fix the price of bread, corn, and other commodities for their own district. Unfortunately for the sake of justice and fair play, the members of this council are always tradesmen, and generally contrive the prices to suit their own advantage. They also hear criminal cases, and farm the taxes. When any public works are undertaken the Medjliss fixes the price of labor and the number of men to be employed. These latter are supposed to give their time and labor in lieu of taxes; and in no department is there such injustice and plunder. The bill of costs to the Government is signed by each member of the Medjliss, each taking his share of the proceeds of peculation. All the wrongs, the unjust exaction of labor, double taxation, truck system, and other burdens grievous to be borne, fall on the unfortunate peasant, who is thereby ground down to the lowest stage of poverty, and can never hope to improve his position.

The criminal cases are tried before the Medjliss, the money cases by the Kaimakam, or Cadi; and these latter are entitled to five per cent. on the sum awarded to the successful client, when the debt is above a certain amount. Collusion frequently occurs; a false charge is made by a man, the debt is awarded to him, and the corrupt judge receives his five per cent. or more. If a Turk is condemned to pay a Christian he refuses to submit to the decision of the Cadi, and carries his case to the "Mehkemé." This is a tribunal of which the Cadi is the president, and of which the decisions are guided entirely by the Koran, the Mufti being referred to in cases of difficulty. Here the Christian is not recognized as a fellow-citizen; he is a "rayah," or conquered being, whose existence is only tolerated by his paying a ransom yearly for his head, called a "haratch." It would be monstrous, indeed a great sin, to admit *his* evidence; therefore the Mussulman's "yea or nay" is

sufficient to overthrow all Christian asseverations or testimony. In February, 1854, a firman was published, to the effect that Christians were henceforward to be considered as fellow-citizens, and their "information" taken in all courts of justice throughout the Empire. This new law was published in the European papers, and sundry hopeful comments were made upon it; but we know by subsequent events that it was never intended to be acted upon. Christians are constantly wronged, but we have never heard of their evidence being taken. Each Pasha, when questioned concerning this firman, declares he knows nothing of it; no firman of the kind has ever been officially communicated to him.

In Palestine, which is to most of us a country of the greatest interest among the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan, the effects of Turkish administration have always been exceedingly pernicious. The present bad government is an insuperable obstacle to any improvement in the condition of that country; the people are oppressed, are wronged; there is no feeling of security for property or person; no justice, no honesty, among the officials. Bribery and corruption, according to our meaning of the terms, are mild words to use towards the infamous means by which money is extorted from the poor. And, unfortunately, the maladministration commences from the top. No Pasha could afford to be honest; no governor-general could venture to be just. The whole organism of the country lies on a rotten foundation, which is constantly being underpinned by the fortunes and lives of the Christians, and often, too, by those of the Moslems who have not been sufficiently wily to avoid getting into difficulties; but nothing will ever make that rotten foundation solid, based, as it is, on the Turks' view that the Christians and Jews cannot be admitted to an equal position in the country with the followers of the Prophet. The Moslem religion has entered into a phase which will admit of no prosperity in the land. Days were when trade by Christians and Jews was fostered, when the rulers of the country understood the art of governing; but now nothing is taught but the art of misrule, for Moslem fortunes are in the hands of the barbarous Turk.

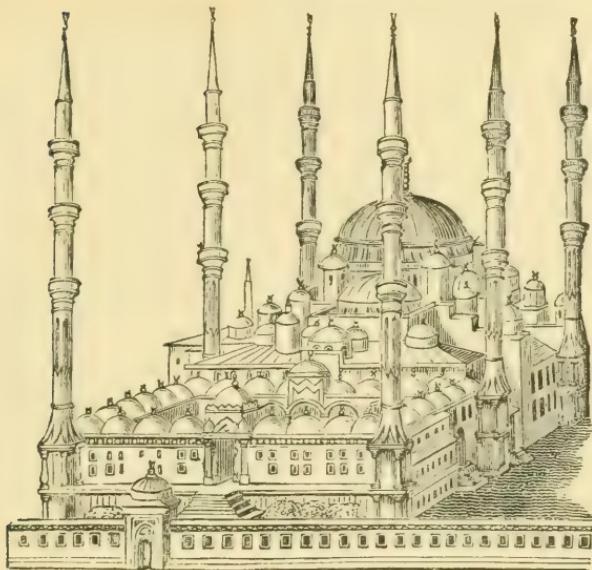
It is not the Christian alone of Syria that the Turk oppresses; the Arab Moslem is, if not equally, yet most hardly used. Many a time have the Arab Moslems said to Christians, "When will you take this country and rid us of our oppressors? anything is better than their

rule." For the Turk has no affinity of race or language to connect him with, or give him a right to rule, the Arab. He has no power of sympathizing with the Semitic races, and his religion is but in the name. The Arab, if we may use such an expression, is a Moslem by nature; the Turk cannot become a Moslem by art. He is sent to Palestine to govern badly; he is given but a small salary, and is obliged to squeeze the people in order to pay his own officials and to live, to reimburse himself for what he has paid for his appointment in the past, and to carry away with him something for the future wherewith he may buy a higher appointment, or purchase immunity for the consequences of his evil deeds, should complaints be made against his rule. The Turk can never govern Palestine well; and until he departs the country must remain half desert, half prison; for it is his policy to leave it so. He wants it to continue impoverished, so that it may not tempt the cupidity of stronger nations.

We have seen the actual working of the Ottoman despotic rule in those provinces of Asiatic Turkey where the majority of its subjects are of the same religion with their conquerors, but of a different race. The Arabs indeed, are a race incomparably superior to the Turks, and equal to any European nation in their capacity for a high civilization, for law and government, science and literature, commerce and industry, and the arts of peace. It is only by the ferocious exercise of warlike violence, and of a ruthless tyranny, with rapacity and cruelty almost unsurpassed in the most savage state of mankind, that the Turks have succeeded in holding down the nobler and more intelligent Arabs of Southwestern Asia. Egypt, where the government is mainly carried on by Arabs, under its Khedive or Viceroy, has made only too rapid progress in the adoption of European improvements; and we are told by credible witnesses that the eight years' rule of Syria by Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, till his expulsion in 1841 by British arms, was a period which contrasted most favorably with Turkish rule before or since. It is a mistake, therefore, to suppose that no Mohammedan Government can be a just, wise, or good one; the Arabs and the Moors, from Bagdad and Grand Cairo to Seville and Granada, have given the world splendid examples of social union, liberality, and culture. There may be in store, perhaps, for an age not very far distant, a revival and regeneration of the Arab race, in Egypt, Tunis, Syria, and the Euphrates Valley, not less unequivocal

than that of the Greek and Italian nationalities. But for this prospect to be entertained at the present day we must reckon upon the speedy disruption of the Turkish Empire.

The foregoing comments have been purposely restricted to the Asiatic provinces of Turkey. With regard to the European Christian populations, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Slavs, whose unhappy situation, beneath the Ottoman rod of barbarous brute force, has at length excited a high degree of sympathy in Christian nations, we do not think it needful to cite additional evidence of the character of Turkish rule in their oppressed native lands of Roumelia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, in Crete and other islands of the Levant. The monstrous, hideous, portentous fact of the recent massacres and nameless outrages inflicted upon thousands of the helpless Bulgarians, with the connivance and tacit approval, if not at the instigation, of the Sultan's Government, puts quite into the background all minor grievances of these sorely-wronged Christian people, whose deliverance from the Turk is already vowed in every honest heart. But the ordinary, incorrigible, fatal vices of Turkish administration in those parts of Europe should be kept in mind with a view to political considerations; and it is deeply to be lamented that gross misconceptions upon this subject should have prevailed during the past twenty years. The result has been the waste of vast sums of money in those disastrous loans to the Government of Turkey which have, perhaps, rather precipitated than postponed the ruin of that doomed Empire. On this question we may refer to some statistics of the average value of imports and exports of Turkey, and of the revenue returns. We see here a decrease in the revenue of upwards of fifteen million dollars, and it is significant that the only items of increase are spirits, judicial taxes or fines, and tapous, or tax on the transfer of lands, which certainly does not point to prosperity. We believe (and we are borne out in our opinion by many competent authorities in Turkey) that this decrease in revenue is greatly attributable to the demoralizing effects of the large foreign loans, which have induced Turkish capitalists to fly to the attractions of the Stock Exchange, instead of investing their capital in the country. Many landed proprietors have sold their estates simply for this purpose; others have invested every farthing they could scrape together in the same channel, to the detriment of their estates and consequently of



A SULTAN'S MOSQUE.

their tenants, who have languished for want or support. The worst aspect of the case is that much of this money passes into the hands of foreign speculators and leaves the country, which thus becomes impoverished. Travel where one will in any part of Turkey, and in every small town he will find many of the wealthiest people who can think and talk of nothing else but Turkish bonds; and there is quite a feverish excitement on the subject. The whole gear of the commercial machinery of the country is put out of working order by this species of excitement; and when money cannot be obtained by fair means it is too often found by venality.

With a sort of blind fatuity, the people insisted upon believing that the Porte would meet her liabilities, and thus, when the crisis, which might have been anticipated, was at length realized, all trade and enterprise was paralyzed. In finance, like all other branches of administration, Turkey has made great reforms within the last thirty years; but there is no doubt that, notwithstanding the reforms which have been promulgated, the officials and administrators are more corrupt now than they were then.

Turkey, in fact, exists for two purposes; first, to act as a dog in the manger, and to prevent any Christian Power from possessing a country which she herself, in her present state, is unable to govern or protect; and, secondly, for the benefit of some fifty or sixty bankers and usurers, and some thirty or forty pashas, who make fortunes out of its spoils. We do not believe that the Turks are more idle, wasteful, improvident, and brutal now than they were four hundred years ago. But it is only within the last fifty years that the effects of these qualities have shown themselves fully. When they first swarmed over Asia Minor, Roumelia, and Bulgaria, they seized on a country very populous and of enormous wealth. For three hundred and fifty years they kept on consuming that wealth, and wearing out that population. If a Turk wanted a house or a garden, he turned out a rayah; if he wanted money, he put a bullet into a handkerchief, tied it into a knot, and sent it to the nearest opulent Greek or Armenian. At last, having lived for three centuries and a half on their capital of things and of man, having reduced that rich and well-peopled country to the desert which it now is, they find themselves poor. They cannot dig; to beg, they are ashamed. They use the most mischievous means to prevent large families; they kill their female children, the conscription takes off the males, and they disappear. The amount of tyranny may be inferred from the depopulation. There are vast districts without an inhabitant, in which are the traces of a large and a civilized people, great works for irrigation now in ruins, and constant remains of deserted towns. There is a city near the frontier, with high walls and large stone houses, now absolutely uninhabited; it had once sixty thousand inhabitants. In government and religion Turkey is a detritus. All that gave her strength, all that gave her consistency, is gone; what remains is crumbling into powder. The worst parts of her religion—hatred of improvement and hatred of the unbeliever; the worst parts of her detestable government—violence, extortion, treachery, and fraud—are all that she has retained. Never was there a country that more required to be conquered. We can see no other solution; the Turk is utterly unimprovable. He hates change, and therefore he hates civilization; he hates Europeans; he hates and fears all that they propose. There is not a word of it that does not disgust, or irritate, or alarm him. Nothing but force will oblige him to give it even the appearance of execution. And what is the value of

apparent reforms in a people without an aristocracy, without a middle class, without a public opinion, without the means of communication, without newspapers, without even a post-office; accustomed for four hundred years to plunder and oppress rayahs and to be oppressed and plundered by Sultans, Pashas, Cadis, and Janissaries?

Down to our time, the Turks governed a territory so vast and fertile that, in ancient ages, it comprised Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, Greece, Carthage, Thrace, Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, Epirus, and Armenia, besides other less renowned kingdoms. The present lamentable condition of this fine territory arises from no change in the seasons, or default of nature. It still stretches from 34 degrees to 48 degrees of north latitude, within the temperate zone, and in the same parallels as Spain, France, and the best portion of the United States. Mount Hæmus is still covered with abundant forests; the plains of Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly yield abundant and easy harvests to the husbandman; and a thousand ports, a thousand gulfs are observed on the coasts, peninsulas, and islands. The billows of those seas still bathe the base of mountains covered with vines and olive trees. But the populous and numerous towns mentioned by ancient writers have been changed into deserts beneath a despotic government.

All the authorities upon this country assure us that the soil of many parts of Turkey is more fruitful than the richest plains of Sicily. When grazed by the rudest plough, it yields a more abundant harvest than the finest fields between the Eure and the Loire, the granary of France. Mines of silver, copper, and iron are still existing, and salt abounds in the country. Cotton, tobacco, and silk might be made the staple exports of this region, and their culture admits of almost unlimited extension throughout the Turkish territory; whilst some of the native wines are equal to those of Burgundy.

Almost every species of tree flourishes in European Turkey. The olive, orange, mastic fig, pomegranate, and the laurel and myrtle are natural to this soil. Nor are the animal productions less valuable than those of vegetable life. The finest horses have been drawn from this quarter to improve the breeds of Western Europe; and the rich pastures of European Turkey are, probably, the best adapted in the world for rearing the largest growths of cattle and sheep.

That, in a region so highly favored, the population should have thus retrograded whilst surrounded by abundance; that its wealth

and industry should have been annihilated; and that commerce should be banished from those rivers and harbors that first called it into existence—must be accounted for by remembering that even the finest soil, the most genial climate and all the brightest and richest gifts of nature, are as nothing, when subjected to the benumbing influences of the Turkish Government at Constantinople. The Turks found, at the conquest of the Eastern Empire, splendid and substantial public and private edifices, which have been barbarously destroyed, or allowed to crumble beneath the hand of Time. Bridges, aqueducts, and harbors, the precious and durable donations of remote, yet more enlightened generations, have all suffered a like fate; and the roads, even in the vicinity of the capital, which in former days maintained an unrivalled celebrity, are now in a broken and neglected condition. The cause of all this decay is ascribed to the Turkish Government, a fierce, unmitigated military despotism, allied with the fanaticism of a religion which teaches its followers to rely only on the sword, and to disdain all improvement by labor.



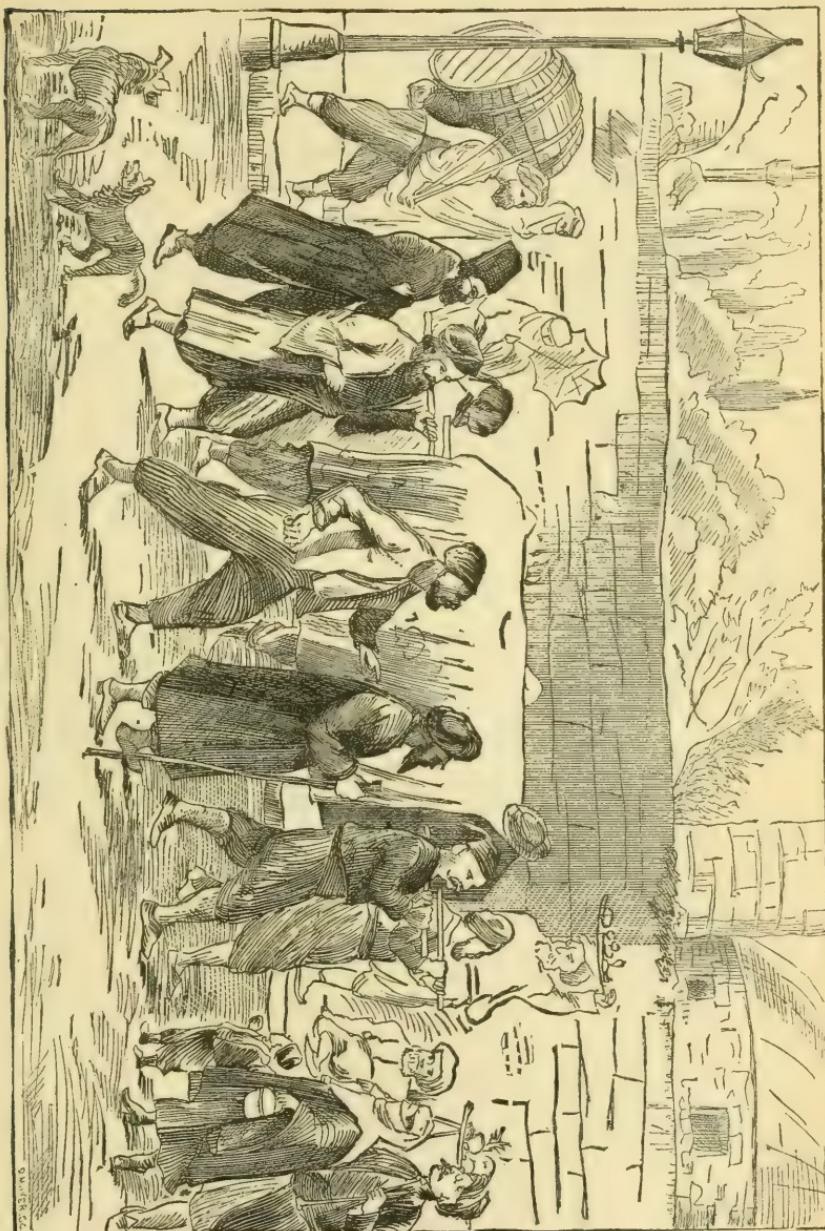
MODERN EGYPTIAN DINNER.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE BOSPHORUS.

THE imperial city of Constantine, which still bears his name in the language of all Christendom, is called by the Turks, who have possessed it 423 years, Stamboul or Istambol. This is a corruption of the three Greek words, some think, which mean "To the City," and which were of course frequently heard, referring to the capital of the Empire, among the provincial and rural subjects of the Byzantine reign. Ancient Byzantium was founded by a Megarian Greek colony, in the seventh century before Christ. It was the object of many strenuous conflicts between the Greeks and Persians; and, later, between the Spartans, Athenians, and Macedonians; but fell under the conquering power of Rome, before the commencement of our era. In the year A.D. 330 the first Christian Emperor of Rome founded the august city, which remained over one thousand years the Christian metropolis of the East, and which has now been four centuries the seat of the Ottoman rule. During half the thirteenth century it was held by the Western Crusaders, under princes of a Flemish house supported by the naval power of Venice; but it was recovered by the Greeks, who defended it two hundred years longer against their Mohammedan foes. It might, even in the fifteenth century, have been preserved to Christian Europe, but for the civil wars in France and England, which prevented the kings of these nations from joining in an effort to repel the Turkish invasion. The singularly convenient and beautiful position of this famous city, at the southern mouth of the Bosphorus, on a promontory overlooking the land-locked Sea of Marmora, has often been remarked. It is separated by the inlet of "the Golden Horn" from Pera and Galata, the two Christian suburbs, the former of which is the abode of European residents or visitors, and the latter of Greek subjects of the Sultan. On the opposite, or Asiatic, shore of the Bosphorus is the purely Turkish town of Scutari. This city is entirely surrounded by walls of brick and stone, laid in alternate courses, with a circuit of nearly thirteen miles, constructed by the ancient Roman Emperors of the East. Two-thirds

of the wall runs close along the water's edge, on the shores of the Sea of Marmora, from the Seven Towers to Seraglio Point, the Bosphorus, and the Golden Horn. The remaining portion, which forms a triple rampart behind, across the promontory occupied by Stamboul, was fortified with many towers, affording a variety of examples of mediæval castellated architecture, but now exhibiting a series of picturesque ruins. There used to be seven gates on the land side of the city, twelve gates on the side of the Golden Horn and harbor, and seven looking towards the Sea of Marmora, but some have been walled up. The unique geographical position of Constantinople at the south-western entrance to the remarkable maritime channel which connects the Sea of Marmora, and thereby also the *Æ*gean and the Mediterranean, with the Black Sea, has always been admired. The Bosphorus, as well as the Hellespont or Dardanelles—a strait bearing some points of resemblance to the Bosphorus at the western extremity of the Sea of Marmora—divides the Continent of Europe from that of Asia. It must ever continue to be, as it has been in all past ages, a locality of great commercial and political importance. The Imperial Government of ancient Rome had chosen the Greek Byzantium, under the new name of Constantinople, for the metropolis of its Eastern dominion. A separate Empire of the East—Greek by nationality and social civilization, Christian in religious profession, but still Roman in the titles and forms of sovereignty—flourished here during nearly a thousand years. It was shaken, indeed, by the repeated attacks of the Saracens, Tartars, and Seljukian and Ottoman Turks, successively overrunning Western Asia under the impulse of Mohammedan fanaticism. Scarcely less fatal to the Byzantine Empire, as it is sometimes called, were the violent and rapacious Crusaders from Western Europe, who came for the ostensible purpose of repelling the Moslem invaders of Palestine; and the mercantile advantages of the Levant were appropriated by the Genoese and Venetians, who established their naval and military power along these shores. At length, in the fifteenth century, when the mediæval republics and feudal principalities of Europe had declined from their old spirit of warlike enterprise, or had been superseded by monarchies with a different policy, the Turks under Sultan Mohammed II. were permitted to conquer the whole of Roumelia, with the city of Constantinople, and all the adjacent provinces to the Danube and the Adriatic, which they have kept in a miserable state of wretchedness to



A TURKISH FUNERAL.

the present day. The possession of the Bosphorus is the key to the Turkish Empire of Southeastern Europe and Western Asia; and in explanation of this fact, we append some further topographical notes, which the reader will understand more fully by a reference to the appropriate map contained in this volume.

The space included from the Sea of Marmora to the Black Sea, is about fifteen miles in a straight line; but the voyage by steamer, through the winding channel of the Strait, is several miles longer. Stamboul, the Turkish city of Constantinople, occupies the promontory at the southwestern extremity of the Bosphorus, overlooking the Sea of Marmora on one side, and divided by the inlet called the Golden Horn on the other, from Pera and Galata. Opposite this, on the Asiatic shore, is the town of Scutari, which was founded in very ancient times by the Persian conquerors of Asia Minor. They gave it a name signifying "the Post Town," as it was either the starting-point or the first stage of a line of couriers between remote parts of the Persian Empire; but the Greeks called it Chrysopolis, from the gold brought here in payment of tribute. Scutari is a flourishing township, with an hourly steamboat communication across the strait, one mile wide, to the capital city. It contains eight mosques, and the vast suburban cemetery in which half a million of deceased Turks lie buried, every tombstone of a male adult being distinguished by the ornament of a turban carved at its summit; but there is also a pillared monument of Sultan Mahmoud's favorite horse. The reader of Hope's "*Anastasius*" may remember an eloquent passage of description and reflection upon this subject. But in our own days, long since the time when that entertaining romance was written, Scutari has acquired some other associations of mournful interest. Here was the military hospital, now converted into a Turkish barrack, where Miss Nightingale nursed sick and wounded soldiers and sailors during the Crimean War. The neighborhood of Scutari, with the hill of Boulgourlou, commanding a magnificent sea view, looking over the whole of Constantinople, besides the shores and islands of the Propontis, is the frequent resort of parties from the opposite city.

Having now started from the southern mouth of the Bosphorus, to ascend its channel, which bends alternately from east and west, Constantinople is left behind us. Adjacent to the suburb of Galata is that of Top-hané, with its artillery barracks, cannon foundry and boat-

building yards. Next comes the Sultan's palace of Dolma-baktché, a name signifying "the bean garden," where his Majesty receives Ministers of State and foreign Ambassadors. It is an imposing edifice of Corinthian architecture, surrounded by groves and fruit gardens, amidst which is also the summer palace of Beshiktash, besides a smaller mansion, inhabited by the late unfortunate Murad V. before he became Sultan. On the next projecting point of the European shore is the large village of Ortakéuy, with a mostly Christian population; here are the villas of some rich Armenian merchants and bankers; and here is a small chapel for the worship of the Church of England. The Turkish village of Beylerbey, opposite this on the Asiatic shore, was a place of some importance under the Byzantine Empire.

As we get clear of the familiar scenes within sight of Constantinople, the romantic charm of the Bosphorus is felt to take a stronger hold upon imagination. Its very name is redolent of antique mythology, and of those weird traditions, embalmed in the poetry of Homer and *Æschylus*, which seem rather alien to the bright Hellenic fancy. The "Bosphorus" means the "Passage of the Cow;" for it was here, as the old fable ran, that poor Io, when Zeus or Jupiter changed her into a cow, was driven by the tormenting gadfly to swim across the strait. These shores, and those of the Euxine beyond them, are haunted, too, by mystic reminiscences of the voyage of Jason and the Argonauts in quest of the Golden Fleece, and the tragic passion of Medea, as well as of the labors of Hercules and other heroes and demigods. It is probable that the superstitious fears of seamen in those early ages of the world had been excited to such wondering fancies by the singular conformation of the strait and the perplexing variation of its currents. There are on each side of the channel seven prominent headlands, with seven recesses or bays, these forming together, between the opposite shores, what appear to resemble seven distinct lakes, seeming as if inclosed by the surrounding land. The general drift of the waters is from the Euxine southward to join the Mediterranean; but there are many cross currents, eddies, and backwaters, from the intercepting barriers, and a southerly wind often drives the whole surface water up the strait. These strange peculiarities, with the fantastic shapes of the mountainous shores, were ascribed by the startled mariners of antiquity to enchantment; and the Bosphorus was to the

Greeks a region of supernatural powers, like that of Scylla and Charybdis between the Sicilian and Italian coasts.

The Castle of Europe and the Castle of Asia, Rumeli Hissar and Anadolou Hissar, confront each other at a narrow part of the Bosphorus, to some extent inclosing the basin which is called Balta Liman, or the "Battleaxe Harbor." Rumeli Hissar, with its massive towers rising amidst the cypress groves of an old Turkish cemetery, on the summit of a bold rocky headland, is a monument of the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. It was constructed by Mohammed II., two years before that event, his predecessor, Mohammed I., having already built Anadolou Hissar on the opposite bank. A chair of stone was there cut out, for the haughty warrior to sit and watch the progress of his work, for which a thousand masons, a thousand lime-burners, and a thousand other laborers were collected from the Anatolian districts. The building was laid out so as to form the shapes of the Arabic letters composing the Prophet's sacred name. Its walls, thirty feet thick and very high, frowned sternly on the gateway of Eastern Christendom; the marble pillars and altars of Greek churches were contemptuously used for the building, which was finished in three months. The towers were mounted with huge guns throwing stone balls of six hundred weight, by which the Turkish commander was able to exact toll of every passing ship. Such was the Ottoman power, displayed at the very same place where the Persian King Darius, long before the Christian era, saw his army cross over into Thrace.

The shores of Balta Liman have witnessed some important political transactions. Here was the residence of an eminent Turkish Minister, Reshid Pasha; and here, too, were signed the commercial treaty of 1838, the treaty of the Five Powers in 1841, and the convention of 1849 concerning the Danubian Principalities. Northward of this, on the European side, is the harbor of Stenia, famous in Byzantine history; and we arrive next at Therapia, which contains the summer residence of the British Ambassador. The name of this place, like that of the Euxine, and like that of the Eumenides or avenging goddesses, is a curious example of the Greek habit of flattering euphemism to objects of their dread. Medea, the Colchian princess and sorceress, was said to have poisoned the herbs growing on this spot, which was thence called Pharmakia; but the Greeks of a later day resolved to call it Therapia, the healing place, in order to propitiate the super-



SERVIAN WOMEN DECORATING GRAVES.

natural powers, and so dispel the mischievous influence. No situation is now to be found more pleasant and salubrious than that of Therapia, which has excellent hotels and boarding-houses, and is the abode of many wealthy foreigners doing business at Constantinople. It is renowned in naval history for a great battle in 1352 between the Genoese and Venetian fleets.

Beicos Bay, on the Asiatic side, where the British fleet lay some weeks in the winter of 1853, at the opening of the Russian war, is not less worthy of note. According to the Greek poetical story-tellers, its shore was the kingdom of the Bebryces, ruled by Amycus, the lord of many oxen, who behaved rudely to the Argonauts, and was afterwards slain by Pollux. A laurel grew above the tomb of this discourteous prince, which had the peculiar property of inspiring madness—a fit of frantic insolence—in every person that plucked a leaf; the man would incontinently assail his neighbors with all manner of abusive language, and provoke them to deadly quarrel. At Beicos is the site of the “Convent of the Sleepless,” which was so called from its rule obliging the monks to continue singing and praying incessantly, by day and night, instead of at stated hours of Divine service. To the north of the bay rises a chalk hill, five hundred and ninety feet high, called the Giant’s Mountain, which is very conspicuous. At its foot lies Unkiar Skelessi, “the Landing-place of the Manslayer,” where Mohammed II. landed on his return from the conquest of what is now European Turkey. The sumptuous palace which formerly stood here has been converted into a paper-mill; but Unkiar Skelessi is celebrated among European statesmen for a treaty here concluded between Turkey and Russia, which has often been discussed, as it related to the closing of the Dardanelles against foreign ships of war. On the summit of the Giant’s Mountain is an excavation, only twenty feet long and five feet wide, inclosed by a stone wall, and partly overgrown with bushes. This has been variously called sometimes the Giant’s Cave, the Bed of Hercules, and the Grave of Joshua; but it is regarded with veneration, and the people hang clothes on the bushes to make them efficacious for the cure of diseases. Below this mountain, a mile or two farther on, the promontory of Mahdjar Bournou, the ancient Argyroconium, projects into the water. There is a castle here, built in 1794 by the French engineer Monnier, who also constructed Deli Tabia, on the opposite shore; but the fortress of Mahdjar has been remodelled and

extended. It is the most important portion of the defences of the Bosphorus against an enemy coming down from the Black Sea.

The bay and port of Buyukdere, opposite Mahdjар Bournou, demand our passing attention. Here is the summer palace of the Russian Embassy, with its beautiful gardens. The wooded hills behind the village present some delightful walks or rides through the forest of Belgrade; and the reservoirs and aqueducts, constructed by Sultan Mahmoud in 1732, to supply the northern suburbs of Constantinople with water, are works of remarkable magnitude. North of Buyukdere and the Giant's Mountain the prospect is shut off by lofty mountain ranges, the terminating heights of the Haemus and Olympus groups respectively, in Europe and in Asia. They approach near to each other at the two opposite points of land, which the Greeks of the Empire called Hieron and Serapion. The mythical hero of the Golden Fleece expedition here set up altars in honor of the twelve Olympic deities on his return from Colchis. Temples of Zeus and Poseidon, otherwise named Jupiter and Neptune, were in due time erected by the Greeks on the promontory of Hieron; while those of Serapis and Cybele, rising over the way, attested the piety of Asiatic worshippers. This part of the strait was the scene of many sharp conflicts between the Byzantine forces and those of the barbarian nations, Goths, Huns, Heruli, Varangians or Franks, Russians and Tartars, invading the Eastern Empire. In the fourteenth century the adventurous Genoese, who had already taken possession of a suburb of Constantinople, and had established their colonies on the Black Sea coasts, held the custody of this passage. They beat off the Venetians and other commercial rivals, built a castle on each shore, and stretched an iron chain across the strait, forbidding any vessel to pass without paying toll and asking their permission. But the Genoese possessions, here as elsewhere, passed a hundred years later to the Turkish Sultan. Hence the Turkish forts of Rumeli Kavak and Anadolou Cavak have taken the place of those which bore the sculptured arms of Genoese and Byzantine masters. The basin or harbor of Buyuk Liman, which was anciently styled that of the Ephesians, is a commodious refuge for ships escaping the storms of the Euxine, if they can weather the points of Fil Bournou and Poiraz Bournou, and get in safely. The European shore, above the fort of Karibjeh, is a stony desert of forbidding aspect, known as Tashlanjik among the Turks, but which the Greeks used to

call Gypopolis, or the City of Vultures. This place, in fact, naturally abounded with that voracious species of bird, which gave occasion to the fable of the Harpies. It was here that King Phineas entertained the Argonauts with a feast, which was stolen from their dishes as they sat at table, by those nasty, greedy, winged monsters hovering in the air overhead. Leaving this dismal coast, with Papaz Bournou on the left hand and the Asiatic Fanar, or lighthouse, on the right hand, the voyager passes out into the Black Sea. It must have been a fearful experience for the timorous and unskillful mariners of antiquity; even the contemporaries of Ulysses and Æneas, whose exploits of navigation we read in our Homer and Virgil, would think of a trip to the Black Sea as we may think of one to the North Pole. Just outside the Bosphorus is a cluster of rocks, called the Cyanean, from their bluish-black or slaty color, but also the Symplegades, or "Clashers," from their appearing to rush together, and to strike each other, when viewed under certain atmospheric conditions, which reflected light from the dancing waves around them. Ships were often wrecked among the Symplegades; and so it was fabled that the Argo, Jason's ship, had her tail, or rudder, cut off by the rocks suddenly closing in behind, in her swift passage between them. The more distant coasts of this obscure sea were the Cimmerian lands of perpetual darkness, or the enchanted realm, in which a golden treasure was guarded by fiery dragons; and there were savage inhabitants, on some parts, who would slaughter the helpless stranger cast upon their shores. The sea had therefore a bad name to begin with; but the Greeks, for the reason we have explained, chose to change this for a good name, and to call it the Euxine or "Hospitable," knowing that it was quite the contrary, but hoping that it might thus be persuaded to become hospitable.

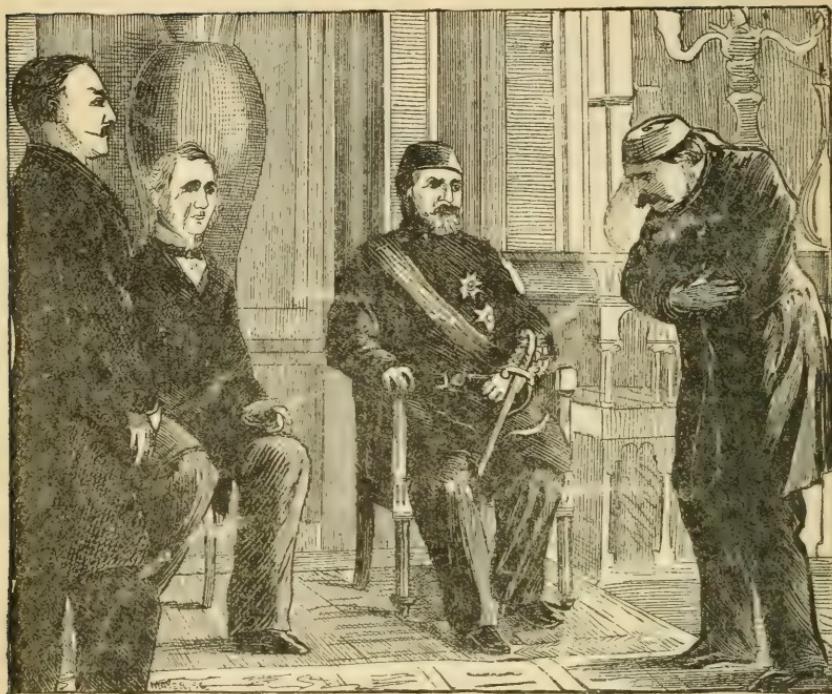
CHAPTER XXII.

CHRISTIANS IN TURKEY.

THE Slavonian populations in Turkey are in overwhelming majority Christian, belonging either to the Roman Catholic or to the Greek Church, the latter preponderating considerably. They are the Herzegovinians, the Bosnians, the Bulgarians, the Albanians, the Servians, and some Greeks. The limits of Bulgaria and Albania, as now variously marked on the maps, by no means represent the confines of the districts inhabited by those populations, it having been the policy of the Turk to confuse national boundaries and destroy national associations and traditions as much as possible.

The Albanians were hill-tribes more or less bound up with the Servs in the time of Servian prosperity, and of allied race, who came down from the mountains, after the fall of that power, to people the plains left desolate by fugitive Slaves. They were Roman Catholics, and the Turkish government was willing to grant them privileges in the exercise of their religion which seemed unimportant because comparatively few in number. Those who remained in the mountains retained their religion; but those who settled in the plains sought favor with the Sultan, and gained permission to domineer over other Christians by professing Mohammedanism. Among the apostate chieftains was the father of Scanderbeg, who gave his son to be educated by the Sultan. The son renounced the Mohammedan faith and joined the standard of John Hunniades in Hungary and fought the Turks. After a long struggle at the head of Albanian warriors he succeeded in making himself independent; but his adherents were not strong enough to maintain the dignity of their religion or their nationality, and soon after his death no result of his efforts was left but a fame more widely spread than that of any other leader of the Christians in Turkey.

The descendants of so fickle and unprincipled a people, with the accumulated vices of an apostate race, are become a by-word in the neighboring countries. These are the inhabitants of the northern plains of Albania, and are to be numbered among the Christian populations



AN AMBASSADORIAL AUDIENCE WITH THE SULTAN.

only because they are near kinsfolk to the Roman Catholic tribes who live a very free and independent life in the mountains, whither the Turkish authorities dare not follow them, and because there is a tendency among them to revert to the ancient faith sufficiently marked to make it an open question whether they would not join and materially help, while they morally embarrassed, any wide-spread rising of Christians in Turkey. Their hatred to the Turk is bitter, while they retain traces of sympathy with Servs even though they do not scruple to oppress them with a lawlessness almost unknown to any other Mussulman official. The southern Albanians have more in common with the Mohammedan and Greeks, but are also professedly Mohammedan. Both have done as much fighting for as against the Turks, and were, long ago, before their apostasy, the only Christians

in the Turkish army in the East. It may be well *à propos* of the Albanians, to suggest, in few words, the two sides of the question of the Christians in Turkey in relation to the army. Favorers of Turkey remark upon the privilege enjoyed by Christians of immunity from military service, while the Turks and Mohammedan populations have to furnish a certain contingent although they dislike military life. The Mohammedans are represented as justly jealous of their Christian fellow-countrymen on this point. But the other side of the question is this; that although military reclamations fall heavily upon the Mussulmans, the privilege of going about armed is one which would be gladly purchased by the Christian population at the same price, while the Mussulmans are free from the heavy tax paid by all Christian males above three months old for exemption from military service, a tax which often serves as an excuse for extortion. The Sultan has announced that Christians will be enrolled in the army, but unless it be in separate regiments this promise cannot be fulfilled, since the daily life and habits and morals of Christians and Mohammedans are irreconcilable. Perhaps the most cogent proof that Slavonian Christians and Mohammedans can never peaceably share one country, is the fact that the former are without blame and irreproachable in the matter of chastity, while the Mussulman, and especially the Turk, allows and practices unbridled license. Among the former women are intelligent, respected, and free, and among the latter are the degraded instruments of loathsome vice. Such light and such darkness cannot dwell together.

The Bulgarians come more completely than the Albanians under the description of Christians in Turkey. Originally brethren of the Servs, with whom they have in common a language which is harsh and rude in their mouths, and soft in the districts nearer to Italian influences, but which is easily mutually intelligible, and otherwise identical, their period of prominence came earlier, but they fell at about the same time before the Turkish arms. They were only gradually subjugated, and were able to make good terms for themselves, as indeed most people could, the tyranny of the Turk having everywhere grown more and more grinding as lapse of time made him feel more at home, and privileged in his oppression. At first the Bulgarians preserved their autonomy, both in State and Church, paying tribute to the Sultan; but some chieftains apostatized so as to share in the power which they found

Mussulmans in neighboring countries arrogated to themselves; some were driven into exile, some were disposed of, and the great blow to Bulgarian independence was dealt just a century ago, when the Sultan imposed upon the people a set of bishops belonging to the corrupt patriarchate of Constantinople, creatures of the Turkish government, who buy their sees and recoup themselves at the expense of their flocks. The story is the same for all the Greek-Church communities under the power of the Porte. The Christians suffer as much from the religious superiors imposed upon them against their will as they do from the civil governors and their subordinates. But the subjection of the Bulgarians had not lasted long enough to deprive them of all courage when the resurrection of Greece, of the Moldo-Wallachian provinces, and of Free Servia, gave them spirit to bestir themselves. Early in this century a movement began among them for better education, and now the whole province possesses a most respectable number of schools for both boys and girls, in which the ancient Cyrillic alphabet, the old Bulgarian language, and the early version of the Bible, are carefully taught in order to help forward free intercourse with the neighboring Servs. The policy of the Porte has been to harass the people by forced immigrations from wilder portions of the empire; but they have steadily held on their way, cultivating the marvellously fertile plains which fall to their lot, and which would make them wealthy under a good government, and with access to European markets. They grow cotton, silk, and corn, in what would be abundance but for oppressive taxation, and leave the Mussulmans to people the towns. In the towns, however, many shopkeepers are Christians, and the taxes are arranged so as to fall most heavily on the trades and industries usually engaged in by them, and not by Mohammedans.

Within the last few years the Bulgarians have succeeded in insisting on the fulfilment of a clause in the decree of 1857, which promised the restoration of their ancient ecclesiastical privileges, and this is a great step towards regaining their civil freedom.

The Mohammedan population of Bulgaria has diminished, partly because they are subject to military service, partly because the introduction of steam has well-nigh destroyed some of the industries practised in Bulgaria, such as silk weaving. The result is that the Mohammedans are poorer than even the Christians, only they are still in a position to bully and rob their wealthier neighbors with impunity.

The taxes are now raised partially from the Mohammedan population, and they resent the injury, and revenge themselves on the Christians, murdering them or taking their lands from them without fear of consequences. For all the professions of mixed tribunals, and the reception of the evidence of a Christian in the courts of law, nay, even the device of peripatetic commissioners to see that these provisions are carried out have been tried and found utterly wanting. It is a point of faith with every Mohammedan throughout Turkey, that every Christian is his appropriate victim, and the only Christians who obtain justice, or unjust sentences in their favor, are those who are wealthy and unscrupulous enough to buy the judge and not to be afraid of thus exposing their well-being to possible risks. Of such Christians there are many throughout Turkey, as must needs be after centuries of association with Mohammedan morals, and of grinding misery. These Christians are those who dare complain and seek the help of consuls against Turkish courts and officials, and it is they, too, who dare accept the empty dignity of place in the mixed courts.

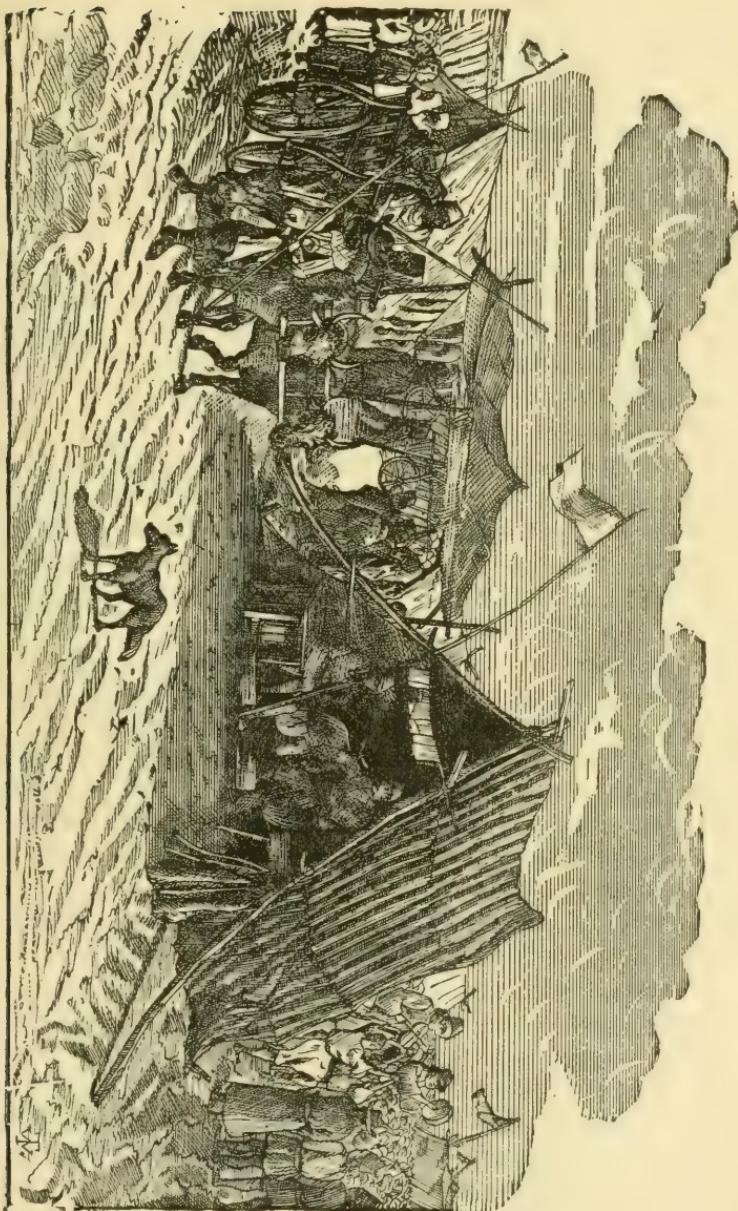
Herzegovina and Bosnia have commonly been spoken of together, and they have, as a matter of fact, been under one Turkish Governor. The Sultan has now appointed a separate Governor for Herzegovina, saying that the differences in the constituents of the populations of the two districts render this desirable, there being a larger proportion of Mussulmans to Christians in Bosnia than in Herzegovina. This is said to make it impossible for the Sultan to grant to Bosnians all the reforms possible for Herzegovina. But since Bosnia and Herzegovina have repeatedly demanded those reforms which were promised by the decree of 1857 to all the provinces of the Turkish Empire alike, it is not easy to see what difference need now be made between these two provinces. One great difference, however, there really is, arising chiefly from the greater number of Roman Catholics in Bosnia, who are inclined to direct their efforts towards the end of being absorbed into the Catholic Empire of Austria. Herzegovina looks to the heads of her own race.

Herzegovina differed from other branches of the Slavs at the down-fall of the Servian Empire, inasmuch as it secured to itself, for a long time, rights of popular self-government, its population feeding cattle on the mountains, as far as possible from the towns where the Turks, here as elsewhere, kept each other in countenance. The Sultans, from

time to time, confirmed their privileges, and even so late as ten years ago a native chief was violently superseded in his post of authority by a Mussulman Governor. Repeated efforts to destroy the bonds between the people of the province and their old and long-acknowledged native leaders, together with the rapacity of Turkish settlers, tax gatherers, and officials have caused the reiterated insurrections which have earned for these populations a character for turbulence which the western nations have been unable to conceive that a government could for so long be bad enough to justify.

The Bosnian nobles hold an ignobly prominent position in the miserable story of Turkish acquisition in Europe. The common people of the country stood as staunchly to their faith as the rest of their brethren, but by some unhappy chance there was among them a class of privileged nobles who preferred apostasy to the loss of position and property, and who at once, when the struggle against the Turkish arms became finally hopeless, declared themselves Mussulmans, and thus, by the law of the Koran, secured fresh and novel rights to ride roughshod over the peasantry. But these shameless renegades did not at the same time learn to love their conquerors, and thus Bosnia has within her borders native Christians groaning under Greek bishops and Mussulman officials; native Christians strongly attached to the Roman Church, and yearning after Austrian rule; native nobility thirsting for the day to come when they may find the use of the carefully-kept title-deeds and badges of nobility coming from ancient days; and genuine Osmanli Turks, who wonder, perhaps, that the people whom Allah long ago gave them as slaves and victims should not placidly submit to have their wives and daughters ravished, their goods plundered, and their kinsfolk murdered, by them in obedience to fate.

And now the survey brings us to the principality of Servia, which alone has kept the name of Servia in European geography. Other districts, commonly known as parts of Bulgaria and Albania, are known to the Slavs as "Old Servia," but that is not a name recognized by the Sublime Porte. This is the largest Slavonic province engulfed by Turkey, and numbers something like a population of a million and a quarter. It is now, after four hundred years of a more utter subjection than any other Turkish province, and then, after sixty years of gallant struggle, the free principality of Servia, governed by its



A TURKISH BARBER.

hereditary prince, whose peasant ancestor, only two generations ago, headed an insurrection and won the title of prince and a recognition of his right to reign, by the choice of the nation, from the Sultan.

In the fourteenth century Servia had already produced the ruling dynasty, and had given name to the Empire. Some reason for this preponderance over the neighboring tribes may probably make itself clear to those who learn that a very complete and typical example of the village community system overspread the whole of Servia, covering it with a well-ordered population, among whom no differences of rank existed to tempt the possessors into compromise with the invading Turk. These oppressors came and seized fortresses and towns. The people withdrew into the dense oak forests which clothe the undulating country, holding no converse with the Turks, and visited by them only when either plunder was wanted, or gangs of laborers to execute unpaid tasks for the oppressor. Generation after generation here died without ever having seen a town, because the most abject humbling of themselves could not save them from insult and injury at the hands of the Turks, and because it was too bitter to them to see the strongholds of their nation in the hands of enemies from whom it seemed hopeless to try to wrest them.

The peasant life was simple. The head of the *sadrooga* apportioned the work among the men and women of the family, and the evenings served for the repetition or chanting of Servian poems, either handed down to keep the memory of empire and of heroes green, or newly composed by some of the many singers of the country, to commemorate more recent deeds of valor against the Turk among some neighboring tribes. The life was simple, disciplined, and organized in a way which gave the people regulated coherence enough to suffer long, and then, when opportunity came, to prove themselves strong. They did not give up their country without a struggle. The fatal battle of Cassova, now looked back upon as the last final field, did not at the time put an end to their hope and resolution. The young Lazarevitch, successor to Lazar, who was killed in that battle, made a treaty with the Sultan, by which he was to hold his crown in fief; but at his death the Turks declared that it was impious to allow a Christian ruler to possess lands so fair, and a Turkish garrison was sent to assert the direct authority of the Sultan. The Servs allied themselves with Hungary, and Belgrade, the city of seven sieges, was strengthened, and a fortress built at Semen-

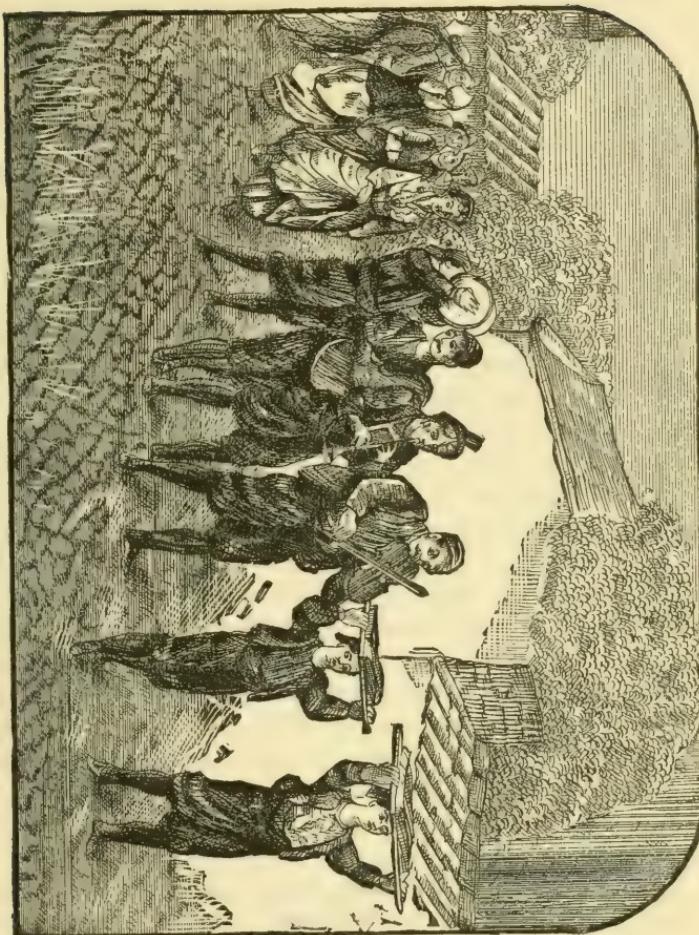
dria, a little lower down the Danube. This great mass of gray stone walls, with its twenty-five towers, was built to command the junction of the Morava and the Danube, looking on the Danube in the direction from which the Turkish host must always approach it, and there was built through the whole thickness of the wall a red brick cross, which, the more furiously battered, has only shown the brighter in contrast to the gloomy strength of the stone. A fortress strangely typical of Servian, as of all other persecuted Christianity, it still remains to remind the people by whose aid and by the help of whose arm they have now regained the freedom to worship God in Christ. For there can be no doubt that it has been the sobriety and patience of Christian faith, darkened and distorted though it has been, that has been the backbone of the people, and their eagerness now to learn the way of God more perfectly must not be hidden from our eyes by the stories we hear of political struggles and intrigue, nor of social disorder and impurity in Belgrade, whither people of all countries and opinions have flocked, eager to utilize the newly risen power for their own ends. The heart of the people is sound and steady, and they are guided by a prince who, though young and inexperienced, has already shown himself patriotic, discreet, and firm—a true Servian.

The alliance with Hungary would probably have been a permanent one, and the Servians might have had no worse a history than the Slavonian provinces of Austria had not Hunniades told the Servian leader that he should require them to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome—of which the Servians had an extreme horror—while the Sultan promised absolute religious toleration and ecclesiastical self-government should they submit to him. The choice seemed easy, and would have been the right one had they had to deal with any but a treacherous power. They still struggled for civil liberty also, but in 1444 the battle of Varna made the Sultan master of all but Belgrade, which was held against him by the Hungarians till 1522. The confidence of the Servians in the liberality of the Turks was misplaced. Mohammedanism alone was tolerated; the Christian churches, monuments of the piety and architectural skill of generations of princes and people, were used as stables; the peasants were heavily taxed for the support of the *spahis* or military colonists of the Sultan, and were subjected to continual *corrées*; every fifth year conscription took their most promising boys to be brought up in the Mussulman faith and

fight in the Sultan's armies; the land was used almost every year as the route for the Turkish armies in their wars with Western Europe, and neither man, woman, nor child, nor houses, nor goods, were safe.

The fall of Belgrade, which marked the triumph of the Turks over the Hungarians, was the signal for even increased extortion and violence on the part of the spahis, committed not by virtue of law, but, as it was in the beginning and is now throughout Turkey, because the Turks are utterly lawless, and no central authority can ever ensure liberty and justice in the provinces. For a hundred and sixty years thick darkness covered the land; but at the end of the seventeenth century Leopold of Germany attacked the Turks, and the Servians rose to help him, and in 1718 they were ceded, by the treaty of Passarowitz, to Austria, under whom they had peace for twenty years. They lost no moment of this breathing-space, but made roads, restored churches, and did all they could to repair the losses of former times. But the end came, and Austria, too weak to hold the country against the Turks, had to abandon them once more to their old exasperated foes the spahis. In despair thirty-seven thousand families, headed by George Brankovitch, fled to Austrian territory, on a bargain that they were to have a large amount of freedom in self-government, both civil and ecclesiastical, and were in return to guard the Austrian boundaries. The Servs of Austria complain that this bargain was never kept; but with their grievances we have nothing at present to do. They certainly were never in such dismal case as those who remained on the national soil.

As the century grew older, however, the utter subjection of Servia to the Turks brought some good results. The rights of the spahis were more clearly defined, feudal service was no longer forced from the peasantry, and many fought with willingness, if not with enthusiasm in the Moslem armies. But the spirit of patriotism was not dead. When a reforming Sultan ascended the throne and resolved to introduce European tactics and discipline among his troops, the Janissaries rebelled, and among the most insubordinate were those who had long exercised authority in Servia. They set the civil representative of the Porte—the pacha of Belgrade—at defiance, and the order-loving Servians answered to the appeal of the Sultan and drove the rebels from the country. At once all Turkey was in an uproar; the Sultan had employed “dogs of Christians” to defeat true believers. The



A BULGARIAN BRIDEGROOM SENDING PRESENTS TO HIS BRIDE.

Janissaries were at once reinstated, and rode roughshod over Servian and spahi alike. They cried to the Sultan in vain, and the result of this falling out among thieves, was that the honest Servians began to come by their rights. Belgrade fell into their hands, they claimed the right to garrison their own fortresses, and other rights, and would have received them in return for a yearly tribute had not the rise of Napoleon's fortunes emboldened his ally the Sultan. The leader of this period was Kara or Black George, a peasant of strong character,

ruthless determination, and considerable military experience, able in civil matters too, up to the requirements of the people at that stage. He called together the national assembly, or Skouptchina, appointed a senate, and revived the laws of Dushan.

It is needless to follow the varying fortunes of the struggle, which lasted till Kara George and his senate were forced to fly across the border into Austria, and the Sultan's troops set themselves to pacify the country by impaling the native leaders, throwing infants into boiling water and into cesspools in derision of baptism, and other similar modes. The Sultan then found in Milosch Obrenovitch, a well-known Servian, a mediator between him and the furious people. Terms were arranged, and in 1815 the treaty of Bucharest gave to Servia freedom of worship, of commerce, of self-administration, of self-taxation for the imperial treasury, of garrisoning her towns, and of administering the estates of such spahis as refused to sell the lands on which in future they were forbidden to live. But Milosch was not proof against the temptations of power. He abused his princely dignity, was driven from the country, and Kara George having been invited to return but having been murdered on the way, Milosch's son Michael was raised to the throne. He was young and untrained, and three years served to show that he could not govern the people. He abdicated, and went to Germany and France to study.

The Servians chose as his successor Alexander, son of Kara George; but he also failed to satisfy either the Sultan or the people, and was compelled to abdicate in 1858. Milosch was then invited to return, and ruled about a year and a half with some vigor, organizing a national militia almost equivalent to an arming of the entire nation.

On his death his son Michael, now older and wiser, succeeded to a difficulty caused by the remonstrances of the Sultan, Austria, and England, against the new militia. Then he was involved by an immigration of fugitives from Turkish oppression in Bulgaria and Bosnia; but he stood his ground, and succeeded in winning for his government the love of the kindred populations beyond his borders, and a steadily growing respect from the great Powers. In June, 1862 a storm burst over his head which brought him in the end perfect independence, except so far as concerned the retention of two Turkish garrisons in the country, and an acknowledgment of suzerainty and a tribute to the Sultan. This was the treacherous bombardment of the town by the

fortress of Belgrade under pretext of a scuffle between a few Turkish soldiers and some youths. The exasperated Servians held themselves in perfect quietness, trusting to Michael's diplomacy and the good feeling of Europe to secure them against the repetition of such an outrage, and their hope was not in vain. Michael continued to develop the resources of the country ; churches were rebuilt ; schools, primary and higher, and technical, and colleges and a university were opened ; and mines and railways were projected. In 1867 the last Turkish garrison was withdrawn ; and now a tribute of \$115,000 per annum is the only link between the Porte and the Free Servs of Servia.

In 1868 Prince Michael, who was struggling to keep the balance between a somewhat strong conservative ministry and the liberal, if not radical demands of his people, was shot down in his garden, as it was subsequently pretty clearly proved, by an agent of the party who wished to bring Alexander Kara Georgevitch back to the throne. His death left a successor who was a minor ; but the ministry vigorously held on in the path of improvement, and were able to give a good account when the present prince Milan ascended the throne in 1871. He has established a firm hold on the affections of the people, and the internal resources of the country are being rapidly developed.

To Montenegro alone belongs the proud boast that it has never been under the dominion of the Turks, has never been inhabited by them, has never agreed to pay tribute to them, but has kept up a perennial struggle with them ever since the fall of the Servian Empire. It is but a little State, and perhaps it owes its independence scarcely more to the hardy vigor of its sons than to the fact that it consists just of a knot of the Balkans, a place where the native saying is that God, in sowing the earth with rocks, dropped the bag. Its bare rocks and severe climate have always been its strong allies against the Turk, and its inhabitants have never so aggregated wealth around them as to be unwilling to burn homes and crops rather than leave them as prey to the invading Turks when there was nothing left for it but flight to the roughest heights. At first, after the battle of Cassova, the chief of the Province of Zeuta owned much of Herzegovina, and fought hand in hand with the Albanians. But Scanderbeg's death left him alone, and Ivo the Black retreated to the mountains which now are the whole of Montenegro. Even the seacoast had to be abandoned, though only a rifle-shot from the southern limit of the mountains is Bocche di Cat-

taro, the finest harbour in Europe, the natural outlet for Slav commerce, for which Slavs have longed and fought for four centuries, but which still lies, well-nigh unused, before their tantalized eyes.

For a century the fugitives found their mountains a secure retreat, and their bravery and advantageous position made them desirable allies. Venice was not reluctant to give the right hand of fellowship to the highlanders, and many alliances were formed between the nobility of the two States. But such a friendship was not without its drawbacks; for the Venetian brides lured their husbands to the luxury of their own old homes; and finally, in 1516, the Prince of Montenegro left the government in the hands of German Petrovitch, Bishop (of the Greek Church) of Montenegro. In his family it has ever since been hereditary, descending first from uncle to nephew, and only in this century going in the usual order of descent, since, in 1852, Danilo resolved to abolish the law of celibacy as incumbent on the prince, and married a Viennese lady whose life was one of far-sighted benevolence, and who did more than perhaps any other to aid the cause of education throughout Slavonian lands, and to steady the course of Slav policy.

Throughout these centuries the story of Montenegro has been purely that of hard-won victory against the Turks. No instance of truce or treaty with the Turks has occurred without its following of treacherous betrayal. In 1703 Peter the Great thought it worth while to secure Montenegro as his ally, but he too betrayed the principality to its enemies. The Turks came and devastated the country. Venice refused her aid, and paid the penalty of the loss of her provinces from Bosnia to the Isthmus of Corinth, and the struggle ended with a siege of seven years sustained by Montenegro. In the end of last century Russia and Austria began to intrigue against each other for the friendship of the little State, and their rivalry has ever since been a valuable tool in the hands of the rulers of Montenegro. In 1813 Cattaro, which had submitted to Venice, when Ivo retired to the mountains, on the bargain that it was never to be given to any other power, found that Napoleon, as conqueror, had ceded it to Austria. Resenting this, it strove to join the mountaineers, but failed. Prince Daniel had done all he could to help it; and on seeing that Austria had tightened her grasp on what should have been his seaport, he retired to his little capital of Cetigné, and devoted himself to the improvement of his people. His successor, Peter II., obtained from European powers a frontier

treaty, which was the first formal recognition of his country by diplomats. Under him rapid advance was made in the essentials, though not in the external comforts of civilization. It will not do to live a less rigorous life till the country is secure from Turkish inroads; but schools were multiplied, roads made, and some barbarous practices in war done away with. The custom of cutting off the heads of dead enemies has not yet been quite given up, because the Turks of the neighboring lands would misconstrue such humanity as cowardice.

Danilo projected a code of laws, and disregarded all provocations to war with the Sultan till an actual invasion compelled him to take up arms; and the victory of Grahovo, in 1858, secured for him a commission of great powers to fix the boundaries between Montenegro and Turkey. Some fertile districts were awarded to him, but no seaport; and he was not required to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Porte. In 1859 he was murdered, when at Cattaro for his wife's health, and never was prince more deeply mourned. His people flocked down the precipitous zigzag road to Cattaro to demand vengeance when he lay dying; but his message was that they should go quietly home. It was a long time before gay dress or weapons or festive gatherings appeared in the mountains. His successor was the present reigning Prince Nicholas, who was only eighteen years of age; but who has vindicated his fitness for the difficult post by great wisdom and prudence. Under Montenegrin skies education is fostered as in all other Servian communities, all forms of religion are free, and the knowledge of the truth is being spread as might be expected in a country the capital of which contains only a hundred houses, which found purchasers for thirty-two copies of the Bible at one visit thither of a colporteur.



CHAPTER XXIII.

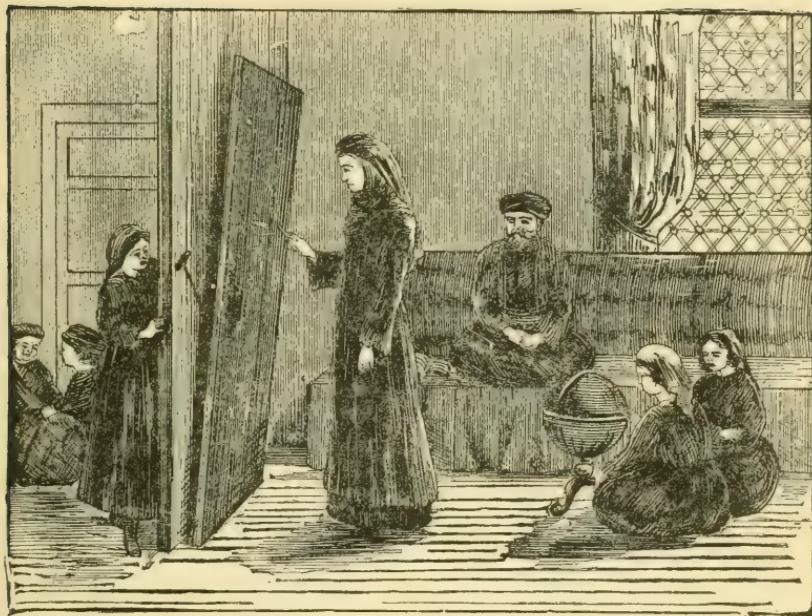
EVENTS PRECEDING THE WAR.

IN Herzegovina the harvest of 1874 was a bad one, and the peasantry foresaw a hard winter before them. The tax-collectors, agents of the officials who farm the taxes, require the agriculturists to keep the crops standing until it suits their convenience to come and levy the tithe due to the Sultan, estimating the crops as standing damaged there to be worth the highest Constantinople market prices. But in one district the tax-gatherer did not come till January, 1875, when hunger had compelled the sale and the eating of parts of the crops. The tax-gatherer estimated the tax at an enormous sum; the people resisted his demands; they were robbed, beaten, imprisoned, and their chiefs threatened with arrest when they complained. Some fled to the mountains of the neighboring independent State of Montenegro, secure to find shelter among people of the same faith and race. They found the leading Montenegrins at the capital, Cettinje, consulting how to act with reference to a Turkish infraction of boundary rights, and were welcomed as fellow-sufferers.

During their absence another district of Herzegovina was roused to discontent and resistance by the arbitrary conduct of the police and by the way in which forced labor was imposed by them. The district authorities reported to their superior, and gendarmes were sent to compel submission. Other neighboring districts were quiet; but the clergy of some Roman Catholic districts, whose ancient privileges had never been confirmed by the present Sultan, stirred their flocks to support the dignity of their religion against threatened inroads on the part of the local authorities.

Just then the Emperor of Austria visited his province of Dalmatia, which is peopled by Slavs, the near kinsmen of the Herzegovinians, and borders on Herzegovina to the southwest. His visit had a political significance in the eyes of the simple peasantry, who hoped that he had come to see how best to help them against their oppressors. He probably had no such aim, but his visit encouraged them nevertheless.

The gendarmes arrived in rebellious Nevesinje at the end of April;



A WOMAN'S NORMAL SCHOOL IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

the Christians fled to the mountains, their chiefs to Montenegro. The gendarmes went on to Bilec; but here the peasantry offered only a passive resistance to their entering the villages, and refused to appear before the local authority. The flame broke out here on a Christian woman suffering insult at the hands of a gendarme. A pasha, Vali Selim, had already been despatched by the governor of Bosnia to inquire into the result of the Emperor of Austria's visit to Dalmatia, and was instructed to give the discontented population the alternative of returning submissively to their homes or of emigrating to Montenegro. They refused to deal with any but an envoy direct from the Sultan; being not rebellious against his authority, but compelled to defend themselves, their families, and their property, from his Mussulman officials of the same race as themselves.

It was as yet two small districts only that were involved; few were even interested in their affairs. But the refugee chieftains were inconvenient to Montenegro, and safe-conducts were procured by Prince Nicholas for their return. The Turkish frontier-guards attacked them

in spite of their passports, and a second application was necessary to get them across the border. On their return home they were left comparatively unmolested, merely having some of their houses burned, one being assaulted in the bazaar, another killed as he left the court in which he had complained of the assault, another being murdered in his field, and an innkeeper who had entertained them paying for his hospitality with his life. The authorities made no sign of any intention to punish these outrages, but still there was no general outbreak. Isolated attacks were made on single Turks, and the matter became grave enough to attract the attention of the Porte. Accordingly the mufti of the Slavic Mussulmans was removed, but not punished, and a very obnoxious bishop, with Turkish leanings, was transferred to a better post. The neighboring villagers armed themselves, but remained quiet, waiting to see what would happen, doing their ordinary work all day, but guarding the roads at night against any surprise on the part of government.

This was about midsummer. At last a conference was held between representatives of the Sultan and the people, who also insisted upon the presence of an envoy from Montenegro. The demands made by the peasants were for things promised them by the famous decree or hattisherif of 1857: that Christian women and girls should be safe from Turkish insult; that they should have liberty to exercise their religion; that Christians and Mohammedans should be equal before the law; that the excesses of the police should be restrained; that the taxes should be justly and seasonably levied. The Mohammedans thought these demands exorbitant, and endeavored to browbeat the Christians into some abatement of them, but in vain; and when Dervish Pasha, governor of Bosnia, came to add his wisdom to the council, the people demanded further the long-promised freedom from forced labor without payment.

The Pasha promised to do his utmost to obtain for them their rights if they would lay down their arms, but they said that could only be if they and their Mussulman neighbors were meanwhile separated. The Pasha retired to his capital, and the Christians fled with their families and goods to the mountains. The Mussulmans broke into the government store, and armed themselves with breech-loaders; the neighboring districts still holding themselves quietly in readiness.

On the first of July some Christians who had been driven from their

rough mountain refuges by illness were killed at Nevesinje by the armed Mussulmans; the Christians revenged themselves, and then seized on a band of frontier-guards escorting provisions. The small engagements were repeated, and in one of them a body of Turkish troops took part. This precipitated a general rising. But the insurgents were not united; no leader had yet appeared among them; and an "advanced radical" agent of a Servian republican society who aspired to the leadership met with only scant courtesy from the native chiefs. The Roman Catholic districts were persuaded to lay down their arms; the government having been convinced of the power of the clergy, who here, as elsewhere, were anxious rather to maintain their own authority in obedience to Rome than to help forward any movement for the good of their people.

Towards the end of July it appeared that a Greek-Church official was unwilling to allow his people to join the insurgents, and asked the government for soldiers to help him; but the Mussulmans said that for them and Christians to fight, fall, and possibly be buried together, was an intolerable thing, and so the Christians of that district swelled the numbers of the insurgent army.

In the early part of August the insurgents surrounded Trebigne. A few weeks later, a rising took place in Turkish Croatia, a district inhabited by a Slavic population, belonging chiefly to the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches. In the meantime the European powers turned their attention to the insurrection. Ambassadors from Austria, Germany, and Russia, conferred with the Grand Vizier, and advised a suspension of hostilities, but the Porte refused his assent. However, at the suggestion of the six great powers, the Porte subsequently commissioned Server Pasha to inquire into the grievances of the insurgents; and at the same time the foreign consuls were forbidden giving the insurgents any hope or promise of foreign assistance.

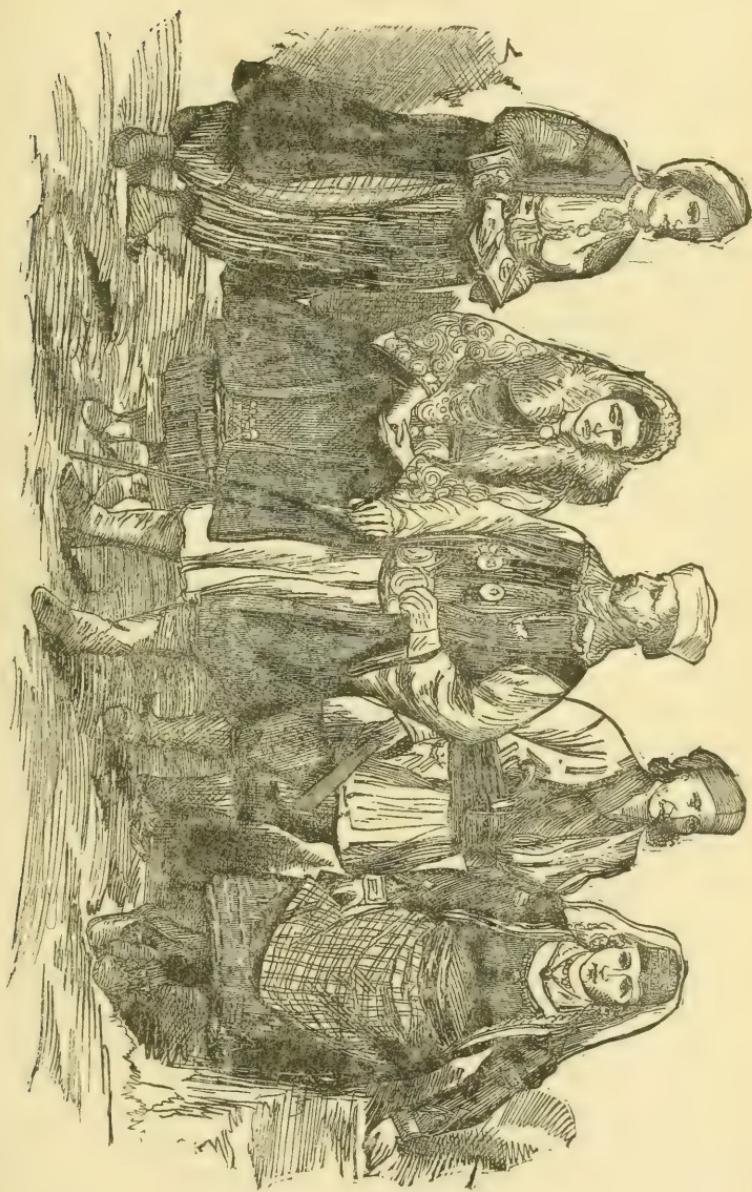
In the latter part of August the Turks drove the insurgents from Trebigne into the mountains; but a Turkish detachment of twelve hundred men, which was sent to Biletj, fifteen miles distant, were lured into an ambush and severely defeated, a small remnant only reaching Trebigne. Five days later another Turkish force was defeated in the same locality. Elated with success, the Insurgents on the 14th of September made an attack upon Biletj, but were routed by a greatly superior force. On the same day they captured the Turkish

earthworks at Bobe, twenty miles northeast of Trebigne, and pursued the garrison as far as Lubigne, where they seized a large quantity of stores and ammunition.

While these events were transpiring, the foreign consuls assembled at Mostav, for the purpose of conferring with Server Pasha and the chiefs of the insurgents; but the latter, not making their appearance, the consuls sought the insurgents in their strongholds, and advised them to submit to the Porte. Their efforts at pacification, however, met with no success. A number of Herzegovinians, who had fled into Austria, addressed a manifesto to the consuls, setting forth their grievances, declining the mediation of the European powers, and demanding their liberation from Turkish rule.

In the early part of September the following "firman" or edict was issued by the Sultan to the governor-generals of the provinces:

"There is no doubt that the welfare of the country and the well-being of its inhabitants have for their general basis the security of property, life, and honor, of each one. This security can only be obtained by a good and impartial administration of justice. This was the sense of our last imperial hasti to our Grand Vizier, which read as follows: 'As the good administration of affairs in our Empire, the welfare of the country and the happiness of its inhabitants, is the object of all our care, it is our wish that an effective protection and equal justice be enjoyed by all classes of society in such a manner that the rights and the honor of all be secured. As the ministry of justice represents one of the most important departments of state, it is absolutely necessary that it proceed in conformity with our well-meaning intentions. We, therefore, order that these intentions be proclaimed and be fully executed.' Our orders and our later instructions are only issued to-day, in order to confirm our above-mentioned sovereign intentions. Their execution depends on the honest and energetic efforts which must be displayed by all dignitaries, whether they are judges or administrative officers, as well as on their willingness to produce a beneficial change of affairs. All public officers, and particularly those who are intrusted with judicial functions at the courts of the Scheri, and the civil courts, either in the capital or in provinces, must particularly see to it that the trials are conducted impartially, and in accordance with the laws of the Scheri and the other laws in general, that all our subjects without distinction may



NATIVES OF A HERZEGOVINIAN PROVINCE.

enjoy the greatest security and justice. This is our decided imperial wish.' After the preceding was brought to the notice of each one of my Governor-Generals, our present sovereign order proceeded from our imperial divan, and at the same time that you in your position as Governor-General will receive this order you will also receive a list of those acts which may have been committed contrary to the laws of my Empire, and with the knowledge of all the world. Upon the receipt of my imperial firman, you will hasten to bring these instructions to the knowledge of the judiciary as well as the administrative officers, and all of our minor officers, in the capital and all the districts of the vilayet, and you will see that our orders are promptly executed. It is understood that the officers will be treated according to their good or bad behavior. The Sublime Porte will take such measures as may seem necessary to keep informed on the course of public affairs, as you know that the least infringement or neglect of our imperial orders will bring on you a heavy responsibility; you must act accordingly. You will take care to bring to the notice of our Sublime Porte all those officers who act contrary to our command."

In October an imperial ordinance was promulgated, granting to agricultural populations an exemption from one-fourth of the tithes previously imposed, and relieving them from the payment of taxes already in arrears. It was further provided that there should be a representative administrative council, composed of delegates chosen by the communities; and it was promised that their reasonable demands should receive respectful attention, the information obtained from them serving as a basis for reform measures. It was announced, in conclusion, that the gradual realization of these reforms had been decided upon.

On the 27th of October General Ignatiev had an interview with the Grand Vizier, Mahmud Pasha, in the course of which he remarked: "The Czar regrets that the insurrection in Herzegovina has not yet come to an end. He ascribes this delay to the poor actions of the tribunal recently appointed in Mostar, as well as to the low degree of security enjoyed by the insurgents who return to their allegiance. These, on the contrary, are subject to annoyances on the part of the authorities. Thus, also, the delay in the execution of the promised reform is a cause of the continuance of the insurrection. It is to be hoped that an improvement in these affairs will shortly take place; if

not, he cannot see the Christians of the Ottoman Empire continually exposed to persecutions, and the Powers will be forced to intervene."

While negotiations were going on, the fighting continued with varying success, until the advance of winter compelled a temporary cessation of active military operations. In November a victory was gained by the Herzegovinians at Gatchko, where they captured three hundred rifles, fifty tons of ammunition, and a provision train, destined for Govansko.

On the 12th of December another edict was issued by the Sultan, in which the following provisions were contained:

"The lawsuits between Mohammedans and non-Mohammedans will be turned over to the civil courts. No one will be imprisoned without a trial. Bad treatment of prisoners will not be permitted. The rights of possession of all subjects shall be secured, the *gendarmerie* shall be selected from the best inhabitants of each town, and *socage* shall be abolished. All religious heads shall have the right to the free exercise of their religions, and all public offices shall be opened to non-Mohammedan subjects. Testamentary provisions shall be respected. All just complaints and wishes shall be brought, unhindered, before the Porte. The powers of the governors and other high officials are to be cut down. All the provisions in the firman are for the benefit of loyal subjects only. The Grand Vizier will take the necessary measures to bring these reforms into execution, while a special commission will watch over them."

On the 20th of December the Sultan appointed a commission, comprising all State Ministers, and a number of Mohammedans and Christians, who were entrusted with the duty of seeing to the execution of the new reform. But the insurgent leaders in Herzegovina having consulted with representative Christians from Bosnia, resolved not to pay any regard to the Sultan's promises of reform, but to continue the conflict until the Turks should be driven out.

On the 18th of January, 1876, an engagement occurred between the insurgents and the Turks on the road between Ragusa and Trebinje, in which the insurgents claimed that they had defeated the Turks and inflicted a severe loss upon them. The road between Ragusa and Trebinje fell into the hands of the insurgents.

On the 11th of February the Sultan of Turkey issued a decree for the execution of the reforms and concessions demanded by Austria and

the other European Powers, to improve the condition of the Christian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina; but the chief leaders of the Herzegovinian insurgents, Peko Paulovitch and Lazar Socica, determined to reject these concessions, and the Austrian Consul, who was sent to obtain a pacification, failed utterly in his mission. The above decree was supplemented by another, granting general amnesty to all insurgents who within four weeks should return to their homes; and the Turkish government further promised to rebuild, at its own cost, all churches and houses which had been destroyed. The insurgents, however, refused to place any faith in these offers, and a meeting of a number of their leaders was held at Suttorina, February 26th. A manifesto was issued, in which they pointed out the Porte's former failures to carry out promised reforms, and declared that the resistance of the Mohammedans would baffle every reform; the Mohammedans were even expected to revolt if an attempt were made to execute the reforms. The insurgents desired full freedom and independence; this, or nothing. This paper contained an expression of thanks to Austria for the care she had taken of the Herzegovinian refugees, and closed with an avowal that help was expected from Russia.

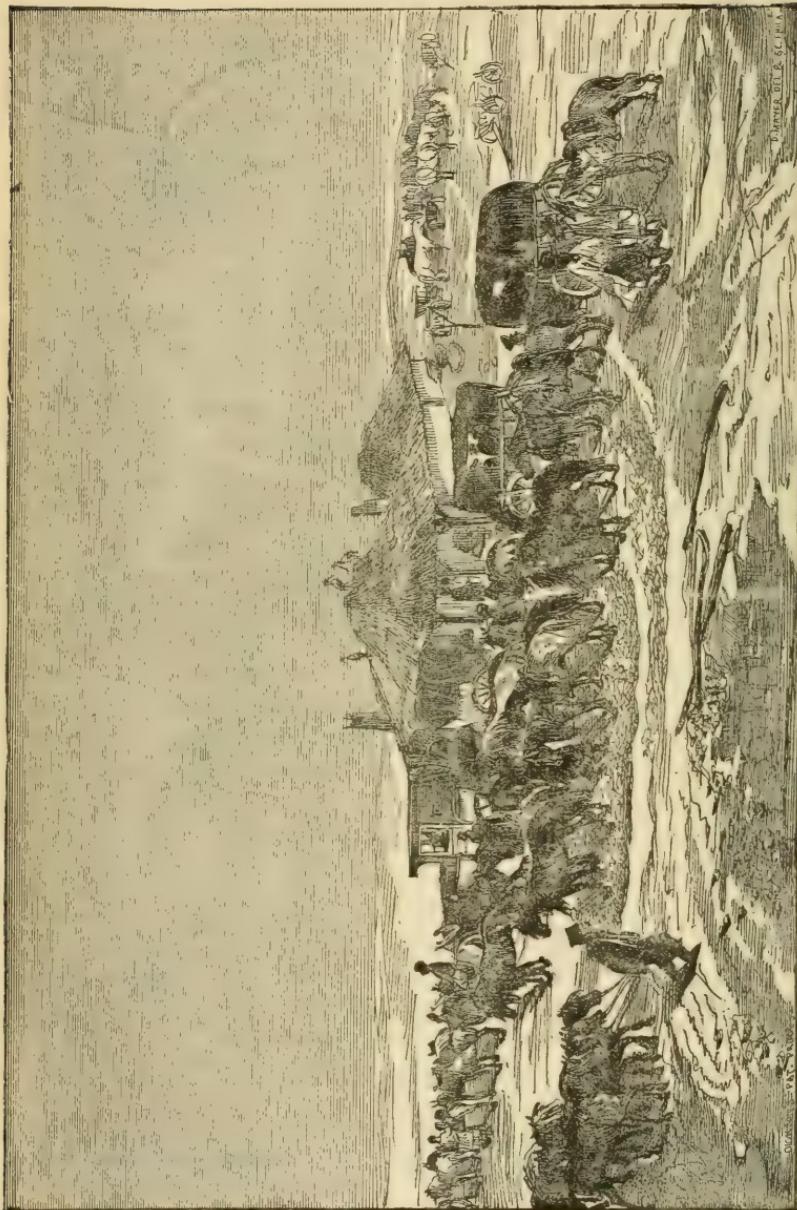
While the diplomatic agents were trying to bring about a peaceful understanding, military movements were generally suspended, and only a few engagements took place. The most important of these occurred on the 6th of March. Five battalions of Turks under the command of Selim Pasha, going to provision the fortress of Goransko, were attacked and defeated by the insurgents under Paulovitch, with the loss, it was said, of 800 men killed, 675 rifles and four rifled cannon. The Turks were pursued as far as Lipnik, four hours' march. The insurgents had in this engagement 1,150 men, and claimed to have lost only ten killed and twenty-five wounded.

Liubibraties, who had figured conspicuously in the early days of the insurrection, had withdrawn to Ragusa, where he actively agitated the insurgent cause through the newspapers, and by the help of their correspondents. He collected a small force comprising Russians, Serbs, and adventurers from Poland, France, and Italy, and having embarked them in detachments from different points, landed, towards the close of February, at Klek. Keeping close to the Austrian border, he marched toward Linbuska. On the 5th of March he repulsed a company of Bashi-Bazouks, who were out on a reconnoissance. On the 11th of

March he reached the neighborhood of Imoschi, in Dalmatia, where he and the members of his staff were arrested upon Austrian territory. The greater part of his command were dispersed, but eventually joined other bodies of insurgents.

On Friday, April 28, the Turkish troops encountered the insurgents intercepting the road to Presjeka, and dispersed them after four hours' fighting. The convoys of provisions were victoriously conveyed into Niksics, and the troops afterwards returned to Presjeka. On Saturday morning they were attacked by the insurgents, who had received reinforcements. The fighting lasted until evening, and the insurgents were compelled to take to flight. During these two days the insurgents lost between three and four hundred killed and wounded. On Sunday morning, having ascertained that the insurgents, who had received further reinforcements, were intrenched in the forest near Presjeka, on the side of Piva, in order to cut off the line of retreat, the Turkish troops attacked them, and after sanguinary fighting, which lasted until eight o'clock in the evening without intermission the insurgents were routed. The victory was decisive, and the losses of the insurgents were considerable, being estimated at about one thousand killed and wounded. The Turks, moreover, captured a large quantity of arms, and returned to Gatchko without further fighting.

On Saturday, May 6, a Mussulman mob, armed with clubs and knives, attacked and murdered the German and French Consuls, Mr. Henry Abbott and his brother-in-law, M. Paul Moulin, who had taken refuge in a mosque. They had joined the American Consul in assuming the custody of a young Christian girl, who had been removed from her home for conversion to the Mohammedan religion. The German Consul was a British subject, born at Salonica, and married to a Greek lady; he was also connected by marriage with the American Consul, Hadji Lazaro. The Turkish government at once promised full inquiry and satisfaction in the punishment of the murderers. Six of them were condemned and publicly executed; fifty more were arrested for taking part in the riot. This outrage aroused an intense excitement throughout the Christian world, and a joint foreign commission of inquiry proceeded to the spot. France, Germany, Austria, and Italy sent vessels of war to Salonica, and England despatched a gun-boat to accompany the commission which the Turkish government sent to investigate the affair.



MOLDAVIAN STAGES.

In the last days of May an abrupt end was put to the reign of Abdul Aziz by his subjects. The deposition of Abdul Aziz was not brought about by a popular revolution, but by the action of the Ministers, pushed to extremity by the absolute refusal of the Sultan to advance money from his privy purse for the exhausted war treasury. Upon his refusing to alter his decision, he was informed that the people were dissatisfied with his government, and that he was deposed. Immediately afterwards he was conducted under guard to the Tophana Palace, where he bled to death from wounds inflicted by himself in both arms.

The Turkish popular movement which caused this revolution seems to have originated in the excitement which followed upon the Salonica massacre. For a long time the Softas, or Mussulman students of theology and law, who constitute the "Young Turkey" party, had been agitating for internal reforms and more energetic action concerning the insurrection in the Herzegovina. They objected to the acceptance of the Andrássy Note, as they regarded Montenegro as the cause of much of Turkey's trouble, and they advocated a decisive course of action against that Principality. The consternation into which all classes in Constantinople were thrown by the news of the Salonica outrage gave them at length the opportunity for which they had been waiting. On May 7th a crowd of them, headed by their professors and clergy, gathered in the streets. So menacing was their behavior that Dervish Pasha ordered the Sultan's guards and the troops in the city to be kept in their respective barracks ready for any emergency. The ironclads which were at that time in the Bosphorus were ordered to draw up in front of the palace and to point their loaded cannon against Beschichtach, Orta Keni, and Arnaout Keni, which were the suburbs from which any attack of the Softas might be expected. Next day, however, Dervish Pasha was turned out of his office as Minister of War and was sent away to the Governorship of Diarbeker. The Softas, whose organization included 20,000 active men in the Turkish capital, were left to agitate against Mahmoud Pasha, then Grand Vizier. Day by day their demands grew louder and more persistent. They declared that Midhat Pasha should be Grand Vizier, and that politician was actually summoned to the palace. But his demands or conditions were so extensive that eventually he was dismissed, and a kind of compromise was offered by the ejection of Mahmoud Pasha, and the appointment of Mahmoud Ruchdi in his

place. Meanwhile Hussein Avni was appointed Minister of War, and Abdul Kerim Nadar Pasha was appointed generalissimo of the army.

The personal demeanor of Abdul Aziz showed that he was very uneasy. He changed his residence from palace to palace in a singularly unnecessary manner, testifying to the restlessness of his mind. The incessant deliberations and demonstrations of the Softas were not calculated to dispel his anxiety. The plot was then under consideration which soon afterwards ripened into his deposition. Midhat Pasha, emboldened by their action, refused to be sent away, and was eventually offered a seat in the new Cabinet without a portfolio, an appointment which he accepted. The outcry for a surrender of some of the money hoarded in the palace increased in strength. To all but the Sultan it was evident that the Softas were gaining daily in strength; that, so far from being a party of disorder, they were emphatically the champions of a more constitutional Government.

Affairs being in such a critical state, Mahmoud Ruchdi, the Grand Vizier, Hussein Avni, the Minister of War, and Ahmed, the Minister of Marine, had a long interview with the Sultan, and urged him to accede to the demands of the Softas. He refused to do so. They then concerted their measures. In the evening the Minister for Foreign Affairs visited the Ambassadors at Buyukdere, having received them in the morning at five o'clock. The captains of the fleets were changed at night. The palace of Abdul Aziz at Dolma Baghtché was surrounded by troops on one side and by sailors on the other. Hussein Avni Pasha proceeded thither, taking Mourad Effendi with him to the Seraskierat, where Mourad was received by the Ministers and by deputations from the Softas and Ulema. He was received with acclamations by those assembled, and was recognized as the new Sultan. Thereupon General Redif Pasha went to the Sultan Abdul Aziz and announced to him that he had been deposed, and that Mourad Effendi had given orders to conduct him to the pavilion at the end of the Seraglio. Abdul Aziz was in great wrath when the news was communicated to him, but, seeing that the palace was surrounded and that resistance was useless, he allowed himself to be conducted with his four sons and a hundred wives to the kiosk selected for him.

On Tuesday morning there was a great stir in the streets. The four guilds—namely, the firemen, the drawers of water, the carriers,

and the boatmen—led by groups of Softas, who were headed by their professors, formed a procession. They marched to the Sultan's palace at Dolma Bakthé without being interfered with by the military, to whom no orders seemed to have been given to act in case of such a demonstration. During the progress of the procession the crowd increased by many thousands. The Sultan's palace was guarded by mounted police, who did not interfere with the crowd, though cries of "Down with Abdul Aziz!" and "Long live Mourad Effendi!" came from it. In the meantime, by orders of the Grand Vizier and Sheikhu-l-Islam, Mourad Effendi was proclaimed Sultan, and a salute was fired of one hundred and one guns from each ship. At ten Mourad Effendi girded on the sword of Osman at the Mosque of Eyoub. An edict was issued, which commences thus: "We, Abdul Aziz, in pursuance of the wish of the great majority of our subjects, abdicate in favor of our nephew, Mehemed Mourad Effendi."

On the night of the 15th of June, while the Ministers of State forming the new Sultan's Government were sitting together in the Council Chamber, a person named Hassan, who had been an officer in the army, forced his entrance into the room and killed Hussein Avna Pasha, the Minister of War, with a shot from a revolver. The others attempting to seize him, he shot dead the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mohammed Raschid Pasha, and two of the attendant officers. The Minister of Marine, Ruschid Pasha, was wounded. In the affray which followed, a member of the household of Midhat Pasha, who attempted to arrest the murderer, was also killed. Finally a detachment of soldiers came in and captured the murderer. He was summarily tried, and was hanged on the morning of the 17th of June.

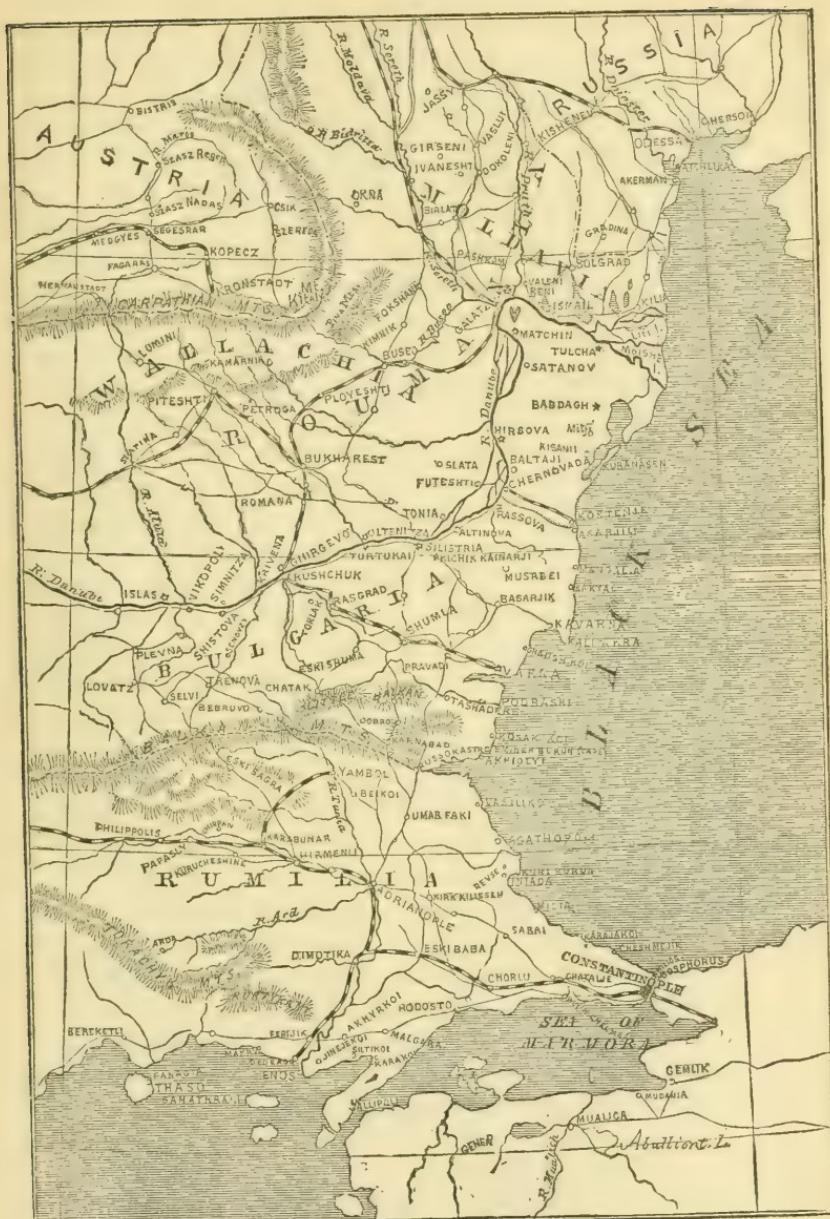
The war had gone on for nearly a year in Herzegovina, when an attempt at a rising took place in Bulgaria also. With regard to this insurrection the Turkish government seems to have been in a position somewhat analogous to that which the Austrian government once held with regard to the revolutionary movements in Italy. All through the winter there were numerous suspicious symptoms, which all indicated that something was preparing; but all efforts made to get hold of something more positive were in vain. The information came in many cases from the Bulgarians themselves, the wealthy portion of whom, above all the inhabitants of the towns, secured from the beginning more news about an outbreak than the Turks themselves

could. Much of this information proved either quite unfounded or else so exaggerated that it produced almost the opposite effect, lulling the authorities into a false sense of security. Far from taking any extraordinary measures to meet the eventuality of a rising in Bulgaria, they neglected almost the most ordinary precautions. Almost the whole *corps de armée* of Roumelia, which is stationed as a rule in Bulgaria, was again concentrated in spring at Nish and Widdin, with the object of keeping order at the great fair which is held in April at Djuma, not far from Shumla. A battalion of Chasseurs had to be sent from the camp at Widdin. Besides the Zaptiehs, or gendarmes, only small detachments were left in the towns, so that, at the first moment, there was scarcely any force at hand to send to the disturbed district.

It was on the 1st of May that the first news of the rising reached Sofia. It was a report from the Kaimakam of Ichtiman, a town situated between Tatar Bazardjik and Sofia, in the mountain range connecting the Balkan with the Rhodope chain, according to which a collision had occurred between the population and the Zaptiehs who had been sent to collect the taxes. The villages of Otlakein, Arret-al-An, and Islady, all situated in the mountain district between Tatar Bazardjik and Sofia, were specified as the focus of the insurrection. A Mudir, a sub-Prefect, and several Zaptiehs had been killed, two railway bridges and the telegraph line between Tatar Bazardjik and Ichtiman had, it was said, been destroyed. Immediately after the collision the insurgents, who collected from various points as if by order, retired to different strong positions in the mountains, where provisions had been collected beforehand.

The insurgents were mostly armed with Minie rifles and others of older construction, and seem to have been provided with ammunition. As regards the arms, in the beginning of spring the authorities received information that a cargo of them was preparing to be sent across from the Roumanian side on a certain point. The hint was taken, and, in fact, a small portion of arms fell into the hands of the Turks; but, while the attention of the Turks was concentrated on this special point, several thousand stands of arms and a large quantity of ammunition were sent over to various other places.

On the same night that the first news of the rising reached Sofia a battalion of rediffs quartered there was sent off to Ichtiman. At the



MAP OF THE TURKISH STATES.

same time reinforcements were telegraphed for in every direction; but the Turkish government was at this time in extremities. Its army was fully occupied in Herzegovina as well as along the Servian frontier, and it had to strip the capital of troops in order to hold Philippopolis and Adrianople. To prevent the spread of the rebellion recourse was had to the special measure of arming the Mussulman population and the Circassian refugees. These were turned loose upon Bulgaria with the result of crushing out every sign of rebellion in about three weeks' time. The Bashi-Bazouks—as the armed Moslem population were called—seemed to make it a rule to shoot every Christian on sight, and the fields were absolutely deserted in consequence. The savages burned all the rebel villages, of course. Loyal villagers, hearing of their doings, would huddle together in some corner for safety. Immediately a squad of Bashi-Bazouks would pounce upon them, taking or pretending to take their assembling as a sign of evil intent, and then another band of frightened women and children would be added to the crowds flocking to the cities for shelter, while another village would be added to the list of those destroyed. After two hundred or more villages had been burned down, and after thousands of men had been killed and other thousands arrested for complicity in the rebellion, the Bulgarian rising became a thing of the past. But still the Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians continued their work, and there was no safety except in the cities where there were regular troops. The regular troops, although quiet and well-behaved in comparison with the Bashi-Bazouks, were not free from crime. They seized goods in shops, plundered the markets, and barbarously outraged defenceless women and young girls.

The government gave no heed to complaints, and although the rebellion was crushed, the country was ruined. Just at this stage of affairs occurred the revolution. The new Sultan within three days after his accession ordered the repression of the Bashi-Bazouks. But the Bashi-Bazouks declined to be repressed, and for three weeks more outrages continued to occur spasmodically. Wherever the troops were not, Bashi-Bazouks were sure to appear. They had now become robbers, pure and simple, if they were ever anything else. The answer of one of them to an order to surrender stolen property to its lawful owner, illustrates their position: "My king ordered me to take this property; it is mine lawfully. The new king cannot take away from me what I have lawfully acquired."

Credible witnesses, who visited the insurrectionary district early in August, describe the most heart-rending scenes. In the town of Batok were found great numbers of skulls scattered about, and one ghastly heap of skeletons with clothing. In one place there were counted a hundred skulls, picked and licked clean, all of women and children. Entering the town, on every side were skulls and skeletons charred among the ruins, or lying entire where they fell in their clothing. There were skeletons of girls and women with long brown hair hanging to the skulls. Near the church these remains were more numerous, and the ground was literally covered with skeletons, skulls, and putrefying bodies. Between the church and the school there were heaps of bodies, emitting a fearful stench. In the churchyard the sight was even more dreadful. For three feet deep it was festering with dead bodies; partly covered hands, legs, arms, and heads projected in ghastly confusion. There were many little hands, heads, and feet of children of three years of age, and girls with heads covered with beautiful hair. The church was still worse. The floor was covered with rotting bodies quite uncovered. In the school, a fine building, two hundred women had been burnt alive. All over the town there were the same scenes. In some places heaps of bodies buried in shallow holes had been uncovered by dogs, and the banks of the little stream were covered with bodies.

Many bodies had been carried to Tatar Bazardjik, a distance of thirty miles. The town had nine thousand inhabitants, but was reduced to a population of twelve hundred. Many who had escaped returned, weeping and moaning over their ruined homes, and their sorrowful wailing could be heard at a distance of half a mile. On the 11th of May Panagurishta was attacked by a force of regular troops, together with Bashi-Bazouks. Apparently no message to surrender was sent, and after a slight opposition on the part of the insurgents the town was taken. Many of the inhabitants fled, but about three thousand were massacred, the most of them being women and children. Of these about four hundred belonged to the town of Panagurishta, and the others to nine neighboring villages, the inhabitants of which had taken refuge there. Four hundred buildings, including the bazaar and the largest and best houses, were burned. Both churches were completely destroyed and levelled to the ground. In one, an old man was violated in the altar and afterwards burned alive. Two of

the schools were burned; the third, looking like a private house, escaped. Hardly a woman in the town escaped violation and brutal treatment. The ruffians attacked children of eight years, and old women of eighty, sparing neither age nor sex. Old men had their eyes torn out and their limbs cut off, and were then left to die, unless some more charitably disposed man gave them the final thrust.

This scene of rapine, lust, and murder, was continued for three days, when the survivors were made to bury the bodies of the dead. The perpetrators of these outrages were chiefly regular troops, commanded by Hafiz Pasha.

At first the friends of Turkey were disposed to make light of these outrages; but after impartial investigations made by Mr. Baring, of the British legation, and Mr. Eugene Schuyler, the American Consul-General, all doubt upon the subject was removed, and there was a general recognition of the fact that horrible atrocities had been committed.

Commenting on these disclosures, Mr. Gladstone said, in the latter part of September: "There is not a criminal in an European jail, there is not a cannibal in the South Sea Islands, whose indignation would not rise and overboil at the recital of that which has been done, which has too late been examined, but which remains unavenged; which has left behind all the foul and all the fierce passions that produced it, and which may again spring up, in another murderous harvest, from the soil soaked and reeking with blood, and in the air tainted with every imaginable deed of crime and shame. That such things should be done once is a damning disgrace to the portion of our race which did them; that a door should be left open for their ever-so-barely possible repetition would spread that shame over the whole."

Mr. Gladstone summed up the demands of British sentiment, concurred in by all civilized human beings, in the following two points:

"1. To put a stop to the anarchial misrule (let the phrase be excused), the plundering, the murdering, which, as we now seem to learn upon sufficient evidence, still desolate Bulgaria.

"2. To make effectual provision against the recurrence of the outrages recently perpetrated under the sanction of the Ottoman Government, by excluding its administrative action for the future, not only from Bosnia and the Herzegovina, but also, and above all, from Bulgaria; upon which, at best, there will remain, for years and for generations, the traces of its foul and bloody hand."

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE WAR IN SERVIA AND MONTENEGRO.

AT the beginning of 1876 the ministry of Kalievitch was at the head of the Servian government, and was strongly in favor of peace, being opposed by the Skouptchina or National Legislature. On January 22d the latter body unanimously adopted the war estimates, and three days after the Minister of War asked an additional grant for army equipment. On the 20th of February all the male population between the ages of twenty and fifty were called out. During the latter part of February disturbances occurred at the Communal elections, and a strong war feeling prevailed, which, however, temporarily subsided upon peaceful assurances being made by Prince Milan to the Austrian representative at Belgrade. During the next month the war party brought heavy pressure upon Prince Milan, and about the same time the capital was illuminated in honor of the battle of Muratovizza in Herzegovina. The Turkish soldiers gathered along the frontier of Servia committed depredations upon the persons and property of the people, and the Servian militia was ordered out against them.

In April the Austrian representative, Prince Wrede, addressed a note to Prince Milan, threatening that Turkish and Austrian troops would occupy Servia in case the latter declared war against Turkey; but the ministers unanimously advised him to give no heed to it. With the renewal of hostilities in the insurgent provinces the war feeling increased, and the public mind became inflamed by reports of the Bulgarian atrocities and the murder of the consuls in Salonica. At last Prince Milan was compelled to yield to the popular clamor, and a new cabinet was formed, decidedly warlike in character, with Ristitch-Gruitch at its head. Important steps were now taken to prepare the country for war. On the 24th of May provision was made for the issue of a loan of twelve million francs, payable within five years. On the 29th the Russian General Tchernayeff was appointed to a command in the Servian army, and troops were soon after dispatched to guard the frontier. Meanwhile negotiations were



WOMAN OF MOSTAR.

entered into with Montenegro, and a treaty offensive and defensive concluded between the two states.

On the 23d of June the Servian troops were placed under arms, and on the 29th a Servian representative at Constantinople delivered a memorandum to the Sublime Porte containing the demands of Servia and Montenegro, which were rejected by the Porte, as had been anticipated. A simultaneous declaration of war by Servia and Montenegro was immediately published, July 2d, followed by their actual invasion of the neighboring Turkish provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Prince Milan's war manifesto described the insupportable position in which Servia had been placed by the outbreak of insurrection in the Herzegovina and Bosnia; and stated that while Servia had taken no steps that could have impeded the work of pacification, Turkey, on the other hand, had surrounded her with a belt of iron.

The Prince of Montenegro, on the same day, replied to the letter addressed to him by the Grand Vizier a week previously, by sending his declaration of war. He said that he could not accept the assurances of the Porte, which had been deceived by mendacious reports from its agents; that a blockade of Montenegro was actually existing, and that the Turkish troops on the Montenegrin frontier had lately been increased. With considerable difficulty the Prince, following the advice tendered by the Powers, had abstained from taking part in the insurrection, and supported the work of pacification. But his people now saw that the Porte was not able to put an end to the struggle; and he himself approved of this opinion, and preferred openly to declare war against Turkey.

On the same day that war was declared, Prince Milan took his departure for the army. The Servian troops retained at Belgrade in the capacity of garrison or reserve were drawn up before the palace. The Prince appeared on horseback, accompanied by his whole staff, fully equipped and of very warlike appearance. The whole population seems to have turned out to witness his passage. The Prince placed himself in the centre of his troops, which formed a square around him, and, drawing his sword, exclaimed, "Soldiers and people of Servia, I leave this capital to join the valiant army awaiting me at the frontier, and which will aid me to fight victoriously the traditional enemy of my country and my religion. People and soldiers of Servia, adieu till after victory!"

The Servian army was divided as follows: 1. The army of the Drina, composed of the first and second bans of the first division, and numerous volunteer corps, principally composed of Bosnians. It numbered about twenty thousand men, infantry and cavalry, and was under the command of General Alimpitch. 2. The army of the Ibar, composed of the first and second bans of the division Western Morava, and volunteers from Southwestern Bosnia, under the Archimandrite Dutchitch; this army also contained about twenty thousand men. 3. The principal army, the army of the South, was placed under the

command of General Tchernayeff. It was composed of the first and second bans of the division Southern Morava, and of the first ban of the divisions Danube and Shumadiya, and had in all about forty-five thousand men. 4. The army of the Timok was under the command of General Lieshanin, and consisted of the first and second bans of the fourth division, and several volunteer bodies, in all about twenty thousand men. This left available the second ban of the fifth and sixth divisions (Danube and Shumadiya) and the entire reserve.

For the better understanding of the movements of these various divisions, we give the following topographical details. In two places the mountains of Turkey and its adjacent provinces are in connection with those of middle Europe. The mountains in Dalmatia, Bosnia, West Servia to the Morava, the Herzegovina, Montenegro, and North Albania (that is, Scutari) are a continuation of the Alps, and run parallel to the Adriatic, or from northwest to southeast. A continuation of the Transylvanian Carpathians stretches, in the form of a horseshoe, from the Servo-Turkish frontier opposite the Austrian town of Orsova, on the Danube, to the Black Sea. The mountains in East Servia, from the frontier river Timok to the Morava, are spurs of the Balkan. On the summit of the Ivanova Livada (Ivan's Meadow), where Servia and the pashaliks of Widdin and Nissa meet, stands a Servian karaula (watch-house), and there the Balkan proper begins. That part of the mountains at the foot of which the river Timok flows, to the valley of the Nissava, was first explored, a few years ago, by the Austrian geographer, Kanitz. It has no collective name among the inhabitants, and was named by him "Sveti Nicola Balkan," as the most important pass there is the "Sveti Nicola Pass," four thousand one hundred and sixty feet above the level of the sea. The word "Balkan" is Turkish, and signifies mountains; there are, therefore, a number of Balkans, named after the neighboring Bulgarian towns, and sometimes also narrow passes.

The two groups of mountains, the Western and the Balkans, are separated by the broad valley of the Morava, which flows into the Danube in two arms at Semendria and Pozarevac (below Belgrade), and is formed by the Servian and Bulgarian Morava uniting at the little Servian town of Stalatz. By following the larger arm—namely, the Bulgarian Morava stream—upwards, we come to a defile, and passing Alexinitza, a Servian frontier town, we reach the plain of Nish, or

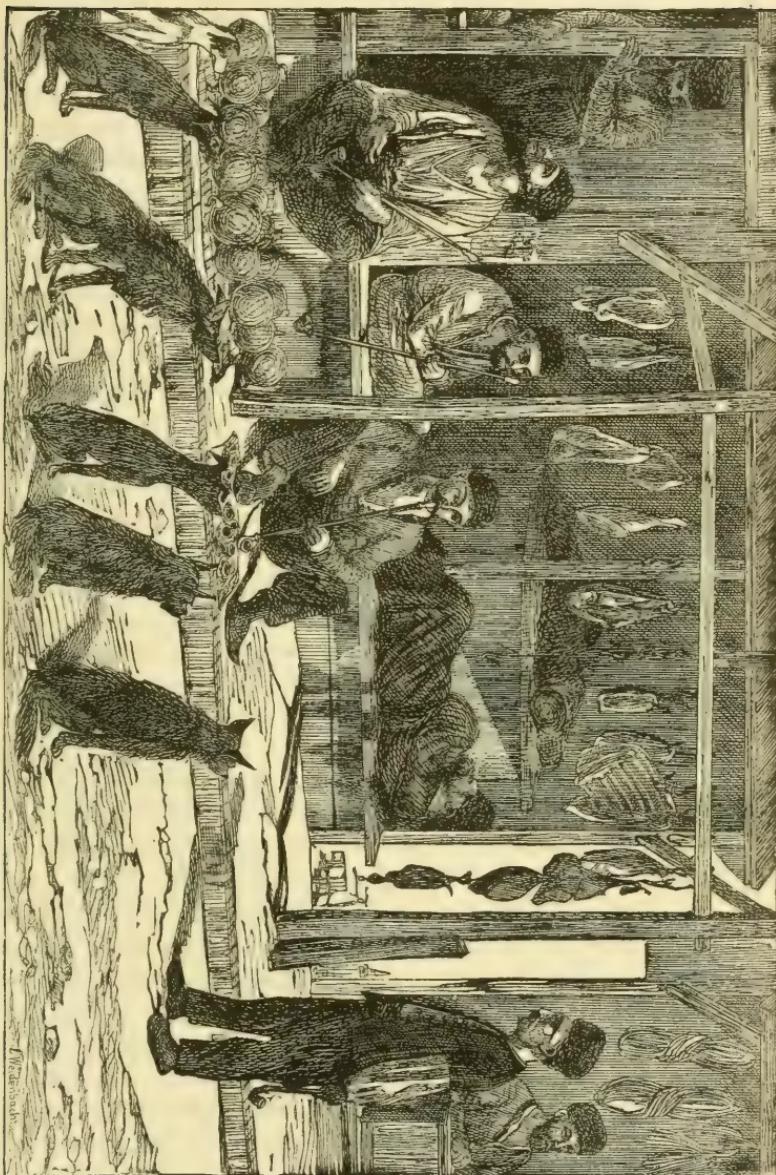
Nissa, evidently the basin of a lake in remote ages. This plain forms a triangle, the point of which lies near the Servian frontier, where the Nissava flows into the Bulgarian Morava. Passing through the valley of the Nissava, which forms the eastern side of the triangle, the beautiful hollow of Sophia, "the picture of Paradise," as a Turkish historian calls it, is reached by the old Roman road from Belgrade to Constantinople, and through the valley of the Bulgarian Morava, we arrive at the Kassovo Polje (Ousel field) and the old road to Thessalonica (Salonica). The valley of the Ibar, which river flows through the pashalik of Novibazar (between Montenegro and Servia) and empties itself into the Servian Morava at Karanovatz, also leads to the Kassovo Polje. In the triangle between the three rivers are three moderately high and not yet fully explored chains of mountains, and by these the rivers are often forced into narrow gorges.

On the south side of the Kassova Polje and the plain of Sophia a bridge, so to speak, between the Bosno-Albanian mountains and the Balkan is formed, first, by the Tchar Dagh mountains running from west to east, then by the Ryl mountain, an immense block, and the Vitos, a pyramid almost seven thousand feet high. Both from Ryl (Turkish Rilo Dagh) and Vitos, chains of mountains extend west, south, and east. The chain in the south forms the connection with the Ichitman Middle mountains, and thereby with the Balkan. The road from Constantinople to Sophia, Nissa, and Belgrade leads through two passes in the Ichitman range. Between Mount Ryl and the Tchar Dagh mountains there is a deep depression, which makes it easy to pass from the valley of the Bulgarian Morava into that of the Vardar, and therefore forms the road from Belgrade to Salonica. The valley of the Nissava, which is the road to Constantinople, and the valley of the Bulgarian Morava, which is the highway to Salonica, are the only roads by which armies could be marched.

The Servian and Montenegrin troops crossed the frontier, a complete agreement respecting the military operations being established between the two Principalities. The Servian army, on Sunday morning, July 2d, crossed near Suppowiza, in the direction of the Morava. The forces under General Milutin Jovanovics occupied Seczenitza and Dadulaicz, and repelled an attack of the Turkish army. General Paul Gorgewicz occupied the heights of Jopolniza. On Monday General Tchernayeff's forces attacked the Turkish camp at Babina-

glava, and, after three hours' fighting, the Turks were forced to retreat, leaving behind them several batteries and a quantity of provisions. Early on Monday morning the Servian troops under Ranko Olimpics crossed the Drina and pushed forward as far as Bellina, where they opened a vigorous cannonade. The fire was kept up until five o'clock, when the Servians proceeded to storm the town. The right wing succeeded in entering the fortifications, and, without making any provisions for holding the captured posts, pursued the retreating Turks into the streets of the city. Here the Servians were received by a well-directed fire from the houses; disorder began in their ranks, and they in turn were driven out. The disorder communicated itself to the centre, and Olimpics was forced to retreat. He succeeded in restoring order, however, and retained a firm footing on the left bank of the Drina. Here he began to fortify himself, and gradually pushed his outposts nearer and nearer to Bellina. He received in his camp large numbers of fugitives from Bosnia, among whom were a great many capable of bearing arms. The Turks at this time abandoned Little Zvornik, which was immediately occupied and fortified by the Servians, thus placing them in complete possession of the right bank of the Drina.

On the Timok, General Lieshanin assumed the offensive on the 2d of July. The first ban of this division, and the "Holy Legion," a volunteer body, were concentrated in and around Saitchar, while the second ban held the entire Timok line. Taking up the line of march for Widdin, he encountered the enemy in the neighborhood of Karaul; and as his troops displayed great difficulty in being managed, they were soon put to rout, and in the evening he returned to Saitchar with considerable loss. On the following morning Osman Pasha crossed into the Servian territory, and immediately began to deploy his troops. The Servian cavalry fought to prevent this, but were forced to retire into Saitchar. Kieshanin, who feared to have his line of retreat cut off, finally ordered the fortifications on the right bank of the Timok to be abandoned. The Servian loss on these two days was said to have been over eighteen hundred men, a great number of whom were killed, while the loss of the Turks is estimated to have been far greater. But although Osman Pasha continued to harass the Servians, even as far south as Belgradshik, he did not intend to, nor could he follow up his victory, for the principal Turkish army was by no means in a condition to sustain him in any forward movement that he might make.



TARTAR MEAT MERCHANTS.

In the south, General Tchernayeff had left the division of South Morava, at Alexinatz and Deligrad under the command of Colonel Milan Ivanovitch, with directions to cross the border on the left bank of the Morava and to threaten the fortress of Nissa. With the greater part of his army Tchernayeff marched to the left, to Bania and Gurgussovatz, and then leaving Nissa on his right, intended to cross the border and march on Ak Palanka and Pirot. Ivanowitch, on July 2d, marched with two brigades, two columns, towards Mramor and into the valley of the Toplitz. Here he had a short engagement with the enemy, and seemed to have been successful in drawing the attention of the garrison of Nissa. Tchernayeff moved the greater part of his army on the road from Gurgussovatz to Ak Palanka, while a small detachment was ordered to advance to the right upon Nissa by way of Granada, to watch it also on the right bank of the Morava, and thus impress the Turks with the idea of an intended siege of this fortress. A detachment on the left of the main army was ordered to march toward Pirot. On July 4th Tchernayeff appeared before Ak Palanka and Pirot, and, after a short engagement before the former city, entered them on the 5th. As, however, he did not receive the aid from the Bulgarians that he had expected, and as the misfortunes of Lieshanin on the Timok had cast a decided gloom over the Servian operations, Prince Milan ordered him to return to Servia; and on July 10th he left Ak Palanka and Pirot, and set out on his march back to Servia.

With this occurrence the offensive movements of the Servians came to an end, and their forces retired into Servia. The Turkish movements did not begin until the last days of the month. During the three weeks that intervened comparative quiet prevailed, but few engagements occurring, and no movements of any account taking place.

In the latter part of July a combined movement of the Turks upon the Timok line began. The troops participating in this action were the corps of Eyub Pasha, from Nissa, reinforced on its right wing by the newly-arrived division of Soleiman Pasha, and the strong division of Osman Pasha from Widdin. The two principal points of the Servians on the Timok line were Gurgussovatz and Saitchar, with their surroundings. Eyub Pasha marched against Gurgussovatz. On his right wing Soleiman Pasha advanced on the line Pirot-Pandiralo, while on the left wing Hafiz Pasha led the advanced guard on the

line Granada-Derwent; this was followed by the reserve under Eyub himself. The entire force of Eyub Pasha at this time was estimated at thirty-three thousand men, of whom, however, at least ten thousand remained in Nissa, while the mobile reserve, to an equal number, was posted along the road from Nissa to Granada; so that, for the attack on Gurgussovatz, only thirteen thousand men were at the disposal of the General, who was afterward but slightly reinforced from the reserve. Osman Pasha commanded the operations against Saitchar, having at his disposal about eighteen thousand troops of the regular army. For the attack on the Timok line the Turks had, at the most, thirty-five thousand men of the regular army, to which were added thousands of Bashi-Bazouks.

On the 28th of July Osman Pasha attacked the advanced post of Lieshanin at Weliki Iswor, forcing it to retreat to Saitchar. Large numbers of the inhabitants of this city now began to leave, and, after a short engagement on August 5th, General Lieshanin ordered the city to be abandoned. The remainder of the inhabitants then left, and in the evening General Lieshanin, with the garrison, retreated toward Paratchin. He did not, however, go as far as the valley of the Morava, but made a halt in the defiles of Bolyevatz and Lukovo. On the 6th the Turks entered Saitchar, and, as there were no inhabitants on whom to practice cruelties, they contented themselves with burning nearly the whole town. While these events were occurring on the lower Timok, Hafiz Pasha, on July 29th, attacked the Servians at Granada. The latter defended themselves bravely here and at Derwent, on July 30th and 31st, but were forced to retire on Gurgussovatz; all the more so since Soleiman Pasha had also entered Servian territory by way of Pandiralo, and could be prevented from marching on by Horvatovitch only with the greatest difficulty. On August 2d Horvatovitch was forced to abandon all his advanced positions on the border, and then assembled his entire forces, about six thousand men, in the position of Tresibaba, south of Gurgussovatz. Hafiz and Soleiman Pasha now united their forces, and Eyub himself came on to assume the chief command of the troops in the attack on Tresibaba. Horvatovitch continued to defend this position on the 3d and 4th, but was forced on the latter day to abandon it to the vastly superior enemy, as well as on the 6th, Gurgussovatz, where he would have been in danger of being completely surrounded in case of longer

delay. He retreated to the defiles of Bania, and left his rear-guard at Tchitluk and Zerovitza and entered into close communication with the camps at Alexinatz against Mramor, and into the Toplitz Valley. At Mramor this division encountered the forces under Ali Sahib and the garrison of Nissa, and was forced by them to retreat. The Turks, however, having gained this advantage on the Timok line did not follow it up, but soon after abandoned their positions again; so that, on August 18th, Horvatovitch again entered Gurgussovatz. They then concentrated all their forces at Nissa, for a combined attack on the positions Alexinatz-Deligrad, on the Southern Morava. These operations were under the chief command of Abdul Kerim Pasha, the Minister of War.

From Nissa he proceeded to march in a northwesterly direction, and on the 19th there was an outpost affair between some of his troops and the advance guards of the Servian garrison of Supovatz. This is a fortified place which, with Knuchovatz, Deligrad, and Alexinatz, forms an irregular triangle, Deligrad being the apex. As a fortified post, however, Supovatz was not very strong. It was an outwork of the Alexinatz position. The Turks, advancing by the left bank of the Morava, marched directly on Supovatz. They were twenty-five thousand strong, and there being only six battalions of Servian troops to resist them, the latter retired on Alexinatz, and Abdul Kerim Pasha occupied Supovatz. Next day, the 20th, he attacked the whole of the Servian line from Alexinatz to Banja, but was so far repelled that he did not succeed in getting beyond Peschitza. The battle was renewed day after day. The struggle was for the Alexinatz position, on which, since the retreat from Saitchar, Tchernayeff had staked everything. If the Turks succeeded in carrying it they would have only one other obstacle to overcome, Deligrad, supposing there to be much of a garrison and a camp in that place. Tchernayeff had under him an army of seventy-nine thousand men; and it is said that, for his attack on the Alexinatz position Abdul Kerim Pasha's forces had been increased to forty thousand men. If he could take Alexinatz and Deligrad he would avoid all the passes, and have open before him a broad high road and the Morava Valley all the way to Belgrade.

On the 26th the Turkish army marched down the left bank of the Morava, driving in the Servian foreposts at Supovatz, and pressing on in full view of the Alexinatz defensive lines. The cannonade was very



THE DOSEH.

[A religious form of bodily suffering observed by the followers of Mohammed, in order to gain favor with God.]

heavy; and its smoke, and that of the villages burnt by the Turks, filled the whole valley with a lurid cloud. The brunt of the Servian defence fell upon the Alexinatz brigade of militia, supported by a reinforcement of artillery and infantry from Deligrad. The fighting

was long and obstinate, for the Turks were in great strength. The battle lasted for hours about the village of Tessica, which was smothered in the smoke of the combat, but the Servian infantry withstood all assaults valiantly, and the artillery displayed remarkable skill and valor. About four o'clock the Turkish retreat commenced, the Servians having assumed the offensive. The Turks were driven back across the frontier with heavy loss.

After the failure of these operations, Abdul Kerim determined to unite his entire army on the left bank, effect a greater extension toward the west, to pass by Alexinatz and Deligrad, and if possible, to descend into the valley of the Morava on the left bank. Eyub Pasha was therefore ordered to cross over to the left bank of the river at Peschitza, while on the right bank there remained but a few bodies of irregular troops. These, in order to cover the crossing of Eyub, attacked Alexinatz on the 28th, and then retired again. On August 30th Abdul Kerim had gathered his main army on the left bank, near Peschitza.

On the morning of September 1st the positions of the Servian lines were pretty nearly as follows: Their extreme right was thrown out a little to the south and west beyond the village of Sitkowatz, and went northward of that village as far as Precilowitz, another village. The Servians also occupied Mersel, close to the road on the left bank of the Morava and Belja, which is on rising ground. On the southwest side of Belja the left of the Servians extended back, in a northeasterly direction, along the Alexinatz position.

In the battle which followed the Servians were defeated, after fighting all day; and the Turks got possession of the whole left bank of the Morava, opposite the town of Alexinatz, and of the road which leads westward to Kruchovatz; but not of the northern road, from Alexinatz to Deligrad, which is the high road to Belgrade through the Morava Valley. For some hours the battle was almost entirely one of artillery, commencing with three batteries which were advanced from Drenovat, and which at first were only encountered by two on the Servian side. The Turks made a creeping advance in a northeasterly direction, the Servian batteries, which were at Belja, and the more northerly Suotna—for there are two villages of that name—offering a very steady resistance by a well-sustained and regular fire. But the Servian infantry, which behaved very ill, failing to support the artillery position, it was turned, about nightfall, by an

advance of the Turkish infantry, enabling the army of Abdul Kerim Pasha to get far on past the town, and threatening to cut off the retreat to Deligrad.

The Servian front was about four miles long on the left bank of the Morava, the force holding it consisting of about twenty-five thousand infantry, and, perhaps, twenty-five batteries of cannon. At the same time, on the right bank and round to the east of Alexinatz, a perfectly distinct battle was proceeding, the whole of the Turkish forces no doubt acting in concert, while the Servians were embarrassed by the wide area of the attacks which threatened Alexinatz. A Turkish force, at daybreak, had a fight with musketry and artillery against a Servian detachment in Katan, on the right bank. Katan was fired and the Servians compelled to evacuate it. Then, to the east, from the direction of St. Stephen and Stanej, the Turks pressed forward on Pracovacz, within an hour of Alexinatz, but the main battle was in the valley and the slopes of the left bank of the Morava; and to this we have chiefly confined our attention. A number of Russian officers were there killed while bravely attempting to keep the Servians up to their work.

After remaining ten days in apparent inaction, without following up their victory of September 1st in the neighborhood of Alexinatz, the Turkish army recommenced its movements against the Servian positions still held between that town and Deligrad. On September 10th the Turks attempted to throw a bridge over the Morava, near Trjnan, but were repulsed by the Servians. They made a second attempt on the 11th, at Bovovichte, when a severely-contested engagement ensued along the whole line between Vonkonja and Nijni Adrovatz. The Turks were again repulsed. The Montenegrins, under Macho Verbitza, particularly distinguished themselves in this affair; Verbitza was slightly wounded. The fighting began again on the 12th on both banks of the Morava, from Trjnan to Bovovichte. The Servians succeeded in throwing a bridge over the river below Katun, perceiving which the Turks made signals with lights in order to warn the bulk of their forces of the Servian movement. The Circassian and other Turkish cavalry charged the Servians, and an engagement ensued along the whole line, the result of which was favorable for the Servians, who succeeded in driving back the Turks to a distance of two or three miles from the left bank of the Morava.

The Montenegrins, at the commencement of hostilities, were divided

into two corps; the one on the southern frontier, opposite the Turkish positions of Medun, Podgoritza, and Scutari, kept itself strictly on the defensive; while the other, on the frontier towards Herzegovina, took the offensive, and marched upon Stolatz in several columns. One column on the right had marched toward Gatchko, taken several works before the city, and tried to surround it. Selim Pasha left the necessary garrison in it, and then marched with two battalions toward Nevesigne, intending to go from there to Mostar, where he was to meet Mukhtar Pasha. On the 11th of July the central column, said to have been led by Prince Nicholas in person, appeared before Stolatz, and, after a short engagement, occupied it as well as the surrounding forts.

On the 16th the Montenegrins attacked Selim Pasha at Nevesigne, and forced him to retire to Blagui, where they defeated him again on the 17th. But now Mukhtar Pasha came up from Mostar with reserves, and on the 19th found before him but four Montenegrin battalions, which he defeated after a brave resistance. After this event the entire Montenegrin forces retreated by way of Nevesigne, Gatchko, and Korito. Mukhtar Pasha, who followed on more westerly courses, intended to get ahead of them and cut off their retreat to Montenegro. At the same time, the Turkish corps of Albania was to attack the southern border. On July 27th Mukhtar Pasha arrived at the convent of Plana, several miles north of Bilsk, and from there intended, on the 28th, to march to the left and attack the Montenegrins in the rear. He therefore ordered the commander of Bilek to take a position to the east of the city and to await further orders, so that he might be able to assist Mukhtar Pasha if necessary. At the same time, the commandant of Trebigne was ordered to send up a train of provisions—which was certainly a difficult order to fulfill, considering that he had very scant provisions himself. On July 28th Mukhtar Pasha began his march from Plana in three columns; but he had hardly set out on his march when, to his astonishment, he was attacked by the Montenegrins. The advanced guard retreated as the Turks began to reply to their fire, and on its retreat was reinforced by other corps on its flanks. The Turks, as usual, were accompanied by Bashi-Bazouks, who, as soon as they saw that there was to be serious fighting, took to flight, in which they also involved some of the other battalions. As soon as the Montenegrins saw this they set out in

pursuit, cutting down with their long knives every one who came in their way. The Turkish regulars were cut down while fighting bravely for their artillery. Among the prisoners taken was Osman Pasha, the commander of one of the three Turkish columns. Mukhtar Pasha retreated to Bilek, and, not finding here the necessary means to restore his army, continued his retreat to Trebigne, where he arrived July 29th.

The allied Montenegrins and Herzegovinians immediately separated into several corps, one of which took up its position before Bilek, while the others blocked up the roads leading from Trebigne. Mukhtar Pasha, from Trebigne, sent repeated messages to Constantinople asking for aid, which in due time was rendered him. On September 2d he set out from Trebigne with twelve thousand men, crossed the frontier on the 3d, at Saslap, and, after a short engagement at Zagona, intrenched himself at Saslap, the Montenegrins taking up their positions opposite to him. Occasional engagements now took place between the different outposts, until on September 16th, complete quiet began to prevail here also.

On the southern border of Montenegro the Fort Medun was the centre of operations. The Montenegrins succeeded in surrounding it, and repulsed several attempts of the Turks to provision it. In the beginning of August the Turks received considerable reinforcements; and on August 15th, Mahmoud Pasha, the Turkish commander, attacked the Montenegrins, but was completely routed, his losses being very great. Mahmoud Pasha was summoned before a court-martial, and was succeeded by Dervish Pasha. On the 6th of September he crossed to the north shore of Moratcha, at Rogatzi, and there attacked the Montenegrins, but was repulsed with great loss. On the 11th he attempted another battle, on the heights of Welie Brodo, northwest of Podgoritza, but was forced to retreat to the latter city.

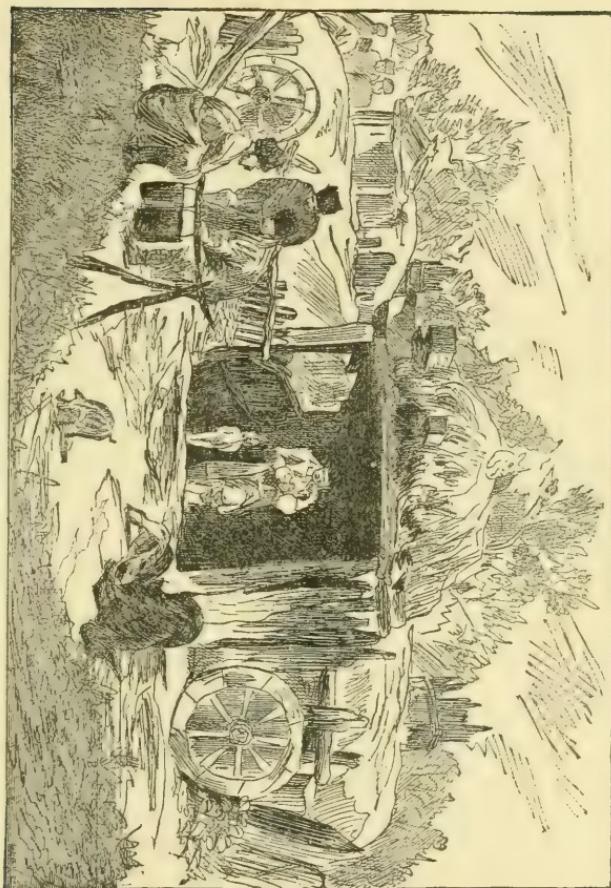
CHAPTER XXV.

EFFORTS FOR PEACE.

WHEN, in July, Servia and Montenegro had declared war against the Porte, the other dependencies of Turkey occupied various attitudes towards her. Herzegovina and Bosnia were in revolt; an insurrection had occurred in Bulgaria, which had been put down with severity. Egypt reluctantly sent the contingent of troops demanded by the Porte. Roumania occupied a neutral attitude, stationing a corps of observation on her frontier and carefully guarding her neutrality. On July 16th the Roumanian government addressed a memorandum to the guaranteeing powers, expressing the desire that the Porte should recognize the historical name of Roumania for the united principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, as the other powers had done. It demanded the recognition of a Roumanian representative as one of the accredited diplomatic body at Constantinople; a definition of boundaries relative to the islands of the Danube which belong partly to Turkey and to Roumania; and, further, it demanded for Roumania the privilege of making trade, postal, telegraphic, and delivery contracts; and finally, a rectification of the boundaries on the lower Danube, so as to assure a free use of the stream to the adjacent Roumanians.

The declaration of war by Servia was followed by a like act on the part of Montenegro. Under these circumstances the European powers were constrained to consider what policy they should adopt in reference to the new questions that were arising. The Turkish government declared its purpose not to recognize Servia and Montenegro as war-making powers; toward Servia, in particular, as being a vassal-state, it would place itself on the ground of formal right. The Porte had signed the Convention of Ghent of 1864, which provided for the immunity of the sanitary organizations of belligerents and for the care of the wounded; but it was announced that Montenegro and Servia not being recognized as belligerents, the stipulations of the treaty would not be regarded as binding with respect to them. The international committee of the Convention of Ghent addressed a memorial

UNDERGROUND HOUSES ON THE BANKS OF THE DANUBE RIVER.



to the powers which had signed the treaty, in which, without discussing the political question set up by Turkey, it suggested that any power as party to the convention was under a double obligation, in case of a civil war, to observe its stipulations toward its own subjects. It did not become necessary for the powers to take action on the subject, for, at the instance of the English government, the Turkish commanders were ordered to observe the principles of the convention, in their dealings with the insurgents.

Sultan Murad V., soon after his accession, revealed his inability to cope with the difficulties of his situation, and his incapacity became

more manifest as those difficulties grew with the louder demands of the powers upon the Porte. He became afflicted with fits of melancholy and stupor. A physician was called in from Vienna, who examined into his case and gave the opinion that he was in an irresponsible condition; his disease could not be pronounced incurable, yet it demanded a complete release from business. Acting upon this advice, the Ministerial Council decided, August 31st, that Murad should be deposed. The Sheikh-ul-Islam was consulted, as he had been in the case of Abdul-Aziz, and, he giving a favorable response, the deposition was effected in a very quiet manner.

Abdul Hamid, who had been named as the new Sultan, went in state to the palace of Top Kapou, where he was received by all the Ministers and high functionaries. After the Fetvah deposing Murad V., on the ground of ill health, had been read, the ceremony of acknowledging and proclaiming the new Sultan, under the title of Abdul Hamid II. took place. His Majesty's accession was enthusiastically received by the troops and the people assembled. The Sultan afterwards repaired to the palace, salutes of artillery being fired during his progress. The ceremony of the Salamluk was performed next day, and the Imperial Hatt proclaiming the new Sultan's accession was read at the Mosque of Eyoub on the 9th of September.

The Imperial decree proclaiming the accession of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. declared that his Majesty ascended the throne in conformity with the prescriptions of Ottoman law. The Grand Vizier, Ministers, and other functionaries, who were confirmed in their posts, were enjoined to assure the liberty of all subjects of the Porte without distinction, to maintain public tranquility, and watch over the proper administration of justice. "The critical condition of the Empire," continues the Imperial decree, "arises from a bad application of the laws. Hence have resulted financial discredit, defective working of the tribunals, and the non-development of trade, manufactures, and agriculture. To remedy these evils a special council will be charged to guarantee the exact execution of existing laws or those measures which may be promulgated. The council will also superintend the Budget. Public functions will be intrusted to capable persons, who will be held responsible, and will no longer be dismissed without cause." The Ministers were requested to take measures for the extension of public education, and to carry out reforms destined to ameliorate

the administrative and financial position of the country. "Herzegovina and Bosnia," said the Sultan's Government, "revolted in consequence of malevolent instigations, and Servia joined this rebellion. The blood that has been shed on both sides is that of children of the same country. The Ministers will take efficacious measures to terminate this question." The Imperial Hatt confirmed all existing treaties with foreign Powers, and stated that the Ministers would carry them out, and would endeavor to strengthen and extend the good relations between Turkey and foreign States. Halif Pedif Pasha was appointed Minister of War in the place of Abdul Kerim Pasha, who took the command of the army, and Savdet Pasha was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the place of the Minister who had been murdered by Hassan.

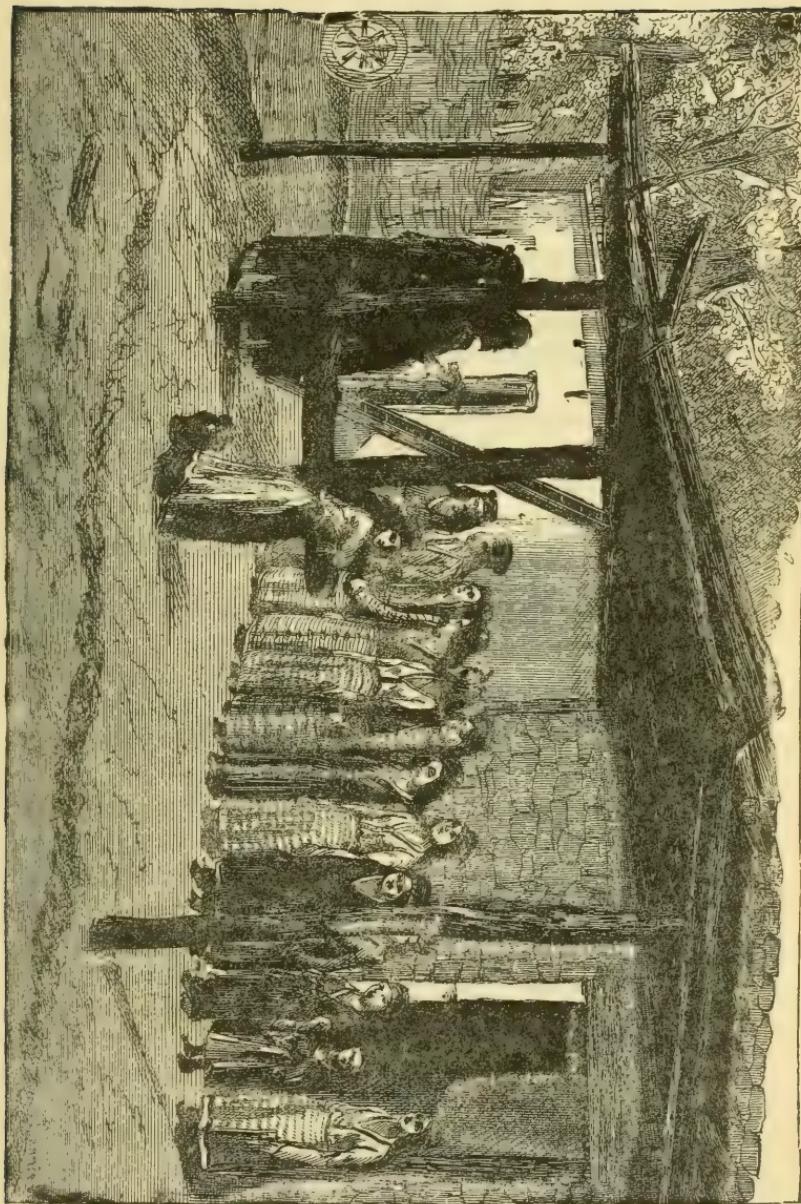
The European powers, especially Austria and England, made efforts both at the Turkish and the Servian capital to secure armistice. The Servians insisted upon the accomplishment of the single purpose with which they had begun hostilities—the freedom of their Slavic brethren—and would listen to no propositions which did not have that end in view. As a condition to an armistice with Servia, the Porte demanded that Servia should ask for it; Turkey had no interest in demanding an armistice, and could only take it into consideration as a preliminary to peace. Sir Henry Elliot, the English representative, requested Savet Pasha to name conditions of peace, which the powers might consider and impose upon Servia if they approved them; but an armistice, he said, was indispensable, to give the powers time to come to an understanding concerning the proposed conditions. Finally, by strenuous exertions, an armistice of seven days, to expire on September 25th, was agreed to between the Turkish and the Servian Governments, by the mediation of the British Government at Constantinople and at Belgrade. It extended, of course, to the hostilities with Montenegro. The Sultan's Government submitted to the Ministers of the six foreign powers—Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Germany, France, and Italy—a statement of the conditions it would ask. These were, the possession by Turkish troops of the four old fortresses in Servia—namely, those of Belgrade, Semendria, Schabatz, and Loshnitz—a which were held by Turkey before 1857; the demolition of all other Servian fortresses; the reduction of the Servian army to ten thousand men; the performance of an act of personal homage to the Sultan by

Prince Milan at Constantinople; the payment of an indemnity or increased tribute to the Sultan; the construction of a railway under Turkish management, to join Belgrade with Nish, Adrianople, and the Turkish capital; and the expulsion of all people who have emigrated from the adjacent Turkish provinces into Servia.

The powers at once pronounced several of these conditions unreasonable. Turkey afterwards consented to waive or to modify two or three of her demands, such as the personal homage, and to accept the surrender of two instead of four Servian fortresses. In the meantime a fresh act of defiance to Turkey was committed in the Servian camp at Deligrad. The troops there, amongst whom there were not less than five thousand Russian volunteers, many Russian officers or non-commissioned officers, on September 16th proclaimed Prince Milan King of Servia. Their officers assembled and came to General Tchernayeff to announce this declaration. The chaplains or regimental priests of the army consecrated it with a solemn religious service. The General formally accepted this important act and communicated it to the officers commanding at Paratjin and elsewhere, besides sending an account of it to Prince Milan, whom he saluted as King. This affair caused disquiet to the powers and the adjacent territories, and threatened to embarrass the negotiations for peace. But the Servian Government, under the direction of Mr. Risticz, was constrained to disavow it, and caused the deputation from the army to be turned back before it had reached Belgrade.

On the 7th of October the representatives of the powers formally proposed to the Porte an armistice of six weeks. On the 12th the Porte, in reply, offered to grant an armistice of six months beginning October, 1876, during which period the Servians would be expected not to molest those places which were then in possession of the Turks; the introduction of ammunition and arms for Montenegro and Servia should not be permitted; and all transactions calculated to arouse discontent in the neighboring provinces were to be avoided. In connection with this proposition, the Turkish government submitted the draft of a new constitution which had been prepared for the whole empire.

General Ignatiev, Russian Ambassador, who had been absent for a considerable time, returned to Constantinople on the 19th. He at once conferred with the representatives of the other powers, and



TARTAR GIRLS AT SCHOOL.

expressly reiterated the demand of Russia for the autonomy of Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, and for the accomplishment of the reforms promised by Turkey, under the direction of a commission of the European powers. The action of the Russian Ambassador was regarded with alarm by the Turks, for they looked upon it as an indication that Russia had determined upon an ultimatum with the alternative of war.

Unfavorable rumors came from Roumania to the effect that Prince Charles had refused to proclaim the accession of Abdul Hamid as Sultan; that he had granted permission to Russia to convey troops through his territory; and that a large gathering of troops had been ordered near Galatz, for the autumnal manœuvres. On the 23d, it was discovered that a plot had been formed among the adherents of the late Sultan for the deposition of Abdul Hamid and the installation of Yusuf Izzedin Effendi, son of Abdul Aziz. At the head of the conspiracy were Meshid-Din Effendi, who had been an aspirant for the office of Sheikh-ul-Islam; Riza Beg, who had been director of the archives; the Circassian, Ramiz Pasha, and several eminent ulemas. The conspiracy, which had many adherents among the fanatical Moslems, was intended to be carried out on November 1st, but was betrayed, the leaders secretly disposed of, and many of their followers banished to the islands of the Archipelago.

The suspension of hostilities was interrupted by several slight conflicts. The Servian army in the Morava Valley, under General Tchernayeff, having refused a prolongation of the armistice, began fighting again, attacking the Turkish positions. A considerable engagement took place September 28th, and was maintained obstinately during twelve hours, but without any decisive result. At six in the morning of that day seventeen Servian batteries opened fire, five of them on the left bank of the Morava, against the Turks. The line of battle extended from Drusevacz by Alexinatz and Deligrad, and on the heights along the eastern bank of the Djuniska mountain stream as far as Veliki Sitjegova. An hour later, the Servian infantry advanced. In front towards the Morava, the attack was directed against the Turkish bridge. But a more vehement attack was made on the Turkish left wing, commanded by Hafiz and Adeh Pashas, in order to cut off the line of retreat of the Turks to Nish. Sixteen Servian battalions crossed the Morava at Drusevacz, on a pontoon bridge

thrown across during the night, and advanced by Tesieza against the Turkish right wing under Fazly Pasha. It was a double flanking movement, which, with the insufficiency of the forces and the badness of the Servian troops, was not justified, and therefore completely failed. At noon the Servians had been driven back on all points, with great loss; and the artillery fire, which had been kept up since the early morning, stopped for a short time. In the afternoon the attacks against the Turkish left flank were renewed, and again in the evening, but were at all times repulsed with great loss. Among the Servian dead were many Russian officers, who could always be seen in the front of the attacking column. Both armies at the close of the engagement still held their former positions. On the 29th of September General Tchernayeff made an unsuccessful assault upon the Turkish left wing. On the 30th the Turks opened an effective artillery fire and established themselves upon the Sudak stream, occupied Gredetin and Peshchanitza, and on the following day the heights on the left bank of the stream. No further actions worthy of notice occurred till the 19th of October. On that day the Turks attacked the Servian intrenchments about Djunis, a few miles west of Alexinatz, on the road to Kruchewatz, by which they threatened to turn the right of the Servian position at Deligrad, and to break through the barrier, closing the Morava Valley against them in their advance towards Belgrade. The troops of the Porte occupied thirteen fortified positions of the Servians, who were totally defeated, and lost a large number of men killed. On the day of the festival of Bairam, in the midst of a storm of rain and wind, the Turks simultaneously attacked Buimir, a position to the south of Alexinatz, on the left bank of the Morava, and the line from Veliki Siljegovacz to Gredetin, held by the troops of Colonel Horvatovitch. The infantry advanced slowly, but almost without interruption. The Servians in their forests defended themselves with the utmost pertinacity. Sometimes the hand-to-hand fighting lasted half an hour at one spot; but the fury of the Turkish soldiers was irresistible; the fortified villages and redoubts were taken by storm, and the Servians were driven into the western mountains. The Servian losses were very great. The battle ended at four o'clock in the afternoon, on account of the darkness. There was also fighting in another direction, on the same day, near the old battle-ground of Saitschar. Here the Servians moved their troops up against the

Turkish positions in front of Saitschar by the Lukovo and the Banja Passes, and, assisted by a large number of Russians, fought with the greatest gallantry; but they encountered a serious resistance at Pianinitza. One brigade, commanded by Colonel Medvedisky, was almost completely annihilated. Another Servian force, operating against Kopit, under the Russian General Nossilovski, was routed with fearful loss, and was beaten back to Lukovo, the Turks, in their pursuit, carrying the important position of Boljevatz. It seems to be admitted that, under their Russian officers (there are now fourteen to every battalion), the Servians fought better than they had fought before. The headquarters of the Servian army, under Tchernayeff, were transferred to Kavnik.

On the 29th of October a severe defeat was inflicted upon the Russo-Servian army of General Tchernayeff. The hill of Djunis, or Trubavena, which commands the valley of the Morava opposite Deligrad, was stormed by the Turkish army divisions of Hafiz Pasha and Soleiman Pasha. The Servian militia, either from cowardice or ill-will towards the Russian officers in command, refused to fight. The brunt of the conflict was borne by a thousand Russian volunteers. These fought with desperate intrepidity, and several hundreds of them were killed. But, as most of the Servian troops fled, the position had to be abandoned, after fighting some hours. The line of General Tchernayeff's intrenched posts and detachments of troops was thereby cut in two, and the Turks got possession of the western road leading to Kruchevatz. General Tchernayeff was then compelled to retire from Deligrad, and to leave the town of Alexinatz to its fate. That town, after a long bombardment, surrendered to the Turks on the 31st. The Servian headquarters was fixed at Razanj for a day or two, but as it seemed now as though no material resistance could be offered to a Turkish march either upon Belgrade or upon Kragejovatz, the chief military arsenal of Servia, Russia interfered with her ultimatum, on the evening of October 31st, demanding the assent of Turkey within forty-eight hours to an armistice of two months, as the alternative of her recalling her ambassador from Constantinople. The armistice was agreed to, the Servians were released from their peril, and orders were sent from Constantinople to the Turkish commanders to cease the military operations in Servia.

On the 2d of November, Lord Loftus, the British Ambassador in



THE MUEZZIN CALLING TO PRAYERS.

Russia, had an interview with the Emperor Alexander, in which "His Majesty pledged his sacred word of honor, in the most earnest and solemn manner, that he had no intention of acquiring Constantinople, and that, if necessity should oblige him to occupy a portion of Bulgaria, it would only be provisionally, and until the peace and the safety of the Christian population were secured."

A few days later (10th November), the Emperor made a speech at Moscow, in which he said, "I have striven, and shall still strive, to obtain a real improvement of the position of the Christians in the East by peaceful means. But, should I see that we cannot obtain such guarantees as are necessary for carrying out what we have a right to demand of the Porte, I am firmly determined to act independently; and I am convinced that in this case, the whole of Russia will respond to my summons, should I consider it necessary, and should the honor of Russia require it."

On the 13th Prince Gortchakoff published a circular declaring that Russia did not desire war, and would do her utmost to prevent it, yet she would not cease her efforts until the humane principles for which she contended were fully established.

Meanwhile, on the 4th of November, the Earl of Derby addressed a circular to the British representatives at foreign courts, suggesting a conference at Constantinople, to be composed of two representatives from each of the great powers, including Turkey.

The Grand Council at Constantinople signified, November 19th, the acceptance by the Porte of the projected conference. On the same day, Gortchakoff formulated another important circular, acquainting the Powers with the details of their demands.

General Ignatief was instructed to submit to the Conference the following programme: 1, General disarmament of Turks and Christians in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria; 2, the election of all officers by the parishes, none but natives being eligible; 3, the formation of a militia and a police, to consist of Christians and Mussulmans, in proportion to the numerical strength of each denomination; 4, the concentration of the Turkish troops in certain towns, to be fixed in advance; 5, the disbanding of the irregular troops and the return of the Circassians to the purely Mussulman provinces; 6, the abolition of the practice of farming out taxes and the replacement of tithes by pecuniary imposts, to be fixed with the concurrence of the rate-payers;

7, the use by the Courts and administrative authorities of the several Slavonic languages spoken in the various provinces; 8, the convening of an Assembly of Notables, to advise the conference upon the administrative reforms to be introduced. (It seems intended that a special assembly is to be convened for each province, and that the Bulgarian Bishop is to preside over the sittings of the Bulgarian Notables;) 9, Christian Governors to be appointed by the Porte, with the consent of the Powers, for the three provinces, to officiate five or six years; 10, the punishment of all persons concerned in the late horrors and the indemnification of the families who have suffered; 11, the institution of Consular Commissions to superintend the carrying out of the above reforms.

The preliminary conference at Constantinople was opened on the 11th of December in the palace of the Russian Embassy, and was participated in by representatives from Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Hungary, Germany, and Italy. The preliminary conference came to an end on December 21st; and General Ingatieff, in informing the Porte of the fact, invited it to send its representative to the definite conference, which was to begin its sessions on December 23d.

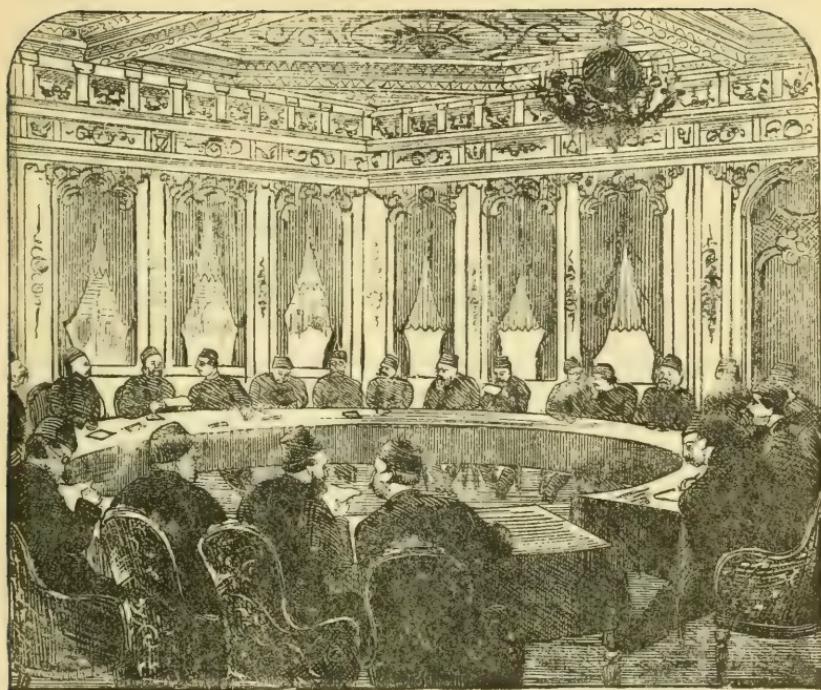
In the middle of December an important change in the Government had taken place. The Grand Vizier Mehemet Rushdi Pasha resigned, and Midhat Pasha succeeded him. This put an end to a long struggle between the two foremost men at the Porte, there having been an irreconcileable difference of opinion between the Grand Vizier and Midhat Pasha with regard to the constitution that had been drawn up under the direction of Midhat.

On the 23d of December the conference assembled under Savfet Pasha's presidency. Savfet Pasha, in opening the proceedings, spoke of the liberal views of the Sublime Porte, which, he said, was ready to grant its subjects all privileges that were not contrary to the dignity and integrity of the Empire. The conference first proceeded to verify the full powers of the Plenipotentiaries. A short time after the opening of the proceedings salvos of artillery were heard, and Savfet Pasha explained that the salutes announced the promulgation of the Constitution, which would effect a complete change in the state of Turkey.

The new Constitution provides for the indivisibility of the Empire in the first place, and in the next place affirms that the Sultan is the

Caliph of Mussulmans and Sovereign of all the Ottomans. Islam is the religion of the state, but the government is not to be a theocracy, and subjects of all religions and races are to have equal rights. There are to be two legislative houses—the Senate, to be nominated by the Sultan; the Chamber of Deputies, to be elected by ballot in the proportion of one member to every one hundred thousand inhabitants. The members of both Houses are to be paid, and there is to be a dissolution every four years. Local government is provided for by a system of municipal councils.

The second session of the conference was held on the 28th, when it was resolved to prolong the armistice to March 1st, after but little opposition from General Ignatieff. During the subsequent sittings the conference was almost brought to a dead-lock by the steadfast refusal of Turkey to assent to the joint resolutions of Great Britain and Russia and the other foreign powers. The Ministers of the Sultan, represented by Savfet Pasha, objected to the appointment of an International Commission for one year, to superintend the execution of the proposed reforms; and they also resisted the employment even of a very small number of foreign troops, either to serve as a nucleus for the creation of a native armed police force, consisting equally of Christian and Mussulman subjects of Turkey, or to serve as a body-guard for the International Commission visiting the different provinces of the Empire. The Grand Council of the Turkish Empire assembled on January 18th, and in consequence of resolutions unanimously taken by them, the Sultan's Government finally refused to consent to the proposals of the foreign powers. So the diplomatic conference was broken up, followed by the departure from Constantinople of all the foreign Ambassadors, as well as the special envoys or Plenipotentiaries of their respective governments. The Grand Council of the Porte was composed of two hundred and forty members, of whom fifty-four were Christians. Among the members present were the Armenian and Roman Catholic Patriarchs and the Great Rabbi. In the course of his speech Midhat Pasha, the Grand Vizier, referred to the threatened departure of the Ambassadors. Those of France and England, he said, had declared that their governments would neither make war upon Turkey nor lend her any assistance. Austria was neutral, but it was to be feared that she would not be able to resist the demands of her Slavonic subjects. Only one dissentient voice, that of the



DISCUSSING THE EASTERN QUESTION AT A MINISTERIAL COUNCIL, CONSTANTINOPLE.

delegate of the Armenian Protestants, was raised, it seems, when the Council passed the resolution rejecting the proposals of the powers. At the close of the proceedings a vote of confidence was passed in the government, and it was authorized to continue the negotiations, if necessary, on the basis of such proposals as were not in conflict with the Constitution.

The final meeting of the conference took place January 20th. On the assembling of the Plenipotentiaries Savfet Pasha read a note based on the decisions of the meeting of the Grand Council on the previous Thursday. In this document no notice was taken about the appointment of provincial governors, while with respect to the International Commission the note proposed to substitute an elective commission, to be presided over by an Ottoman functionary. All the questions relating to Servia and Montenegro were reserved for ulterior decision. Lord Salisbury thereupon declared that the conference must be

considered at an end, the Porte having refused the two guarantees which were demanded of it. General Ignatief spoke to the same effect, and expressed a hope that the Porte would not enter upon further hostilities against Servia and Montenegro, but would cause the position of its Christian subjects to be respected. The Russian Ambassador further remarked that the members of the conference had received petitions from the Christians of Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, and Crete, requesting the conference to occupy itself with improving their condition. It had not been possible to take these petitions into consideration, as the task assigned to the conference was limited in its scope; but his Excellency was anxious to state the fact at the closing sitting of the European Plenipotentiaries.

After the failure of the conference at Constantinople, Prince Gortchakoff issued a circular, in which, after reciting what had occurred, he said, "It is necessary for us to know what the cabinets, with which we have hitherto acted in common, propose to do, with the view of meeting this refusal, and insuring the execution of their wishes."

But, before any response had been made to this request for information, the Russian Government, lest it might be embarrassed if the other powers should not agree, prepared a protocol, which was signed by the representatives of the six great powers at London, on the 31st of March, 1877. It is here subjoined:

"The Powers who have undertaken in common the pacification of the East, and have with that view taken part in the Conference of Constantinople, recognize that the surest means of attaining the object which they have proposed to themselves is, before all, to maintain the agreement so happily established between them, and jointly to affirm afresh the common interest which they take in the improvement of the condition of the Christian populations of Turkey, and in the reforms to be introduced in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, which the Porte has accepted on condition of itself carrying them into execution.

They take cognizance of the conclusion of peace with Servia.

As regards Montenegro, the Powers consider the rectification of the frontiers and the free navigation of the Boïana to be desirable in the interest of a solid and durable arrangement.

The Powers consider the arrangements concluded, or to be concluded, between the Porte and the two principalities as a step accomplished towards the pacification which is the object of their common wishes.

They invite the Porte to consolidate it by replacing its armies on a peace footing, excepting the number of troops indispensable for the maintenance of order, and by putting in hand with the least possible delay the reforms necessary for the tranquility and well-being of the provinces, the condition of which was discussed at the conference. They recognize that the Porte has declared itself ready to realize an important portion of them.

They take cognizance specially of the circular of the Porte of February 13, 1876, and of the declarations made by the Ottoman Government during the conference, and since through its representatives.

In view of these good intentions on the part of the Porte, and of its evident interest to carry them immediately into effect, the Powers believe that they have grounds for hoping that the Porte will profit by the present lull to apply energetically such measures as will cause that effective improvement in the condition of the Christian population which is unanimously called for as indispensable to the tranquility of Europe, and that, having once entered on this path, it will understand that it concerns its honor as well as its interests to persevere in it loyally and efficaciously.

The powers propose to watch carefully, by means of their Representatives at Constantinople and their local agents, the manner in which the promises of the Ottoman Government are carried into effect.

If their hopes should once more be disappointed, and if the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved in a manner to prevent the return of the complications which periodically disturb the peace of the East, they think it right to declare that such a state of affairs would be incompatible with their interests and those of Europe in general. In such case, they reserve to themselves to consider in common as to the means which they may deem best fitted to secure the well-being of the Christian populations, and the interests of the general peace.'

On affixing his signature, the Russian Ambassador filed the following declaration.

" If peace with Montenegro is concluded, and the Porte accepts the advice of Europe, and shows itself ready to replace its forces on a peace-foothing, and seriously to undertake the reforms mentioned in the protocol, let it send to St. Petersburg a special envoy to treat of dis-

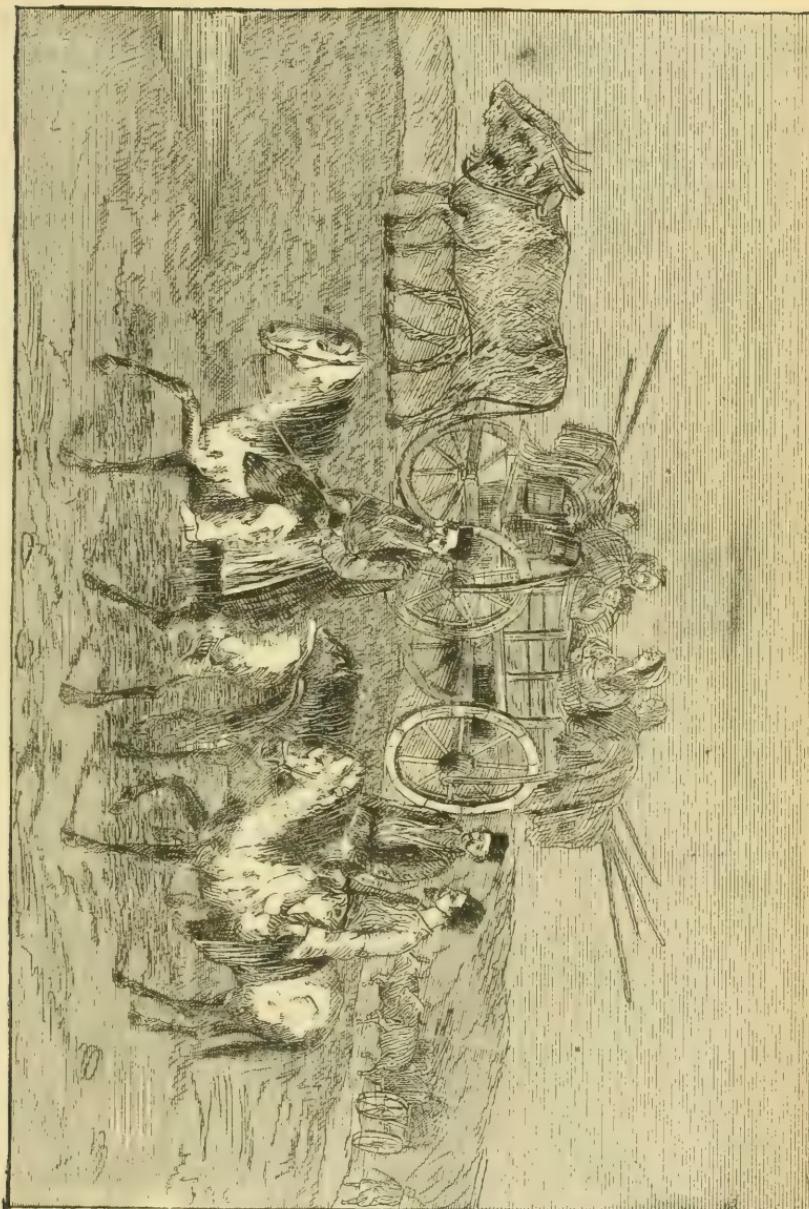
armament, to which his Majesty the Emperor would also, on his part, consent.

If massacres similar to those which have stained Bulgaria with blood take place, this would necessarily put a stop to the measures of demobilization."

The protocol was rejected at Constantinople on the ground that it involved the virtual abdication of sovereignty by Turkey in its European provinces, and a disrespectful outside pressure for reforms which the Porte professed itself willing to inaugurate of its own accord. On the 12th of April, with much other matter of the same sort, professing willingness to reform but demanding to be allowed to do it in its own way, the Porte wrote as follows:

"Turkey cannot allow foreign agents or representatives, charged to protect the interests of their compatriots, to have any mission of official supervision. The Imperial Government, in fact, is not aware how it can have deserved so ill of justice and civilization as to see itself placed in a humiliating position without example in the world. The Treaty of Paris gave an explicit sanction to the principle of non-intervention. This treaty, which binds together the powers who participated in it, as well as Turkey, cannot be abolished by a protocol in which Turkey has had no share; and, if Turkey appeals to the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, it is not that that treaty has created in her favor any rights which she would not possess without it, but rather for the purpose of calling attention to grave reasons, which, in interest of the general peace in Europe, induced the powers twenty years ago to place the recognition of the inviolability of this empire's right to sovereignty under guarantee of collective promise."

In the meantime a ministerial crisis had taken place at Constantinople, by the sudden fall of Midhat Pasha, the Grand Vizier and Prime Minister of the Sultan, who so recently had managed to hold his Government in an attitude of firm opposition to the European Powers, and who had contrived the plausible scheme of constitutional reforms for the Turkish Empire. He was not only dismissed from office, but signally disgraced and sent into exile without an hour's delay. This astonishing transaction was performed by the mere act of Sultan Abdul Hamid personally, as absolute ruler of Turkey. It took place on the 5th of February, when Midhat Pasha was sent for, and the Imperial order banishing this Minister from Turkish territory



A TRAVELLING TSIGANE FAMILY.

was read to him immediately on his arrival at the palace. The Porte sent a despatch to its Ambassadors abroad declaring that Midhat Pasha was exiled because his conduct had been of a nature to shake the confidence reposed in him. It was added, however, that this event would not change the policy of the Government, and that it was the Sultan's desire that the Constitution should be carried out.

After being informed of his dismissal from office, Midhat Pasha was at once sent on board the Imperial yacht Izzedin, which immediately started for the Mediterranean, in order to convey him out of Turkish territory.

As to the cause of Midhat Pasha's sudden downfall, it seems most probable that the Sultan became alarmed on account of two circumstances which appeared to him calculated to endanger his position. First, the indiscretion of several of Midhat Pasha's followers; secondly, the vast changes which the development of the new Constitution involved—curtailing, as they did, his Majesty's power and patronage, and placing official posts in the hands of the reformers, thereby bringing about dismissals in every direction, and the consequent discontent of many Palace favorites, naturally loth to give up their appointments. Quite unused to such demands on the part of a Minister, the Sultan became frightened, and imagined that the whole of these innovations were simply the visible progress of a great plot to deprive him of his authority. Meanwhile Midhat Pasha's enemies misrepresented and exaggerated all he said and did, urging the Sultan to adopt extreme measures immediately, in order to save his throne. In a weak moment his Majesty consented to interfere.

About eleven o'clock on the morning of February 5th the news was spread that Midhat Pasha had been summoned to the presence of the Sultan by a hasty message. The next thing which betokened the astounding change impending in the Government was the sound of trumpets heard from a column of troops crossing the bridge of boats over the Golden Horn to take possession of the streets leading to the Offices of State. This armed body marched into the *enceinte* and proceeded to occupy and line the staircase leading to the apartment of the Grand Vizier. Very shortly an enormous crowd collected upon the spot, made up of Turkish officers, townsmen, European idlers, and others, among whom the rumor was current that a new Vizier had been appointed. The Audience Room, meantime, at the top of the

staircase, was filled with pashas, beys, and effendis, all engaged in animated conversation, discussing the reasons for the extraordinary course which events had taken. Outside, the equally excited crowd was kept in order by the fixed bayonets of the troops. The band stationed in the great square presently struck up the Turkish National Anthem, at the first notes of which the people cheered loudly. The officials inside immediately crowded to the windows, anxious to discover, by his approach, who the new Prime Minister was to be. The emotion at this moment was remarkable. Ulema, generals, diplomats, secretaries, were all mingled with the common crowd, waiting to learn, by eyesight, the unknown personage that was to replace the great Reformer. At this moment, through a passage formed by the military and police, Edhem Pasha made his appearance, thereby announcing himself as Grand Vizier. He was closely followed by the Sheik-ul-Islam, wearing the gold turban of his office, and by the Sultan's Secretary having the ribbon of the Medjidie. Edhem Pasha was in full dress, with gold-braided coat and all his orders and insignia. Directly he had entered the building, the Imperial Hatt confirming his nomination was presented to him, and the Secretary read in a loud voice the terms of the Sultan's decree.

The appointment of Edhem Pasha to be Grand Vizier was followed by further changes in the Turkish Ministry. Kadri Bey was made a Pasha and appointed President of the Council; Djevdet Pasha, who was Minister of Justice, became Minister of the Interior, and his former post was filled by Hassim Pasha, hitherto Governor of Adrianople. Odian Effendi, who had gone to London on a mission concerning the bondholders, was recalled to Constantinople. Sadyk Pasha was recalled from the embassy at Paris to be Governor of the Villayet of the Danube.

Peace negotiations between Servia and Turkey concluded on the 20th of February. At the beginning of the negotiations the attitude of the Porte may be briefly summed up as follows. The Sultan was ready to come to an amicable settlement upon the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*, but demanded the right to send an agent to reside at Belgrade.

The Turkish Government looked upon this proceeding as a mark of consideration rather than distrust, especially as Roumania had lately attempted, unsuccessfully, to obtain a similar privilege with respect to

herself. This, however, the Porte refused on the ground that Prince Charles, being one of Turkey's vassals, he was himself the Ottoman agent for all purposes, and that it would be, therefore, superfluous to appoint a second. As Russia maintained an official at Belgrade, the Sultan was anxious to be equally represented in that city. It was further pointed out by the Porte that, if the object of sending a Turkish representative was merely that he should act as a spy, such a determination could be better carried out by secret agency. A recognized agent might, besides, prove useful in many ways to Servia, and the Sultan's Government expressly declared that such an official would in no way interfere in matters of internal administration. Prince Milan was morally bound to make such a concession in recognition of the readiness of Turkey to forget the past. Touching the question of religious liberty in Servia, the Porte was simply desirous of recording its protest in favor of toleration, but would not insist if its views on the matter met with opposition.

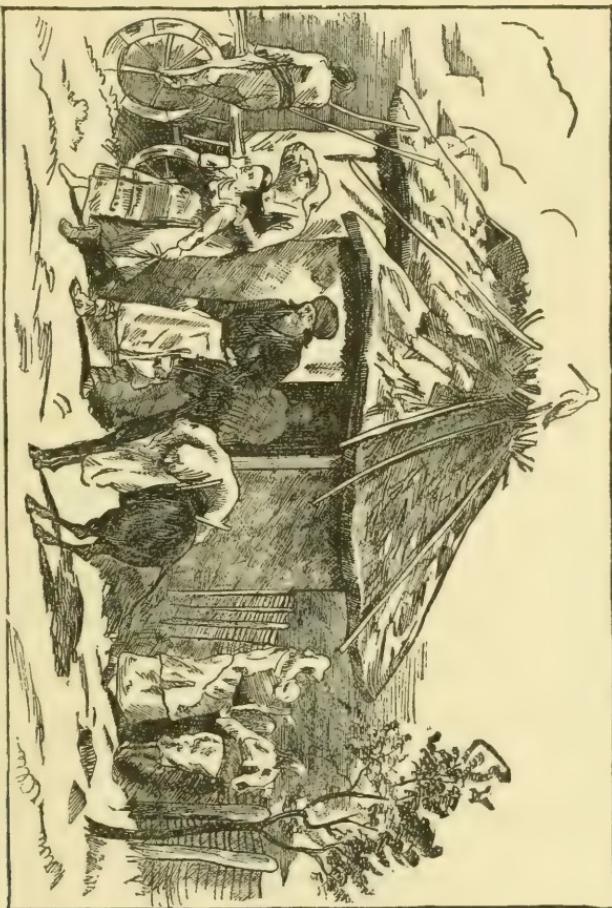
At a subsequent conference, Turkey decided to waive her demand for the maintenance of an agent at Belgrade, but required that the treaty should contain a definition of the *status quo ante bellum*, because she held that the position of Servia before hostilities broke out was simply one of overt insurrection.

The agreement for a treaty of peace was signed on the 28th. It consisted of three points—namely, the maintenance of the *status quo ante bellum*, the granting of an amnesty and the evacuation of Servian territory twelve days after peace was signed.

On the day when the final act, namely, that of signing the protocol, took place, the Servian delegates evinced the greatest pleasure and the liveliest gratitude to the Turks. The scene took place at Savfet Pasha's house; the documents were there when the delegates entered, and after mutual congratulations pens were produced. Savfet Pasha, by right of precedence, first went to the table, and as he did so M. Martics cried out in Servian, "Happiness to your Excellency! Congratulations on the good work you have achieved! May God bless you!" Without a word Savfet Pasha signed, and then, turning to M. Christies and his colleague, the Servian representatives, said, "And I, too, thank you for your work, and felicitate you also." MM. Christies and Martics then appended their signatures to the document, and peace was concluded. Peace—after twenty thousand Servians and

Russians had bit the dust—was thus restored to the valleys and hills of Servia. Never was sword drawn more uselessly or sheathed more readily—a lesson to all who heedlessly or recklessly cause strife and bloodshed.

BULGARIAN VILLAGERS WATCHING THE RUSSIAN APPROACH.



CHAPTER XXVI.

THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

ON Monday, the 19th of March, in the grand audience hall of the prettiest palace in Europe, an event of strange import for future historians came to pass, the first Parliament under the new Constitution of the Turkish Empire having been opened by the Sultan in person. The spectacle was one of much magnificence, nor can we more than very imperfectly indicate, within the compass of a chapter, the many points of notice in this novel and striking scene. Of the Dolma-Baghtché Palace, in which the ceremony was held, a few preliminary words may be said. We have called it the prettiest palace in Europe, not unmindful of the fact that an architectural purist or precisian would account it the most incongruous. It would be difficult, indeed, from mere technical description, for any person of artistic taste to believe that a building so defiant of all the proprieties of art should be so pr  eminently picturesque. This marble eccentricity on the beautiful shore of the Bosphorus is a mixture of Byzantine and classic Greek; but the pure white edifice, and its Corinthian columns, elbowing kiosques, pavilions, minarets, together with other forms of Oriental architecture out of number, give to the outside appearance presented by the Dolma-Baghtché a charming though an odd aspect. The name, being interpreted, signifies Bean Garden.

The place has had already some curious memories, and there were some within who knew all about its history. It was amongst the first of Turkish extravagances—if, indeed, the building of what is really a very pretty, useful, and convenient residence for the monarch can be so termed at all. It is said that most of it was paid for with notes of the very first paper money which the Turkish mint ever issued. “It’s a pretty place,” remarked Abdul Medjid, as he gazed at the work of his hands, and enjoyed a chibouk full of the very choicest tobacco; “a very pretty place. And how much has it cost us?” quoth he, addressing Reshid Pasha, that famous Grand Vizier of those halcyon days. “Only the price of two reams of paper, O Commander of the Faithful,” was the Minister’s reply—at least, so it is said—and

it is easy to imagine how his quiet face must have lighted up with the gentlest of smiles. "Only two reams of paper!"—it was a noble palace to cost so little and to be worth so much. Standing on the very prettiest part of the Bosphorus shore, what sights it had witnessed, what memories belonged to it! Since first it was built, the whole history of the Ottoman Empire has been changed. The Ambassadors who used to assemble in this place at the bidding of the Sultans have gone away; and the Sultans who were wont to give audiences here have been forcibly removed from the throne at yonder end of the hall; one has been gathered to his fathers, and the other is regarded as mad. Now in the same hall the latest Sultan was about to inaugurate an experiment which might prove of lasting benefit to his nation and a continual source of strength to his dynasty, or might some day result in a clean sweep of the entire fabric of State. The nomad race which some six hundred years ago entered Thrace and was routed in the Chersonesus, but which eventually swarmed victoriously across the Hellespont and settled upon the fair lands of the Byzantine Empire, was about to lay aside its character of victor and borrow from the Christian a Constitutional Parliament.

Early in the morning the palace was already full of dignitaries and officials of rank. Pashas in gold lace were wandering about its corridors by the dozen; there were generals enough to have commanded a whole army; aides-de-camp flitted hither and thither, and as for officials from the Porte they were present by the score. The scene was one of which a photograph ought to have been taken every moment. You entered Said Pasha's room, and before you could light your cigarette you were in presence not only of the Minister of Marine and Mahmoud Pasha, the Sultan's brother-in-law, but of the Minister of War and the Grand Vizier himself. Time was when for the Giaour thus to come upon the *alter ego* of the Caliph would have been a most solemn business. History says nothing about what the Vizier of Scanderbeg was wont to do with the Christians, but we fancy it was not always well for the unbeliever to be near him as he rolled his cigarette. Then, if one strolled into the corridors, there were dignitaries on every side: Nedjib Pasha, just arrived from Alexinatz, bronzed and baked in the war with Servia; Abdul Kerim, his chieftain, looking fit and quite ready for another struggle, if need be; Assim Pasha, the quiet, serious Minister of Justice, ablaze with gold



AN EGYPTIAN PASHA ON HIS DIVAN.

lace; and Djerdet Pasha, Secretary of the Interior, running hither and thither, as though being virtual ruler of inland Turkey were a slight burden. There were all whom the Sultan delights to honor in those passages and pathways—pashas, beys, and effendis—rubbing shoulders as they good-humoredly sought to prepare for the spectacle which was to follow. Close by was the great ante-room of the Palace. Through this must all pass who would attend the ceremony. Ulema, some of them bearing the riband of the Medjidie, and all of them wearing the green embroidered cloak of their order, the golden turban, and the fez, passed by frequently. Generals of division were making additions to the assemblage every minute; pashas were congregating around the central fire-place; beys were grouping themselves near the door. There could not have been more activity and excitement had Mohammed himself been coming; more brilliant dresses could not have been worn had the Prophet commanded a State levee.

Inside the hall stand some nine hundred personages, ranged in careful order, almost all brilliant with golden lace and stars of silver or precious stones. They form three sides of a square, their heads are bent as they listen with apparent eagerness to hear what a little gentleman in an embroidered coat is reading from a document which bears a great seal of gold. While they thus attend, at the fourth side of the square, in front of a golden couch or spacious throne, stands a young man, clad very simply in fez and military overcoat, leaning on his sword. As your eyes run arround the room you observe that the costumes are as varied as are the faces; that ancient men, clad in long robes of green and gold, and their heads covered with golden turbans, stand close by others in European costume, wearing only the fez; that in one corner are what must without doubt be members of the Diplomatic Corps; that in front of the pale gentleman, who remains alone, are some three hundred grave and reverend personages, grouped in two sections; and that all around are soldiers, officers of State, and personages of distinction. The audience is composed of the grandees of the Turkish Empire; he who stands in front of the golden couch is the Caliph of all the Ottomans, the two groups of listeners are respectively the newly-created Senate and Corps Législatif of Turkey, and the document which you are hearing is the Imperial speech. A few minutes, and those three hundred gentlemen will constitute the governing power of the Empire, which Mohammed, son of Bajazet, founded.

The Master of the ceremonies proceeded to inform the Sultan that all was ready; and immediately his Imperial Majesty entered the hall, wearing over his military coat the riband of the Osmanlie and Star of the Medjidie, and carrying his State sword. After a general salute, the Sultan handed the Speech to the Grand Vizier, who kissed the paper and transferred it to the Sultan's secretary, Said Pasha. This official then made a profound salute, and amid the deepest silence, read the Speech aloud.

The speech dealt with the historical efforts of Turkey, declared most of her embarrassments, to have been due to intrigues which fomented disturbance in her interior, and attributed the financial difficulties under which she labored to these and to the necessity involved for keeping up large armies. The most important part of the document was that which referred to the condition of Turkey's exchequer, Abdul Aziz's Government being spoken of as a *régime* which did not attach due importance to financial equilibrium; while the conduct of the rulers who had thus failed was further condemned in that, instead of seeking by safeguarding the engagements of the Treasury to meet their requirements, they had arbitrarily reduced the interest of the debts as the best way of escaping from their difficulties. Then the Sultan talked of peace, announced its conclusion with Servia, and expressed hopes of an arrangement with Montenegro; enumerated the laws which he believed necessary for the good of the country; announced the foundation of a school in which administrative duties could be taught; thanked the army for what it had done in days gone by, and referred to the failure of the Conference, adding that Turkey, by "giving proof of moderation and sincerity, had bound together more strongly than ever the ties of sympathy which united her to the great European family." With this quiet announcement the speech closed. Then came salutes, to which the Sultan replied very graciously, bowing to the Assembly, and so departed, his leaving being the signal for a shout on the part of the heralds, followed immediately afterwards by heavy salvoes of artillery upon the Bosphorus. The first Turkish Parliament was opened, and amid many congratulations the Assembly broke up and went away.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HOSTILITIES BEGUN.

ON the 24th of April, 1877, the Emperor of Russia promulgated his declaration of war, as follows:

"Our faithful and beloved subjects know the strong interest which we have constantly felt in the destinies of the oppressed Christian population of Turkey. Our desire to ameliorate and assure their lot has been shared by the whole Russian nation, which now shows itself ready to bear fresh sacrifices to alleviate the position of the Christians in the Balkan peninsula. The blood and the property of our faithful subjects have always been dear to us, and our whole reign attests our constant solicitude to preserve to Russia the benefits of peace. This solicitude never failed to actuate us during the deplorable events which occurred in Herzegovina, Bosnia, and Bulgaria. Our objects before all, was to effect an amelioration in the position of the Christians in the East by means of pacific negotiations, and in concert with the Great European Powers, our allies and friends. For two years we have made incessant efforts to induce the Porte to effect such reforms as would protect the Christians of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria from the arbitrary measures of the local authorities. The accomplishment of these reforms was absolutely stipulated by anterior engagements contracted by the Porte towards the whole of Europe. Our efforts supported by the diplomatic representations made in common by the other Governments have not, however, attained their object. The Porte remained unshaken in its formal refusal of any effective guarantee for the security of its Christian subjects, and rejected the conclusions of the Constantinople Conference. Wishing to essay every possible means of conciliation in order to persuade the Porte, we proposed to the other Cabinets to draw up a special Protocol comprising the most essential conditions of the Constantinople Conference, and to invite the Turkish Government to adhere to this international act, which states the extreme limits of our peaceful demands. But our expectation was not fulfilled. The Porte did not defer to this unanimous wish of Christian Europe, and did not



MEHEMET ALI, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE TURKISH ARMY IN BULGARIA.

adhere to the conclusions of the Protocol. Having exhausted our pacific efforts, we are compelled, by the haughty obstinacy of the Porte, to proceed to more decisive acts. A feeling of equity, and of our own dignity, enjoins it. By her refusal Turkey places us under the necessity of having recourse to arms. Profoundly convinced of the justice of our case, and humbly committing ourselves to the grace and help of the Most High, we make known to our faithful subjects, that the moment foreseen when we pronounced words to which all Russia responded with such complete unanimity, has now arrived. We expressed the intention to act independently when we deem it necessary, and when Russia's honor should demand it. In now invoking the blessing of God upon our valiant armies, we give them the order to cross the Turkish frontier."

Two days later the Sultan issued an address to the Ottoman troops, which may be regarded as his declaration of war, or his reply to that of the Czar. After laying the responsibility for the present unjust and unnecessary war upon the Russian Government, and expressing his humble reliance upon the favor of God, the Sultan's address continues thus:

"Our enemy, having for his objects the annihilation of our national rights, the overthrow of our independence and the ruin of our country, has now made it plain to the world that nothing could ever have satisfied his demands upon us short of the surrender of these. Such is the true reason why, without any moral justification or lawful cause, he has put his forces in motion to attack us. We cherish, however, the firm conviction that He who is the Judge above all judges, and the protector of right and justice, will vouchsafe to our arms victory and salvation." His Imperial Majesty proceeded to declare his proud reliance in the courage of his soldiers and sailors, as well as in their devotion to duty, and concluded by saying, "Let my valiant troops and crews be assured that the heart of their Padishah is with them in all dangers and glories. If need shall arise, he will himself take in hand the holy banner of the Caliphate and the Sultanate, and hasten to place himself in their ranks. He expects of them not less than what he is willing to do in person, being ready to lay down his life in their midst for the maintenance of Ottoman rights, for the honor of the Ottoman name, and for the independence of the common country."

On the same day that war was declared against Turkey, fifty thou-

sand Russians crossed the Russian Rubicon, the Pruth; and the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 was begun. The army was so distributed that it might use all the roads leading from Russian Bessarabia to the main passages of the Pruth, from which alone roads fit for the march of armies lead into the heart of Roumania, and that it might advance directly upon the Danube east of the Pruth, and thence, by the shortest possible route, seize the railway where it runs along the bank of the Danube from near Galatz to Ibraila. Accordingly, before the advance across the frontier, the troops cantoned in the Bessarabian villages were gradually drawn together into three bodies, the right wing being advanced to the frontier nearly opposite Jassy, the centre to the frontier opposite Leowa, and the left to the frontier opposite Bolgrad.

The right wing was stationed in a hilly, broken country, and directly supplied by the railway running through Kischeneff into the interior and to Odessa. The Pruth, at this time of the year a wide, swollen stream, with marshes on the Roumanian bank, alone separated it from Roumania. Skujany, where the extreme right of the Russian army crossed by the bridge that carries the road, is distant about twelve miles from Ungeni, where the railway bridge spans the river. By these two bridges the right wing crossed the frontier and advanced upon Jassay, the old capital of Moldavia, a straggling town of some seventy thousand inhabitants, sending on a detachment at once by rail to the junction at Paschkany.

The centre column of the Russian army crossing the frontier at Beschtamak, on the road leading from the Russian town of Bender, advanced on Leowa, about fifteen miles, and there crossed the Pruth. For, since the treaty of 1857, the Russian frontier has been thrust back from the Pruth, the divergence commencing at a point about thirty miles south of the railway bridge at Ungeni.

The third column, or left wing, crossed the frontier at the point opposite Bolgrad, where the boundary line bends due east, and at other points still more to the eastward. Several roads lead from the frontier to the lower Danube in this part of Roumania, and detachments advanced direct upon Kilia, which is only twenty-five miles from the Russian frontier, on Ismailia, about thirty-five miles, and on Reni about forty miles. From Reni troops were at once despatched to Galatz and to Ibraila, and the railway bridge over the Sereth was seized and defended by artillery.



DEPARTURE OF MIDHAT PASHA FOR BRINDISI, IN EXILE.

The position after the advance, may be thus summed up. The Russian left occupied all the points of passage on the Danube at and below Ibraila, and while it held these and secured the railway between Galatz and Ibraila, the Russian centre and right wheeled round southward, this left wing being as it were their pivot. It was of the utmost strategical importance to Russia to hold securely these passages of the Danube from the Dobrudscha, because any passage of the river by the Turks here would have enabled them to operate upon the flank of the Russian columns descending from Jassay and Leowa; and this fact, added to the necessity of securing the railway, fully accounts for the immediate occupation of the points from Ibraila eastward.

While the Russian forces were successively occupying the Roumanian towns, and preparing to cross the Danube, Hobart Pasha, the Admiral in command of the Turkish fleet, entered the Danube on board a little vessel named the Rethymo, for the purpose of placing ironclads in such a position that they might be of assistance in opposing the passage of the river by the Russians. While his vessel was lying near Rustchuk

the Muscovite forces appeared at Galata and Ibraila, threw up great batteries and armed them with guns, and were engaged in putting down torpedoes to prevent the exit of the English chieftain. There were many reasons to be anxious, for had Hobart Pasha's vessel been an ironclad and well armed it might have been useful, even if left at Silistria; whereas, being only a wooden vessel, armed with one forty-pounder Armstrong gun, his stay in the river would have been almost certain capture. "What will he do?" was the question asked over and over again. Would he run the blockade, or would he simply confess the batteries and the torpedoes to be too much for him, and, quitting his ship, come down to Varna by rail? Those who knew him best declared he would try to escape—ship, men, Pasha, and all. Nor was this view altogether without warrant; for, though the passage was dangerous and the risk great, it was very fair to suppose that a man of Hobart's calibre would make an attempt to be free, and would, if necessary, die in that attempt. How right the supposition was let us tell. The Danube is not a wide, and yet it is not a narrow stream. There are places where one might almost easily escape the shots from a very good piece of artillery fired from the banks; there are other places, again, which to pass where guns are pointed at you is almost certain destruction. Such a place is the ground between Galatz and Braila. Yet against all this was the great fact that the stream was swift, that the speed of the vessel was great, and that, lastly, the boat was commanded by a man who had never been caught in a trap before.

Night approaching, he made everything ready for running into the Black Sea in defiance of all Russian hostile intentions, getting clear fires under the boilers of his craft, in order to avoid smoke from her funnel, and making other arrangements. The Rethymo, be it said, is a very fast boat, capable of steaming at the rate of fifteen knots an hour.

When Hobart Pasha started on his daring exploit, the Danube current was running swiftly, being estimated at fully five knots an hour. Upon nearing Galatz he found that heavily-armed Russian batteries commanded the river, looking capable of sinking anything afloat, besides the torpedoes reported to be hidden beneath the waters.

Immediately it was dark, the word was passed, "Lights out," and the steamer sped rapidly along. The batteries were soon reached, and

the Russian lanterns, the heavy guns, and soldiers in great numbers were clearly visible to those who manned the saucy Rethymo, when suddenly a rocket was sent up from the Roumanian shore to apprise the Muscovite gunners of Hobart Pasha's coming. Other rockets followed in quick succession, then the hoarse word of command was distinctly heard, bugles sounded, and the drums beat merrily, summoning the Russians to their posts.

Hobart Pasha expected every moment to be blown out of the water by the fire of the heavy guns he was treating so cavalierly; but being determined to make efforts in some degree proportionate to the great risk he was facing, he ran his vessel close in shore, not forty metres from the batteries themselves—indeed so near that the Russian gunners were unable to depress their pieces sufficiently to get a good aim. His boat went quickly by at twenty knots an hour, and soon all danger was over.

When satisfied he had nothing to fear from his enemies, Hobart Pasha ordered the crew of the Rethymo to throw one shell into the centre of the Russian camp, an order which was quickly obeyed—the missile bursting in the midst of the Muscovite tents.

Its effects were of course unknown, but it was the first cannon shot fired upon the Danube in the Russo-Turkish war. Hobart Pasha subsequently proceeded to Constantinople, where he received a hearty welcome and enthusiastic congratulations.

On the 3d of May a skirmish took place at Braila. Two Turkish gunboats from Matchin came down opposite the town about eleven. The Russians had as yet no batteries higher up the river than Barbosch, and only two field-guns at the barracks close to the town, which they pulled out, and at first fired blank cartridge to stop the Turks. The gunboats replied in earnest. Then the Russian guns were put on the house of the Russian Vice-Consul in the town, where the Russian flag was flying. One woman was killed and two boys wounded. A Russian shell struck the bridge of one of the gunboats, and at noon they retired up the river. In the afternoon the gunboats returned, and steamed up and down opposite Braila, but without an interchange of fire. About four in the afternoon there was a brisk exchange of rifle fire across the Danube between the Cossacks on the Braila shore and a party of Turks opposite. The apparent aim was to discover the position and strength of the batteries.

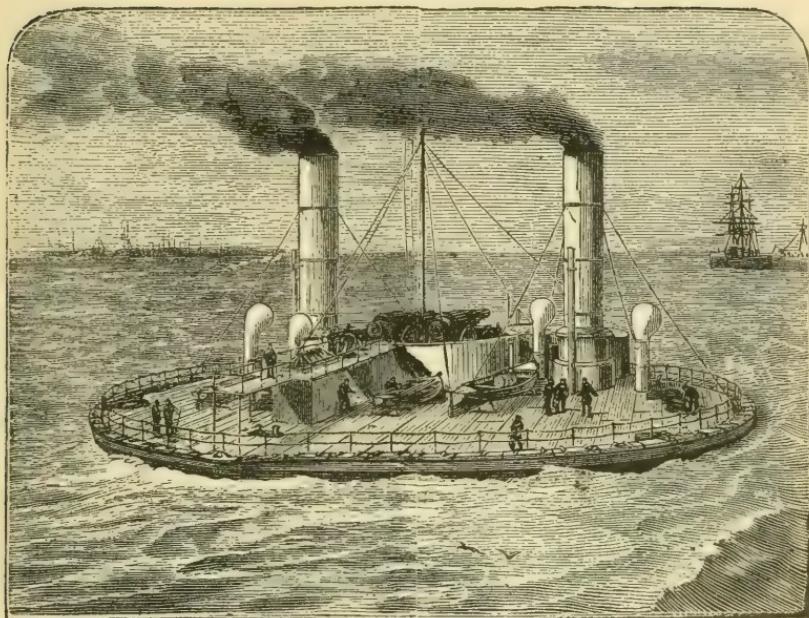
Early on the morning of the 9th the Russian batteries close to Braila opened a heavy fire on a body of Turkish infantry at Getschet, which had harassed them by their fire. Some of the shots took effect at fifteen hundred yards range, killing two Roumanians and one woman who had been working in the fields just below Braila.

Having shelled the Turks out of their position, consisting of field entrenchments with parapet, a Russian infantry detachment crossed at six o'clock in open boats, but met with no resistance. They destroyed the earthworks, burnt the huts and pickets, and returned to Braila without sustaining any loss.

The Russian batteries opposite Getschet, which is situated at the junction of the Old and New Danube beds, had succeeded hitherto in preventing the Turkish monitors from issuing from the Old Danube. As soon as those batteries were complete, the monitors took refuge at Getschet from their fire, and from that point shelled Braila. They made two or three efforts to escape from their shelter into the main stream, but each time they were met by so heavy a concentrated fire that they were obliged to return to their moorings.

The next day a heavy engagement, lasting five hours, took place between a Roumanian battery near Oltenitza, and a Turkish battery placed in position in front of the small Turkish town of Turtukaia, supported by two monitors. Turtukaia was set on fire by shells, and twice displayed the white flag. One monitor was also seriously damaged. In consequence of the conflagration at Turtukaia, the Turks towards evening ceased the cannonade, and during the night withdrew the battery.

On the afternoon following, the Turkish turret-ship, the same whose passage up the stream had recently terrified Galatz, steamed out from Matchin, followed by two gunboats, and at half-past three was stationary under cover of the wooded end of the island, with its three masts visible above the trees. The Russian gunners from the batteries close to Braila, below the Roumanian barracks, opened fire from their light guns, the range being about four kilometres, but without effect. The general officer present gave directions for two eight-inch guns of position, mounted in the battery, to come into action. The first shot had no effect. The second shot, fired at a high elevation with a low charge, dropped on the deck of the turret-ship, and must have crushed down into the powder magazine. Immediately a tremendous flash



THE NEW IRON-CLAD MONITOR NOVGOROD, ON THE DANUBE.

and glare shot up from the interior of the doomed craft, followed by a heavy white smoke which hung like a pall. Through this white cloud there shot up to a great height a spurt of black fragments of all shapes and sizes. When the smoke drifted away all that was visible of the turret-ship was her stern, with the mizzenmast standing, whence still fluttered the Turkish flag. The ship had gone down by the head in shallow water. The fore and main masts were blown out at once. Two Russian steam-launches put off from Braila, boarded the wreck, gained the flag, gathered some of the débris, and picked up two men, the fireman and the engineer, both severely injured. The turret-ship had a crew of two hundred men, under the command of Kezim Bey. Fragments of the wreck were picked up down the stream at Galatz. The Russian enthusiasm in the battery was intense, and the officers embraced each other.

A second Turkish gunboat was destroyed by the Russians on the morning of the 28th, near the mouth of the Matchin Canal. On the night before, a detachment of forty Russian soldiers, commanded by

Lieutenant Dubascheff, accompanied by the commander of the Roumanian flotilla, Major Murgescu, left the northern shore of the Danube in three or four small boats, and proceeded towards the point Petra Fetci, below Matchin and opposite Braila, at which point there was stationed a large Turkish monitor. The night was very dark, and they managed to surround the monitor before being discovered by the Turkish look-outs. When finally observed by the sentries on board they were challenged, and "Who goes there?" rang out on the night air. Major Murgescu replied in Turkish, "Friends." The Turks, evidently not satisfied, commenced firing in the direction of Matchin, not knowing where these boats came from. The shots flew wide of their mark, and did no damage to the daring men in the boats. During the firing several of the Russian soldiers, under the direction of Lieutenant Dubascheff, plunged into the water, swam silently to the hull of the iron-clad vessel, and placed the deadly torpedo in close contact with the bottom of the monitor. After the destructive machine had been securely fastened and the wires of an electric battery accurately adjusted, the men retired to the neighboring shore of the river, and at half-past three in the morning the monitor was blown into the air, with all the officers and crew. The explosion was terrific, and, as nothing is said of the crew being saved, it is supposed that all on board perished with the vessel.

On the morning of Friday, June 22d, the Russians at last began to cross the Danube. Contrary to expectations the great move commenced at Galatz. Everybody supposed that it would be somewhere between Giurgevo and Turna Magurelle. That the Turks were of the same opinion is shown by the fact that they had concentrated nearly their whole army between Rustchuk and Nicopolis, their line diminishing in strength towards Silistria, while the Dobrudscha was almost deprived of troops.

The manner of crossing was equally unexpected and unforeseen both by the Turks and the spectators.

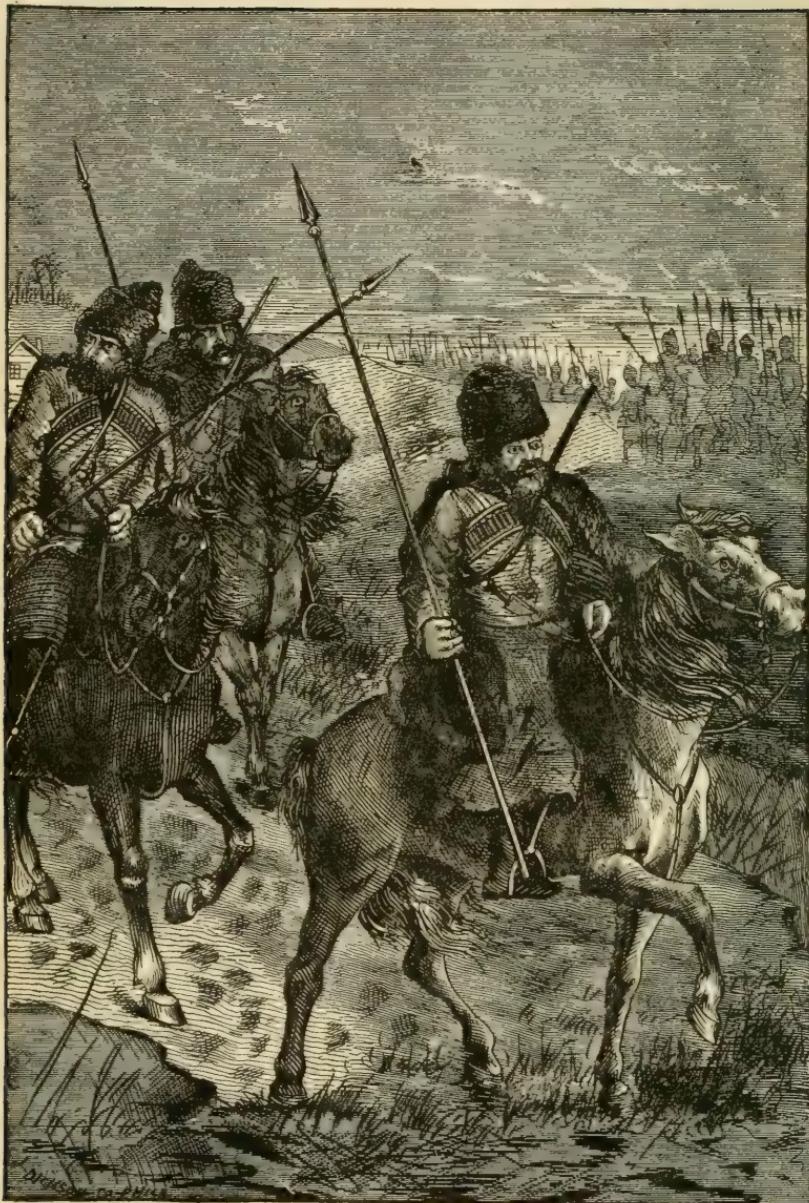
On the north side of the river during four days the Russians were industriously constructing a bridge near Braila, just below the confluence of the old and new channels of the Danube. This work was done within sight of the Turkish forces at Matchin and on the heights beyond; yet the Russians were allowed to construct the bridge in peace and quiet. It was finished on the night of the 21st except a narrow space left open for the passage of boats.

The Danube at the turn of the crossing was still very high. A great part of the valley was under water, which, however, was rapidly subsiding. The bridge was constructed from both sides of the river at once, for the Turks allowed the Russians to cross over and begin the bridge on the Turkish shore at the same time as it was begun on the Roumanian. A great part was constructed on trestles, and it was only in the real channel, where the water was swift and deep, consisting of a space of perhaps a thousand yards wide, that pontoons were used.

The pontoons were floated to their places, anchored to trestle work constructed on both sides at the same time. The trestle work was continued along the old channel towards Matchin on the road to the latter place.

A glance at the map will show two channels of the Danube, running nearly parallel to each other, from Hirsova, where they first separate, to Braila, where they unite, the old channel making a sudden turn to the left just below Matchin, forming a right angle. It is along the north or right bank of this stream that the road runs from Matchin to Braila and along this road, still submerged, the Russians were expected to advance by means of the trestle work. The advance was not made, however, by this bridge, and the first use to which it was put was to delude the Turks, who had been watching its construction.

In addition to the bridge, rafts and boats had been prepared for a passage from Galatz, so as to turn Matchin, and it was by this latter means that the crossing was actually effected. The Turks had prepared an ambush for the Russians near the end of the bridge, which the latter by their change of plan avoided. General Zimmermann, instead of advancing along the inundated road from Braila to Matchin determined to cross from Galatz, and gain possession of the heights above that fortress which command it. The secret of the crossing was well kept, and the operation was conducted with unexampled daring. The men and horses crossed in the flat boats, while the cannon were brought across on the barges. After they had crossed, two detachments carried after them, through the inundated marshes on the river side, a number of boats and rafts. Two thousand five hundred men of the Seventh Regiment of Infantry, with their cannon, crossed during the day, and joined their companions, under the command of Brigadier-General Gukoff. The troops, which had come from Galatz, took their positions on the first breastworks on the chain of mountains separated



THE ADVANCE GUARD—RUSSIAN ARMY.

by a deep valley from the other heights which command Matchin. They established themselves in the villages of Garbina and Vaharei, to the southeast of Galatz. At three o'clock in the morning the first cannon shot was fired on the Turkish batteries. At six o'clock a violent cannonade commenced. The Russians at first advanced slowly but, by-and-by, reinforcements arrived from Reni and Galatz, and an impulse was given to the Russian army. At this time the force consisted of eight thousand men. At nine o'clock the cannonade was still proceeding furiously; by noon the affair was ended.

The Turks seem to have been fully informed of the Russian movements in advance, and they were on the alert and prepared for the attack. They fought with great bravery and resolution. Several of the Russian soldiers were wounded by bayonets, showing that there was close, hot work. It was rendered all the more difficult for the Russians by the fact that the boats only sufficed to transport one thousand eight hundred men at a time, and the swampy nature of the ground on which they were landed, covered as it was with tall reeds growing in the water knee-deep, made it impossible to bring the four pieces of artillery they had brought over into action until they were no longer needed. The Turkish cavalry behaved splendidly, and charged boldly into the Russian infantry sabre in hand.

The Russian attack was made on both sides along the narrow range of hills which extend past Vakareni and Garbina towards Galatz. The Russian loss was between one hundred and fifty and two hundred killed and wounded, of whom three officers were killed and two wounded.

The Turks retreated towards Medidje, on the line of the Kustenje Railway, so that the whole north end of the Dobrudscha was abandoned by them.

On the afternoon of June 25th, the Russian artillery commenced the bombardment of Nicopolis, and the Turkish batteries flanking the fortress on either side, and covering the mouth of the Aluta river. It must be understood that Turna Maguerelle is directly opposite Nicopolis, and stands somewhat from the main stream of the Danube at a distance of about two kilometres, the intervening space being occupied by the inundation. This inundation was parted off from the Danube by a spit of land on which stand the buildings of the harbor.

The Russians had about thirty heavy guns employed in the bom-

bardment, which were in position both to the right and left of Turna Maguerelle. The range across the inundation of the river was about six kilometres. They had besides several batteries, long twelve-pounders, which were used without being posted in the emplacements, and used occasionally the field artillery of the Thirty-first Division, which was holding Turna Maguerelle.

The bombardment cannot be called crushing. In all hitherto the Russians fired about five hundred shells. They avoided the town of Nicopolis and concentrated their fire on the Turkish batteries. These replied, but not with vigor. Now one battery fired a few shots, now another, and the Turks shifted their guns from one battery to another, and fired a few rounds from each, to convey the impression that their armament was larger than it really was.

A second crossing of the Danube was effected on the morning of June 27th, at Simnitzia. This place is almost opposite the long straggling Turkish town of Sistova, but above it, and in the hollows of a precipice overhanging the Danube. Below Sistova for a distance of two miles the Turkish bank is steep, in places quite precipitous, with here and there little hollows, and above the river side are steep wooded slopes covered with gardens and vineyards, leading to the bare ridge forming the sky-line. Two miles below Sistova is a narrow, marked depression in the Turkish bank, leading up from a little cove formed by the affluents of a small stream above, and to the right of this cove was a small camp of Turkish soldiers, fixed there doubtless in consciousness of the weakness of the point, and above the camp on the sky-line was a battery of heavy guns. Between the cove and Sistova several cannon were disposed under cover of the trees, and immediately on the proper right of the town was a small open earthwork armed with a few field guns. Sistova is an open town. Probably in and about it there was not more than a brigade of Turkish troops; but then it is not distant more than a long day's march from either Rustchuk or Nicopolis. So much for the Turkish side.

About Simnitzia the Roumanian bank is high; but between it and the Danube proper, which flows close to the Turkish bank, was a broad tract partly of green meadow, partly of sand, partly of tenacious mud, the whole just emerging from inundation. This flat is cut off from Simnitzia by a narrow arm of the Danube, so that it is really an island. A raised road and bridge leading from the town across the



ABDUL KERIM PASHA, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE TURKISH ARMY.

flats to the landing-place on the Danube had been wrecked by the floods. It was necessary, therefore, for the Russians to gain access to the flats by a short pontoon bridge. These flats were still in many places under water, scored by intersecting streams, and studded with impracticable swamps, so that the road through them was difficult and tortuous. They are quite bare, except that at the lower end, exactly opposite the cove on the Turkish side of which we have spoken, there is a wood of willows and alders of considerable extent, and capable of

affording a good deal of cover. The Danube all along the Sistova position is about twelve hundred paces wide, and flows very rapidly. There is a low island opposite Sistova, but it has no interest in the present narrative. The ground on the Roumanian side shows a sloping face to the higher Turkish bank, so that it is impossible to bring troops into Simnitzia unobserved. Hence probably the Turkish state of preparation, such as it was.

The attempt was, as far as possible, to be of the nature of a surprise, and it was necessary therefore to postpone the dispositions till after nightfall. The Division Dragimiroff had the post of honor, and was expected to make a footing on the Turkish side by early morning. The Division Mirsky in support was to make a night march from Lissa, and be in position at Simnitzia at 7 A.M., to follow its sister division across in the event of the latter's success. In the event of failure it was to take up the fighting and force a passage at all sacrifices; for the Archduke Nicholas had announced that he would take no denial. The river had to be crossed at Simnitzia cost what it might. Other divisions stood within call if need were. The waters might be reddened, but they must be crossed.

With the darkness General Dragimiroff began his dispositions. The first work was to plant in made emplacements a row of field-guns all along the edge of the flats to sweep with fire the opposite banks. This was while his infantry was being marched over the flats down into the cover of the willow wood. The darkness and the obstructions were both so great that all was not ready till the first glimmer of gray dawn. There was no bridge, but a number of river boats, capable of holding from fifteen to forty men each. These were dragged on carriages through the mud, and launched in the darkness from under the spreading boughs of the willow trees. The troops embarked, and pushed across as the craft arrived. Dragimiroff stood on the slimy margin to bid his gallant fellows God speed. He would fain have shown the way, for although a scientific soldier, it was his duty to remain till later. The grateful task devolved on Major-General Yolchine, whose brigade consisted of the regiments of Valinsk and Minsk, the Fifty-third and Fifty-fourth of the line. The boats put off singly, rowing across for the little cove, and later the little steam-tug was brought into requisition.

For once the Turks had not spent the night watches in heavy sleep.

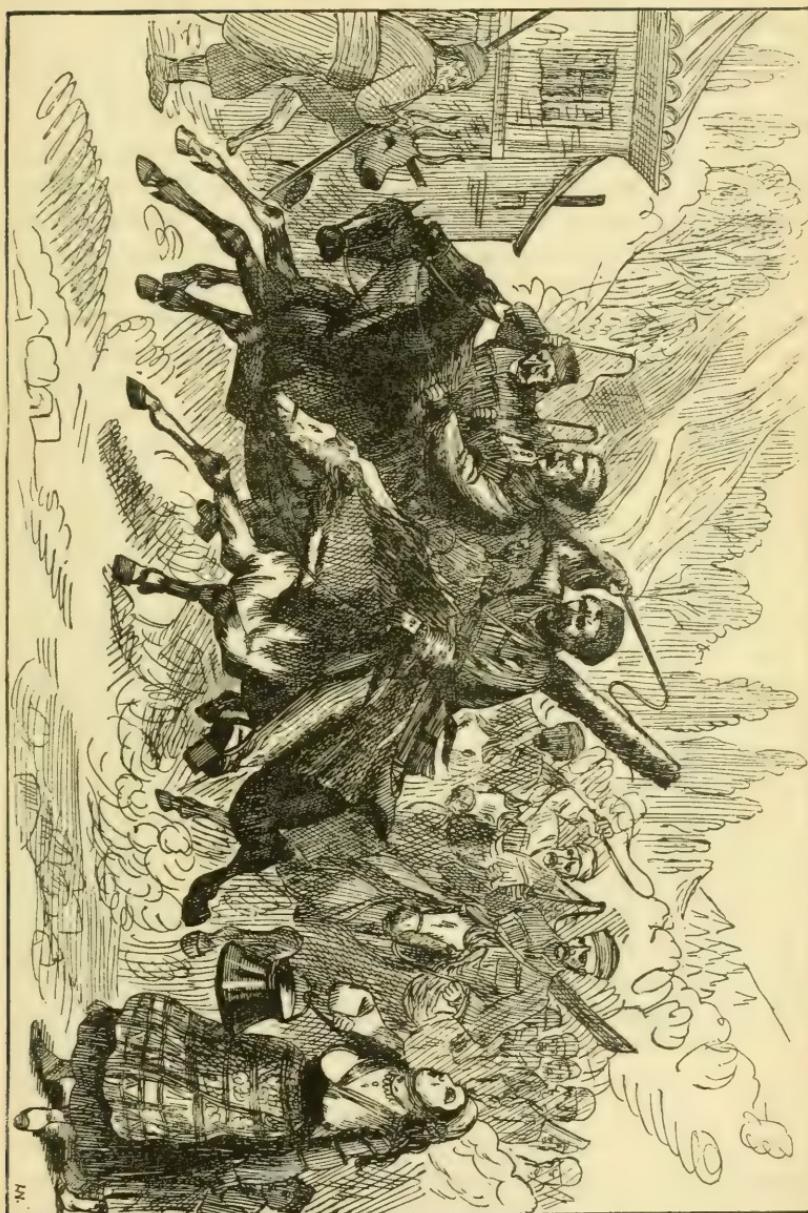
Their few cannon at once opened fire on the boats, on the hidden masses among the willows, and on the columns marching across the flat. Nor was this all. From the slopes above the cove there came at the boats a smart infantry fire. The Turkish riflemen were holding the landing-place. Yolchine had not gained experience and credit in Caucasian warfare for nothing. His boat was leading. The Turkish riflemen were in position about fifty yards from the shore. He landed his handful, and bade them lie down in the mud. One or two were down previously with Turkish bullets. He opened a skirmishing fire to cover the landing boats that followed. One by one these landed their freights, who followed the example of the first boat-load.

At length enough had accumulated. Young Skobeloff was there, a host in himself. Yolchine bade his men fix bayonets, stand up, and follow their officers. There was a rush and a cheer that rang louder in the gray dawn than the Turkish volley that answered it. That volley was not fired in vain, but the Turks did not wait for cold steel. Yolchine's skirmishers followed them doggedly some distance up the slope, but for the time could not press on far from the base. Busily yet slowly the craft moved to and fro from shore to shore. The Russian guns had at once opened when the Turkish fire showed that there was no surprise, but however heavy a fire may be, it will not all at once crush another fire. The Turkish shells kept falling in the water, whistling through the willows, and bursting among the columns on the flat. One shell from a mountain gun fell into a boat containing two guns, their gunners, and the commandant of the battery. The boat was swamped at once and all on board perished. This was the only serious casualty, but numerous Russian soldiers were falling on both sides of the river. Nevertheless the work went steadily on, and soon after seven the whole brigade of Yolchine had reached the other side, a Russian battery was there, and Dragimiroff himself had crossed.

Cast your eye down there to your left front athwart the flats, and note the masses of troops waiting there or marching on towards the cover of the willows. See the long row of guns in action there by the water's edge, covered by the battalions of infantry, in this case a mischievous conventionality, owing to the exposure, for the Turkish cannon will not just yet be wholly silenced. Note how deftly the Russian shells pitch into that earthwork on the verge of Sistova. But the gallant gunners stubbornly fight their guns under the rain of fire

and when one gun is quiet another gives tongue. And what a mark! Half an army corps out there on the flat, with no speck of cover save that patch of willows down there. Hark to the crackle of musketry fire on the wooded slopes rising out from the cove! No wonder Yolchine's skirmishers are moving, for that Turkish battery on the sky-line is dropping shells with fell swiftness among the willow trees. Sistova seems stark empty. It might be a city of the dead. But the Turkish gunners cling to their posts and their guns with wonderful staunchness amid clouds of dust thrown up by the shells which burst around them. Nor are the single pieces among the trees wholly quiet. Shells are dropping among the troops on the flat, and the ambulance men are hurrying about with brancards, or plodding towards the military surgery, with heavy blood-sodden burdens. You may watch the shells drop into the water, staring its surface as they fall, as if it had been glass. What a wonder that one and all should miss those clumsy, heavy-laden craft which stud the water so thickly! A shell in one of these boats would produce fearful results among the closely-packed freight. Not less fell havoc would it work among these soldiers further on, massed there under the shelter of the clay-bank.

Prince Mirski has received his reports and final instructions. He gives word to his division to move down on to the flats, to be in readiness to cross. Previously, their march finished, they had been resting on the grassy uplands behind Simnitzia. Presently the cry is raised that a Turkish monitor is coming down the Danube. Sure enough, near the head of the island is visible what seems to be a large vessel with two funnels moving slowly down the stream. Now the ferry-boats may look out. Now is the opportunity for some dashing torpedo practice. But the Russian officers evince no alarm—rather, indeed, satisfaction. The fact is, that seeming monitor is really two large lighters lashed together, which the Russians are drifting down to assist in transporting the troops. No person is visible on board, yet some one must be steering, and the course held is a bold one. Slowly the lighters forge ahead past the very mouths of the Turkish cannon in the Sistova Battery, and are barely noticed by a couple of shells. They bring to at the Roumanian shore higher up than the crossing-place, and wait there for their freight. Prince Mirski takes his stand at the pontoon bridge to watch his division file past, and greet the regiment as they pass him. But in front of the Ninth



ON THE DANUBE—A FLIGHT FROM NICOPOLIS.

Division comes a regiment of the brigade of riflemen formed specially for this war, and attached to the army corps. This brigade is armed with Berdan rifles, and comprises the finest marksmen of the whole army. Prince Mirski's division is made up of four historic regiments which suffered most heavily in Sebastopol during the great siege. They are the regiments of Yeletik, of Sefsk, of Orloff, and of Brianski, the Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth, and Thirty-sixth, of the Russian line. Very gallantly they march down the steep slope and across the bridge on to the swampy flats. Soon there greets them the scarcely enlivening spectacle, the Surgery of the Second Line where the more serious cases were being dealt with before forwarding them to the house hospitals in Simnitzia. About twenty shattered creatures are lying there on blood-stained stretchers waiting their turn at the hands of the doctors. More than one requires no further treatment than to be consigned to a soldier's grave.

On the slopes above the cove where the landing had been made a hotly-contested battle raged. The Turks had rallied and concentrated on the upper slopes in front of their battery on the sky-line, and, gathering heart had come down on the pickets of the brigade Yotchine, whose line had perhaps been scarcely sufficiently fed by reinforcements, as they landed at first. The Turks had made some headway and probably encouraged themselves with the hope of driving their northern foe into the Danube; but only for a moment, men fell fast in Yolchine's skirmishing line. It pressed on upwards irresistibly. The Turks fell back in trickling little streams, and the battery ceased to fire, and no doubt was removed for fear of capture. For soon after noon the Russian infantry had crowned the heights and settled themselves there, looking down into the interior of Bulgaria, with the Danube conquered in their rear. The Turkish infantry detachment tried to work around and down upon Sistova, but was thwarted by an intercepting skirmishing force, which got into position of *à cheval* of the road from Sistova, and thus cut off the Turkish guns, which had been in the earthwork near the town.

And what of the Turkish monitor? She had been hemmed in by a cordon of torpedoes within the side channel to the south of the island of East Vardim. Although she was puffing and blowing furiously in her circumscribed area, a Russian battery moving down the river bank on the Roumanian side shelled her into a melancholy victim of

the acknowledged supremacy of the newest war machine. So the resistance terminated, and what followed is mere routine work. Iron pontoons began casually to make their appearance both from up stream and down stream, and accumulated about the crossing-place, being used for the time as ferry-boats.

The crossing was effected with marvelous skill and finesse. Until the last moment no hint was given. The foreign *attachés* were all abroad. The Emperor and suite were ostentatiously at Turna Maguerelle, and yet further to promote the delusion, the Nicopolis position was assiduously bombarded the day before. The successful efforts, probably one of the greatest operations of modern warfare, cost only a thousand men killed and wounded.

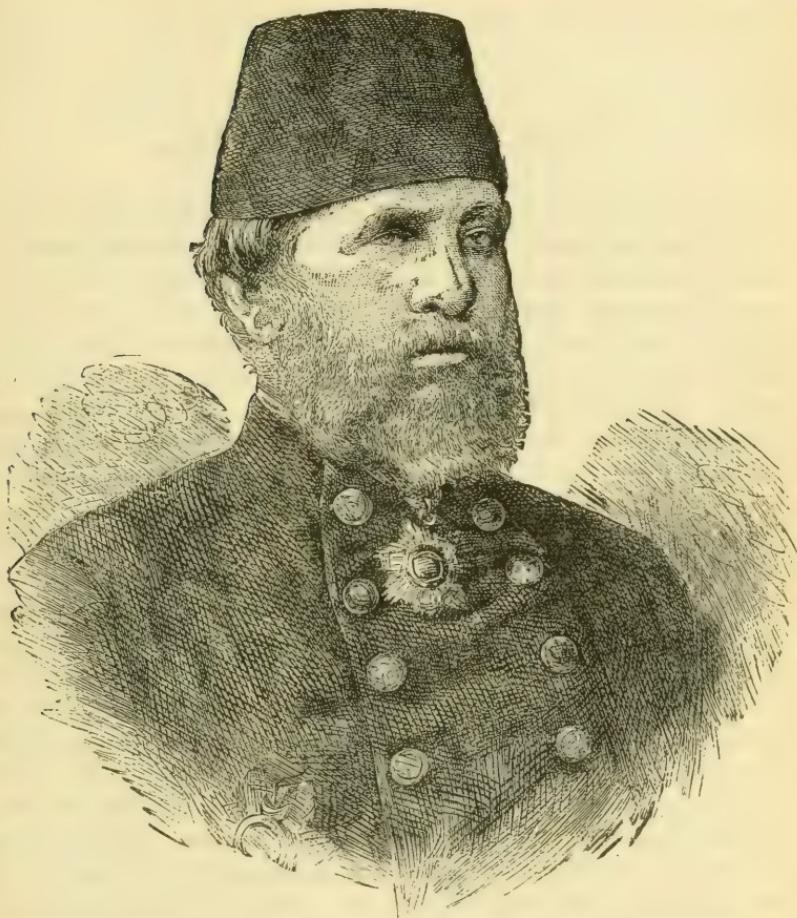


A RUSSIAN BATTERY COMMANDING THE DANUBE.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE CAMPAIGN IN ASIA.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the crossing of the Pruth by the Russians in Europe, the army of the Caucasus crossed the Asiatic frontier of Turkey in three columns. The main force, coming from Alexandropol, marched upon Kars; the Rion detachment marched upon Batoum; and the Erivan detachment upon Bayazid. The Alexandropol corps, under the command of Adjutant-General Loris Melikoff, entered Turkish territory in two columns, and, taking the Turkish outposts prisoners, on the same day reached Molla Musa and Bash Shuragel. On April 27th the greater part of the corps crossed the River Kars Tchai, and passed the night at Kuruk Dara, Hadshi Vali, and Subotau. On the 29th the corps reached Zaim and Angi Keff, despatching twenty-seven squadrons and sotnias, with sixteen guns, to cut off the communication between Kars and Erzeroum. This cavalry, under the command of Major-General Tchavwchvadse, in their successful reconnoitring on the 28th, 29th, and 30th, destroyed the telegraph between Kars and Erzeroum, and pursued a Turkish detachment of eight battalions marching from Kars to Erzeroum, and commanded by Mukhtar Pasha himself. To support the cavalry General Loris Melikoff ordered twelve battalions of grenadiers, without knapsacks, accompanied by forty guns and five sotnias, to turn the flank of the Turks at Kars, and proceed rapidly to Visinkeff. At the same time eight Turkish battalions sallied forth from Kars, and, with some artillery, took up a position under cover of the fortress guns. The artillery which accompanied the Russian cavalry, opening fire, dismounted a Turkish cannon. After this engagement, General Loris Melikoff, leaving the cavalry at Visinkeff, and with his remaining forces, returned on May 1st to his former camp at Zaim. The population everywhere showed the most friendly disposition towards the Russian troops. There was no resistance or opposition whatever. On the contrary, Russian rule was everywhere accepted as a benefit. On April 24th a recently levied squadron of Karapapachs, with their colors, begged permission to enter the Russian service. All the



HOBART PASHA, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE TURKISH NAVY.

irregular cavalry of the district either joined the Russian forces or dispersed.

The troops of the Rion detachment, under the command of Lieutenant-General Oklobjio, marched upon Batoum in two columns. The left-hand column, under the command of Major-General Denibekoff, made for Muchastir, while the other, under General Scheremtieff, proceeded along the Atchmarum road. On April 25th the left-hand column, after a serious engagement, took the camp of

Muchastir, and on the 26th fortified this strong position. The other column marched the Atchwaum road, and likewise had an engagement with the Turks. The Russian loss on the 25th amounted to thirty wounded, among them Lieutenant-Colonel Muscheloff, the commander of the sixth battery of the Forty-first Artillery Brigade.

The troops of the Erivan detachment, under the command of General Tergukassoff, on the morning of April 30 reached Bayazid and occupied the town and citadel. The Turkish garrison, one thousand seven hundred strong, hastily withdrew to the Allah Dagh hills when the Russian troops approached the place.

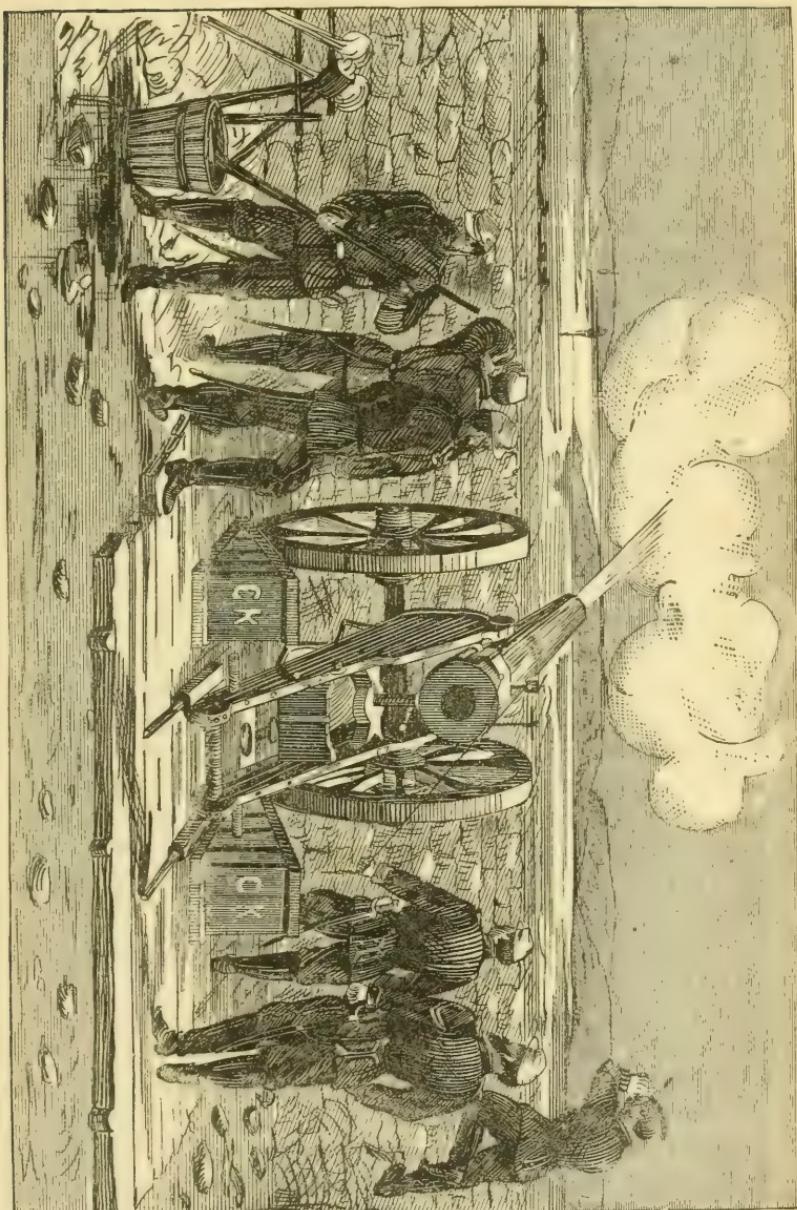
The military operations connected with the Russian advance will be better understood by the following account of the Asiatic theatre of war, in connection with the map contained in this volume. The great barrier of the Caucasus, which naturally divides Europe from Asia, has for many years ceased to form the frontier of Russia, and the mountain chain itself, with some hundreds of miles of its southern slopes, is now in Russian hands. Georgia and part of Armenia have come beneath the sovereignty of the Czar, and are pierced with roads available for military operations. The conquest of these provinces was no light task; but that dogged obstinacy with which Russia carries on her unchanging policy of annexation has triumphed over all obstacles, and, little by little, Russia has extended her territory southwards towards the Mediterranean. The great barrier of the Caucasus once overstepped, natural frontiers have ceased to exist, and the further progress of Russian conquest is but a question of time. All the Caspian Sea except its southern shore is now in Russia's hands. Her flotilla there is steadily increasing; naval stations are being constructed; a little further development of railways and the Caspian will become a Russian lake, for Persia is already, like a ripe plum, ready to drop into the mouth of the Czar. The Trans-Caucasian provinces of Russia can be approached in three different directions: by the seaports in the Black Sea, the chief of which are Sukhum-Kali and Poti; by the seaport of Baku, on the shore of the Caspian; and by that one road which alone crosses the mountains of the Caucasus. This road traverses the Kasbek Pass, and throughout the whole of the winter months is impassable from deep snow. The seat of government is at Tiflis, a town of about one hundred thousand inhabitants, mostly Georgians and Armenians, where are the arsenal and chief military

stores of the province. Tiflis is not fortified. It lies immediately south of the Kasbek Pass, by which it can be approached from the railway station of Vladikavkas, by a road of about one hundred and forty miles in length, crossing over the mountains at a height of eight thousand feet above the sea. This road is known as the Georgian military road, and is always kept in good order, being repaired as soon as the winters' snows have cleared off. From it a railway runs to Rostov and Taganrog, in the Sea of Azov. From Tiflis to the seaport of Poti, a distance of nearly two hundred miles, there runs a single line of railway, and beside it a road, which has fallen somewhat out of repair since the railway was built, crossing numerous streams. Poti is a very inferior port. There is a bar at the mouth of the river Rion, and ships have to lie in the open roadstead, and their cargoes must be unloaded into barges for discharge. A belt of swampy forest runs inland for some distance, and the place is the haunt of fever and ague. It is said that no European has passed a night there and been spared by the fever. About sixty or seventy miles north of Poti is the seaport of Sukhum-Kali, where there is a better anchorage, though entirely unsheltered from the south wind. It is a more healthy situation than Poti, and would probably long ago have been united by railway to Tiflis were it not that Russia has not considered it worth while to spend money for this purpose, as she has always intended to annex the nearer and still better Turkish port of Batoum, lying just south of her frontier. From Tiflis to Baku, the Caspian seaport of Trans-Caucasia, there is a good post-road, about three hundred and fifty miles in length. Baku is a small town, having a population of only about twelve thousand, situated in the midst of a barren and desolate country, where vast naphtha beds yield their contents by means of springs, the preparation of naphtha forming the chief industry of the place. It has a sheltered harbor, and is distant a little more than five hundred miles from Astrachan and the mouth of the Volga.

Russian Trans-Caucasia contains very varied natures of country. The plain of the river Rion, which runs into the Black Sea at Poti, is chiefly clothed with dense timber forests, and is feverish and unhealthy. The basin of the river Kura, which runs into the Caspian, contains in its upper part fertile valleys, but its lower part, as well as the lower basin of the Araxes, flows through barren steppes, which can only be

cultivated by means of a careful irrigation. The soil, except that of the steppes, is of a rich character. The country rises towards the southern slopes of the mountains in a succession of terraces, all cultivated. Corn of various kinds is grown, there are rich pasture lands, cotton and flax have been successfully cultivated, and the manufacture of tobacco is on the increase. Rich mineral deposits have also been found, chiefly of copper, but also of iron and of silver. We have already pointed out that there are three means of communication between the interior of Russia and these Trans-Caucasian provinces—by the Black Sea and Poti, by the Vladikavkas railway and the Kasbek Pass to Tiflis, and by the Volga and the Caspian to Baku. As soon as the present war was declared, Russia lost the command of the Black Sea route; and she is therefore now restricted to the pass over the mountains, which will be closed against her on the approach of winter, and the Caspian route, which is also likely to be blocked by ice. From Poti through Tiflis to Baku runs a great main road, nearly parallel with the chain of the Caucasus. It is the spine of Trans-Caucasia; from it on one side extend vertebrae in the shape of roads running at right angles from this main road to the Turkish frontier. Commencing from the Black Sea coast, one such road follows the coast line from Poti to Fort St. Nicholai, a small work which has been bombarded by the Turkish ships since the opening of the campaign. From Orpiri, a village about forty miles inland from Poti, a good post-road descends to Ozurgeti, and is connected with Fort St. Nicholai. It is from this post that a Russian reconnaissance advanced in the direction of Batoum at the opening of the campaign, and was driven back by the Turkish troops posted on the Tchourouk. The next road of any importance to the frontier is one which, starting from a point about half way between Tiflis and Poti, follows the valley of the Upper Kura to Akhaltsich, a town of some fourteen thousand inhabitants, close to the Turkish frontier.

From Tiflis a road runs to Achalkalaki, a distance of more than one hundred miles, passing on the road the village of Biely Klutch, to which a part of the Tiflis arsenal has recently been removed. Achalkalaki, which was once a fine city, is now but a poor village. It has, however, a fort of very secondary importance, also commanded from hills at short range. From Tiflis there are several routes leading to the great Russian frontier fortress of Gumri or Alexandropol, and



OPENING FIRE BY THE RUSSIAN BATTERY AT IBBAILA.

through this passes the main high road into Asiatic Turkey. The fortress here is separated from the town by a ravine, and has been considerably strengthened by the Russians. A number of Krupp guns of very large calibre have been mounted there; but it is apparently capable of escalade from the towns and ravines on the eastern side. Alexandropol has been converted by the Russians into a great frontier dépôt. Here was collected the force which, under General Melikoff, advanced on the main road against Kars, and it will doubtless be the advanced base of operations in the Russian campaign against Turkey. By far the best though the longest way from Tiflis to Alexandropol is to follow the main road towards Baku until Novo-Akstafa is reached, thence to turn off on the post-road to Delijan, where the road branches, one good route leading to Alexandropol, another to Erivan. The distance from Tiflis to Alexandropol by this route is about one hundred and seventy miles. There is a shorter road, but not so good, only about one hundred and twenty miles in length. Erivan is situated some forty miles back from the Turkish frontier, and from it runs the great post-road to Tabriz, in Persia, and thence to Teheran. Erivan is a town of some twelve thousand inhabitants, mostly Armenians, and has one of those old-fashioned fortifications which depend chiefly for their strength upon the thickness of their walls. From Erivan some inferior roads lead over the Ararat range to Bayazid, a fortified place situated in the extreme angle of the Turkish frontier, under the slopes of Mount Ararat; and by these roads Russian troops advanced, and Bayazid surrendered without a blow, its garrison falling back in the direction of Erzeroum. A road running parallel to the frontier, in many places very bad, but still available for troops, connects Fort St. Nicholai, Akhaltsich, Achalkalaki and Alexandropol with villages at the foot of the Ararat range. The whole of the country lying between the great Poti-Baku road and the Turkish frontier is intersected by ravines and streams.

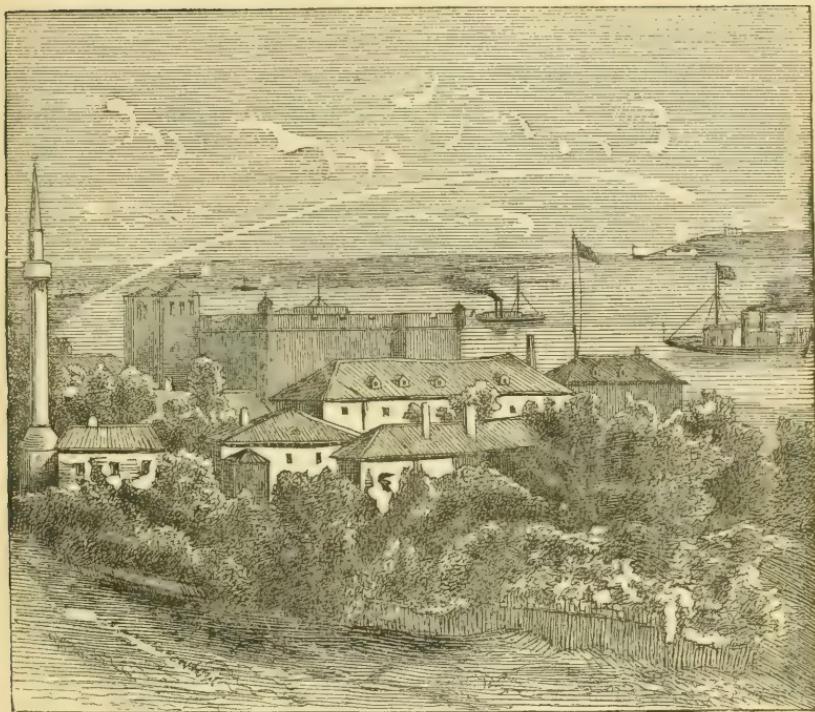
Let us now pass to the Turkish territory. Standing back about one hundred and eighty miles from the Russian frontier at Alexandropol, with a mountainous, broken country between, is Erzeroum, the capital of Turkish Armenia, with a population of about forty thousand souls. It is far better built than most Turkish towns, its houses being mostly constructed of stone, and some of them of handsome appearance. It stands on a small hill at the foot of a mountain

in an extensive plain, and contains no less than seventy mosques and three Christian churches. It is well supplied with fountains, whose water is conducted to them by conduits from the hills. It is surrounded on north, south, and east by high mountains, on the slopes of which the Turks have constructed earthworks, but it is not strongly fortified. From Erzeroum as a centre, roads branch out to all parts of the frontier from Bayazid to Batoum; the two chief roads being that leading through Kars, which is about forty miles from Alexandropol and one hundred and forty from Erzeroum, and that leading by Kara Kalissa to Bayazid, distant about one hundred and eighty miles. The first of these roads—namely, that by Kars—divides at Meshed, about sixteen miles west of Kars, whence two separate routes lead to Erzeroum—one by Bardez and Olti, and one by Khorasan; another and more northern road leads direct from Kars to Olti, without going near Bardez; a road also leads from Kars to Kara Kalissa, on the Bayazid-Erzeroum road. From Olti, which is about seventy miles from Erzeroum, a road leads to Ardahan, some twenty miles from the frontier, opposite Ackhalkalaki; and another road to the frontier opposite Akhaltsich; another, again to Batoum. Thus, if the Turks take up a position between Olti and Khorasan, they will cover all the roads leading from the Russian frontier upon Erzeroum. From Khorasan to Olti would be about four marches. In front of this line there is a chain of mountains called the Soghanli-Dagh, covered with forests of Scotch firs and intersected by streams running in deep gullies, but penetrated by numerous tracks, some of them even passable for wheels, by which an advancing army is enabled to evade the main roads. It was in this manner that Paskievitch turned the Turkish position when they attempted to defend these mountains in 1829.

And now a word as to the Turkish defences on the frontier. And first Batoum. Batoum, though exposed to the north, is a good harbor, sheltered from the south winds by high hills, with deep water close to the shore. It is about thirty miles by land from the Russian frontier, and is strongly defended both by land and by sea. The value to any nation whose territories border the Black Sea is great; for it is the only good port on the east coast south of the Sea of Azov. Doubtless if it had been in the hands of the Russians, it would long ere this have been in railway communication with Tiflis; and we can well

understand their anxiety to obtain it. The wretched port of Poti owes its prosperity, if not indeed its very existence, to the slip of the pen; for when Turkey ceded to Russia by the Treaty of Adrianople the territory between Kars and the sea, the boundary line was by general consent drawn to run down the river Tschorooch, which arrangement would have brought over to the Russian side the advantageous harbor of Batoum. It was, however, discovered, but not until after the ratification of the treaty of peace, that the river Tscholock, which runs about eighteen miles on this side of Batoum, had been inserted in the treaty as the boundary line. Batoum was lost, and Poti was accepted in its stead. The next fortified place is Ardahan; here there are only field-works; it is a mere mud village, with an old castle, the houses being for the most part built underground for protection from the severity of the climate. Ardahan can be approached both from Akhaltsich and Acholkalaki; but it affords excellent position for defence against an advance from either side. Kars is a partly walled town, with a citadel situated on both banks of the Kars-Tchai, crossed here by stone bridges. It has a population of thirteen thousand or fourteen thousand and is situated in a corn-producing plain. It is surrounded by heights, and would be difficult to fortify thoroughly; but the Turks constructed redoubts for its defence. The garrison left the fortress on April 30, and took up a position under the shelter of the redoubts. Erzeroum is situated on the upper waters of the western Euphrates; to reach it from Bayazid the upper waters of the eastern Euphrates are crossed. From Erzeroum to Trebizond there is a good road of about two hundred miles in length; and it is about the same distance to Diarbekir, on the great Bagdad caravan road. From Diarbekir to the Gulf of Scanderoun it is about three hundred miles.

In the early part of May a rising occurred in Circassia, which threatened seriously to endanger the Russian position before Batoum and Erzeroum, as the line of country between Poti and Tiflis was at the time practically in the hands of the Turks and the local population. Just after the declaration of war, five leading Circassian chiefs started from Constantinople for Batoum. Their names were Hadji Hussein Bey, Mandkambekat Bey, and Mehemet Bey. They had arranged a carefully considered plan of action with the Ottoman authorities and their own countrymen. Arrived at Batoum, they went on board



VIEW OF WIDDIN, FROM KALAFAT.

the squadron of Hassan Pasha, who forthwith sailed with five iron-clads for the Russian port and fortress of Soukum Kaléh. The Turkish men-of-war made their destination in the darkness of early morning, casting anchor a little after three o'clock A.M. They at once landed the Circassian chieftains, with a party of men carrying six hundred muskets and ammunition, which were speedily distributed among the expectant and willing people. The neighboring country was so thoroughly and quickly roused that by broad daylight the Beys had got together as many as three thousand Circassians. Hassan Pasha then landed an additional force, composed of other Circassians, Kurds, Lazis, and Turks; and, while the iron-clads opened a vigorous cannonade upon the fortress, the Beys, with their volunteers and auxiliaries, attacked the place with desperate resolution. The Russians offered a determined but vain opposition, losing terribly.

After this the insurrection spread like wildfire. The inhabitants of the surrounding districts gathered by thousands with weapons of all sorts to the Turkish standard. They drove the Muscovite garrison and road guards all over the district, chasing them to Gangara, which they also destroyed. When these successes were reported, Hassan Pasha landed a new supply of rifles and cartridges to equip the Circassians, and a formidable local force was organized to march upon the railway line to Tiflis, aiming at the direction of Kutais, and a large band was despatched to raise the country in the rear of the Russian columns which were in position before Batoum.

At the latter place, a conflict of no small importance occurred on the 10th and 11th of June, resulting in a victory for Turkish forces. For reasons best known to themselves, the Turks had allowed the outer heights, which were held by the Bashi-Bazouks, to remain wholly undefended by any pieces of artillery. The men were in their trenches, their outposts were in good position, but guns they had none. The Russians must in some way have come to know this; for on the afternoon of the 10th they began an attack which could only have been made in the expectation of meeting no heavier fire than that of musketry. Boldly quitting all kind of cover, they advanced recklessly across the open plain of Tchwruk-Sou, where they were encamped, and began to ascend the hills without the slightest appearance of having anything to fear. The guns from the other parts of the Turkish lines were unable to do much to prevent this, and as, at the close of this first day, the Turks still held their positions, the Pasha in command composed himself to sleep with the sweet reflection that Allah would by no means permit his servants and the friends of Mohammed to be dispersed, and still sent no guns to the position. Accordingly, the next morning saw a renewal of the battle. On came the Russians up to the very entrenchments, notwithstanding the shower of shot poured in upon them. Four times they attempted to carry the lines, and four times were driven back by the indomitable valor of the Bashi-Bazouks. The fact that the Russians had artillery in the fight, and the Turks none, made very little difference; for the shells the Muscovs threw seemed to have an invincible objection to striking a Mussulman, and all went very wide of the mark for which they were intended. Even when the guns were brought forward the Turks, rushing out of their entrenchments, came almost up to their muzzles

in chase of the flying Russians. At one time during the battle there was a very splendid, though a sanguinary, spectacle. The Russians, coming on in a somewhat dense column, were slowly pushing up the mountain side when a body of Bashi-Bazouks were taken into the great wood which covers the Turkish right wing, and passing through were brought out upon the Russian flank, effecting great slaughter, the Muscovites being upon ground perfectly open, and having no choice but to fight or fly. The Russian line at first stood firm; then hesitated; there was a volley, then a sign of wavering; they were retreating—and soon running—throwing their rifles away and making off across the plain, with the Bashi-Bazouks in full chase. But as the Russians ran they gradually got under cover of the guns, which increased their energetic fire, and very soon the Bashi-Bazouks had to fall back and get into the wood once more. Still it was a signal victory for the Turks; more than four thousand Russians were on the ground—a thousand Turks lay there also. Altogether the affair was most creditable for the Turkish arms, and might have been magnificently utilized by a good commander. However, as night came on, the Pasha gave orders for part of the heights to be evacuated, and next morning saw them occupied by a body of Russians. Thus the Turks gained a victory and lost a good position. In the movement against Kars the Russians were more successful.

The Russian cavalry under General Loris Melikoff, made reconnoissances on April 28th, 29th, and 30th, in the direction of Kanicheff, Vladikars, Tikmo, Sanebuthor, and Bazigran. A detachment of his forces reached Lachejuirt, where it succeeded in destroying the telegraph line from Kars to Erzeroum for a distance of seven miles. Another detachment of the division, under General Cheremetieff, advanced as far as Varimon, near the Saganluc. Eight battalions of Turks proceeding with a battery of artillery from Kars to Erzeroum, were pursued by the Russian cavalry, losing their baggage and ammunition wagons. General Melikoff, with the object of supporting the cavalry, put himself on the march on April 29th, and on the same day, with forty thousand troops, attacked Mukhtar Pasha, encamped five miles from Kars. The Turks fought desperately, but the Russians, supported by powerful artillery, dislodged them from all their positions. Mukhtar, calling out all the reserves of the Kars garrison, attempted at six o'clock next day to recover his ground with

an army of sixty thousand men; but the Russians, reinforced during the night by two divisions and ten batteries, beat the Turks all along the line, and drove them under the guns of Kars. The losses on both sides were considerable, but those of Mukhtar were enormous.

About the same time, on the appearance of the vanguard of the Erivan Division, the Turkish garrison of Bayazid, numbering seventeen hundred men, left the place and withdrew to the Allada heights, abandoning a large quantity of ammunition. The Russian troops immediately occupied the town and citadel, thus securing the command of the road which leads to Erzeroum, the capital of Armenia.

On the 16th of May Major-General Komaroff executed a reconnaissance before Kars, with four battalions of infantry, two batteries, and three sotnias of irregular cavalry and Karapack militia. The two latter, while marching in advance on the left wing, were vigorously attacked by a Turkish force consisting of one thousand dragoons, eight infantry battalions, and a battery of artillery. Six sotnias of Dagestian cavalry were sent to the assistance of the left wing, and a stubbornly-contested hand-to-hand engagement ensued. The Turks had sixty-four dead, besides wounded, and two prisoners. They also lost many horses and a quantity of arms. The losses on the Russian side were one officer and twenty horsemen killed, and five officers and fifty-four horsemen wounded.

On the next day, the Russians captured the outworks of Ardahan, its fortifications, sixty guns, immense stores of provisions and ammunition, the camp formerly occupied by fourteen battalions of Turks, and the citadel, an outpost of Kars. The admirable fire of the Russian artillery had, between three and six P.M., made a breach in the walls of the place. At six o'clock the Erivan, Tiflis, and Baku regiments, and the sappers, advanced to the assault. The Turks could not withstand the onslaught, and took to flight, leaving a great number of dead on the field, the cavalry pursuing them in spite of the darkness. At nine P.M. the troops traversed the whole town, as well as all the fortifications, while the bands played the Russian National Anthem.

After the capture of Ardahan the siege of Kars was prosecuted with vigor. The Russians made a determined effort to carry Fort Karadagh, on the east side. This fort commands the Gumri and Alexandropol roads, and covers the citadel on the right bank of the Kars



PRINCE CHARLES OF ROUMANIA.

Tchai. The assault was well delivered; a most desperate fight continued for five hours with artillery, the Turkish infantry being repeatedly repulsed, although renewing the assault with reinforcements. Under cover of a tremendous cannonade the Turks made a sudden sortie on the Muscovs; a hand-to-hand fight followed with the infantry, the Russians exhibiting the most remarkable intrepidity under the ploughing fire of shell and grape with which their lines were being rapidly thinned. A few more vigorous dashes of the Turkish infantry with the bayonet, and their opponents fell back, losing heavily in their retreat from the pursuing fire of the fort and batteries, accompanied by a skillfully executed dash of the Circassians, succeeded in cutting off a number of Cossacks.

On the 30th of May the bombardment of Fort Karadagh was renewed with considerable fierceness, the Russians having brought heavier guns into position, with which they pounded away with a continuous shower of shell which, however, did not prove effective.

On the morning of June 14th the Russians, from their batteries on the western and eastern sides, opened a slow, but well directed, fire on Forts Tekhmass and Karabagh; as the day advanced their cannonade became heavier, and combined assaults were made on both points, new movements being developed by the besiegers. Throughout the day, and until night terminated the conflict, a fierce combat was waged with artillery and musketry, the assailants losing heavily in each assault from their exposed position. On the next day the fight was renewed with a determination as if the Russians were making a supreme effort to carry either or both entrenched forts, the possession of which would have been, perhaps, fatal for Kars. With equal earnestness the garrison met the several attacks with an effectiveness which was remarkable in view of the immense force brought to bear against the defenders. On the 16th a bloody battle was fought, the Russians making tremendous sacrifices of men to achieve success. At the point of the bayonet they were hurled back again and again, their advancing columns, having previously been swept by the batteries, reforming and throwing themselves on the bayonets of the Turks, who fought with a bravery and a skill worthy of veteran soldiers. Beaten at all points, the Russians once more fell back, leaving the ground covered with their wounded and dead.

The most serious engagement since the invasion of Armenia occurred upon the same day, between Alaschkar and the village of Delibaba, not far from Topra Kalé, on the road leading from Bayazid to Kapri Kenyi, the line of communication of the Turkish right wing. The Turks had occupied Tabur, and it was their intention to throw up intrenchments there and await the coming of the Russians. But bolder counsels prevailed during the night, and accordingly at 6.30 o'clock on the morning of the 15th, six battalions of infantry and all the companies of field artillery marched towards Zeidekan. A reserve force of two battalions was left at Tabur. By noon the Turkish army had regained the heights they had abandoned the evening before. These heights are about six miles from Tabur. The Russians also reoccupied the heights they had captured the previous day. No attack was made,

however, by either army that day, and at night both armies encamped upon the heights they had held. Some skirmishing took place in the night which followed, between outposts of the two armies, and in one of these conflicts a Turkish general, while reconnoitering, was badly wounded.

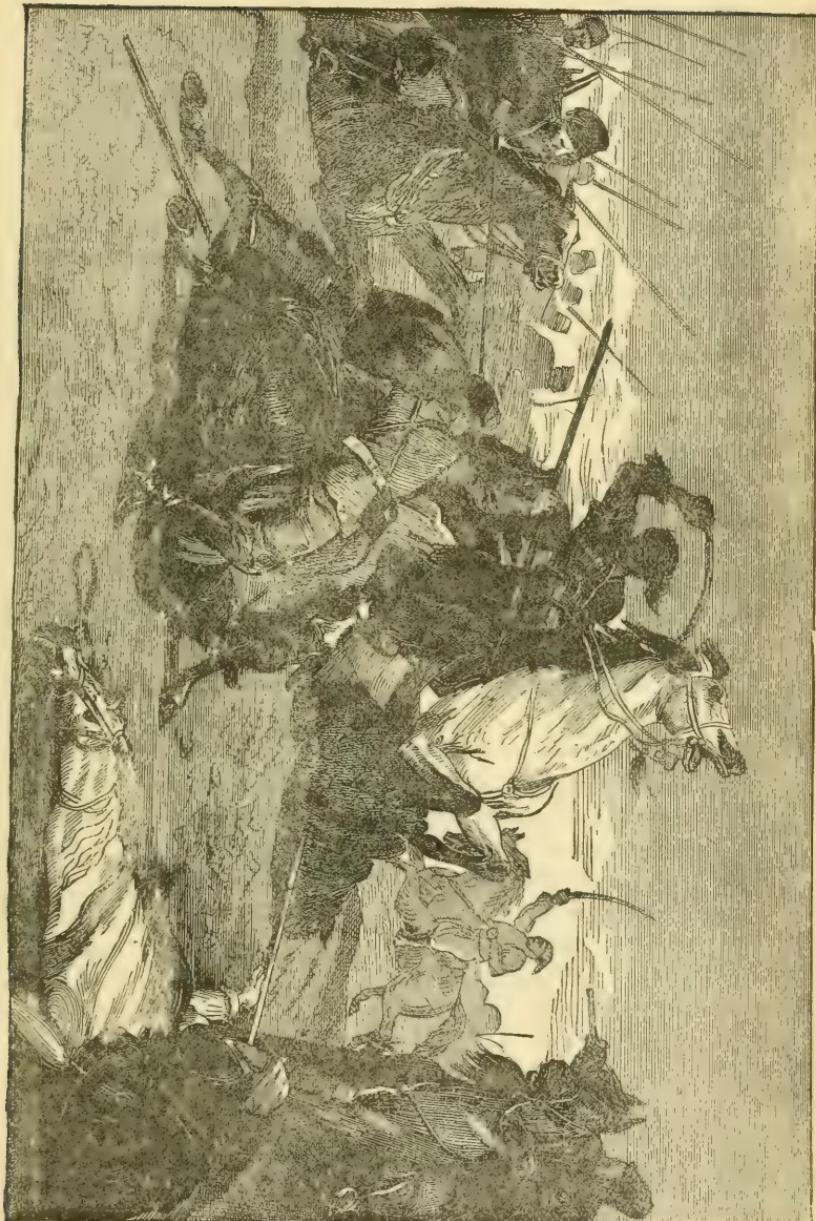
The following day, June 16, the battle was fought. The Russian infantry was in line at 5 o'clock in the morning and at 6 o'clock began their march towards the Turks, descending into the valley that lay between them and their enemy's camp. At the moment that the infantry began their advance, the Russian artillerymen began to shell furiously the Turkish camp. The Turkish artillerymen replied to the fire, and also shelled the swiftly advancing Russian infantry. They were very unskillful in their use of the cannon, however, and apparently did but little execution among the dark masses of the approaching enemy. The Russians in twenty minutes had descended from their camp, and had scaled a small ridge that lifted itself in the valley between the two heights. By this movement they succeeded in forcing back a little the Turkish right wing. There was then constant firing between the infantry of the two armies for over an hour, the Russians apparently not daring to make a further advance. The Turkish artillery during the interval fired constantly at the Russian soldiers, but were unable to drive them back from the ridge to the heights. The Turkish cannon apparently did some execution, however, for after enduring their fire for an hour, the Russians brought down four field guns from their camp and vigorously replied. The Russian cannon were so well handled that the Turkish left wing was compelled to fall back. The Russian infantry then made a fierce attack on the Turkish right wing and also forced it back. The Turkish commander, while attempting to rally his soldiers, was shot through the head and killed. Two hours then passed without any change in the position of the two armies; the Turkish infantry and artillery meantime firing unremittingly upon the Russians, while the latter, singularly, as the Turks thought, did not return it. The Russian regiments were engaged continually in what seemed to the Turks purposeless evolutions, but the object was soon made apparent to them. The Russians brought all their artillery from their camps and placed it in advantageous positions, and shifted the bulk of their infantry to their left wing. The moment all was ready the Russian artillery

began shelling the Turkish left wing, and the strong Russian right wing dashed upon it. Both the Turkish infantry and artillery, when this assault was made, were short of ammunition. The Turks resisted the attack very bravely, however, and it was only after there were great gaps in their ranks where the dead and wounded had fallen, that the right wing gave way. The Cossack cavalry dashed into the intervals between the retreating masses of the Turks and cut down every straggler.

The Turks retreated to Tabur. They lost during the battle two thousand dead and wounded, besides Mehemet Pasha, their commander, who fell, sword in hand, in front of his men. The Russian loss was only five hundred.

After the engagement of the 16th the Russians prepared themselves for a great attack on the Turkish right wing, or rather on the right flank of the Turks; but their plan was not crowned with success—because the Turks had already been reinforced by six thousand infantry and one thousand one hundred and fifty cavalry. The Turks presented all their front to the Russians, and the battle terminated after a discharge of musketry, and cavalry skirmishing, without the use of artillery. In the evening of the same day, the 18th, the Russians withdrew to the plain of Khalias, where they chose their position and mounted six Krupp guns, in order to protect their line of retreat on Zedikan. The Turkish right wing was completely ignorant of the plan of the Russians, whose cavalry was continually pushing forward reconnoitering in the direction of Passin. Ahmed Mukhtar, after having reinforced the right wing under the command of the General of Division Ahmed Pasha, left his corps under the provisional command of Koort Ismail Pasha, and went to Taü-Khodja, a village at about four miles from the gorge of Delibaba, and fifteen miles from Khalias. On the 20th of June he put himself at the head of a Circassian cavalry force of six hundred men, and arrived at the camp of the Ottoman right wing, occupying a portion of the little plain of Khalias, on the left bank of the river.

At seven o'clock on the morning of the 21st a desperate struggle began between the two combatants. The Russians had taken their position on the right bank of the river, the distance which separated the two armies being three miles. A well-sustained fire of artillery continued for two hours. At nine o'clock A.M. the Russians made a

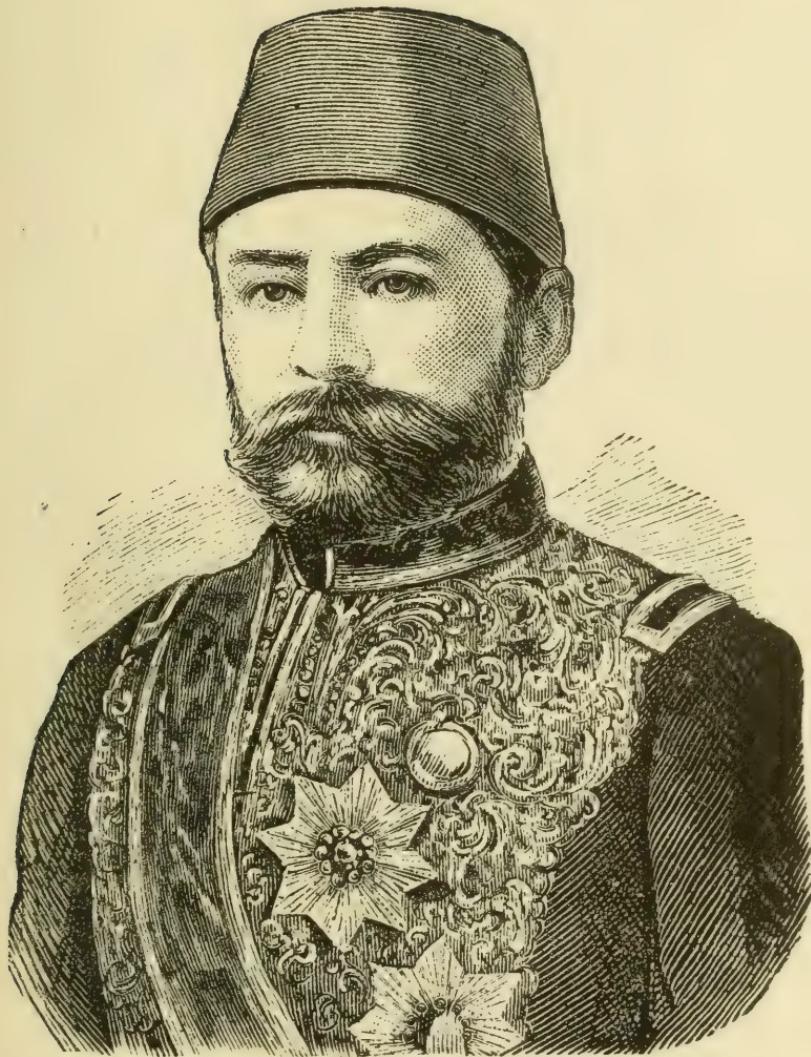


COMBAT BETWEEN COSSACKS AND BASHI-BAZOUKS.

charge, crossed the river, and dislodged the Turkish front, which fell back on its line of retreat, protected by the continual fire of the two batteries mounted in a favorable position.

The Russians not being able to sustain any longer their position, began to withdraw. Their cavalry was then charged by the Circassians and suffered heavy loss. Upon order of General Tergukasoff, Russian regulars and irregulars dismounted and fought as riflemen. At two o'clock the Turks, who had driven back the Russians beyond the river, continued their pursuit for four hours, but were compelled to fall back in consequence of the great losses that their left flank sustained by the fire of the Russian battery stationed in a very favorable position. The retreat was effected in good order; the Russians advanced again, and for a second time passed over the limits of their line of attack; a destructive fire was exchanged on both sides. At half-past four o'clock a column of the Turkish reserve fell on the right flank of the Russians and compelled them to give way. This manœuvre lasted until nightfall; both sides fought well. The Turks lost in this battle five hundred and eighty killed and four hundred and eighty wounded. The Russian loss was about the same number. The Russians began to fall back on Alashkirt, closely pursued by the Turks, who had been reinforced.

On the following day, the 22d, Mukhtar Pasha again fought a severe battle. The Russian cavalry had to be placed in the entrenchments and take the part of infantry, but ultimately the Turks drove them out and pursued them, the Russians being routed and retreating in disorder as far as Seidekan. The whole of the fighting lasted thirty-three hours; the Turkish loss was upwards of two thousand men, and the Russian losses were still heavier.



MUKHTAR, COMMANDER OF THE TURKISH TROOPS IN HERZEGOVINA.

CHAPTER XXIX.

OPERATIONS IN BULGARIA.

THE crossing of the Danube at Simnitzia, which was begun on the morning of Wednesday, June 27th, was kept up all day and through the night, the troops crossing as quickly as circumstances would permit. The number of boats was augmented in the course of the day to about three hundred. General Dragimiroff followed up the retiring Turkish infantry, who fell back in the direction of Rustchuk. Their rear maintained a desultory skirmish till the summit of the heights was reached, and then they ran for it, pursued for a short distance by the Russians, both infantry and Cossacks, the latter being in but scanty numbers. Just as night fell General Dragimiroff brought up a battery of horse artillery in pursuit, which kept up a brisk fire for some little time.

Sistova was occupied on the afternoon of the 27th. A detachment of Cossacks wound up the glen of Jerkir Dere, at the mouth of which was the landing-place. It then inclined to the right, scouting along the footpaths, among the fields and gardens, poking its way cautiously along. The strongest detachment crept cautiously westward on Sistova; the leading files first peered into the shattered earthwork, where two dismounted field guns were found, and then gradually felt their way into the town, peering around the corners of the streets, and patrolling onward by twos and threes, until, with infinite patient circumspection, they had gone through the whole place. Some few houses which presented a suspicious aspect were entered.

Between the period of the flight of the Turks and the entry of the Russian troops, the Bulgarians sacked and wrecked the Turkish houses without a single exception. The pillage and destruction were as sweeping and universal as if the place had been sacked by a victorious army after storming. There was not a whole pane of glass in the window of any Turkish house in all Sistova. The wrecked interiors presented an indescribable chaos of destruction. Cupboards were smashed, floors torn up, shelves torn down, stoves broken, in search of secreted money. The floors were strewn with miscellaneous débris and

torn books printed in curious characters. Judging from the number of these in the better houses, the wealthier Turks of Sistova seemed to have been a reading people. The furniture was broken in sheer wantonness, and the plaster shattered. The divans were broken up; in fine, the ruin was thorough and universal so far as the interiors of the houses were concerned.

Nor was the destruction confined to the habitations. There were eight mosques in Sistova, and all were wrecked; their interiors were scenes of indescribable destruction. The very railings were broken into small pieces as if in the keen zest and gloating enjoyment of laying waste. The few Turkish shops and stores in Sistova were pillaged of everything valuable, and the fixtures of the interiors were smashed into fragments and splinters. Nothing in the place escaped wreck, and the aspect of uninjured dwellings intermingled with others reduced to the extremity of dilapidation, was strange and significant.

The proceedings of the crossing were temporarily interrupted by the sudden appearance of a monitor steaming slowly up the stream. It appears that she worked her way out through the lower end of the channel behind the island of East Mardim, and had run the risk of torpedoes. Puffs of smoke arose from the Russian field battery opposite the western end of that island, and more distant reports betokened the return fire of the monitor. She passed the battery, taking its fire in so doing. This lasted about an hour and a half. There was a general rush back from the water's edge to the pontoon wagons. The infantry waiting to cross fell back for cover into the willows. The columns leaving Simnitza reversed their march, and there was something like a stampede of the baggage wagons. The bridge had already been begun, and it was felt that the monitor might do infinite harm. Her smoke drew nearer as she slowly steamed up the stream until at length she was in the same reach as the crossing-place. There she stopped, and there she supinely waited for nearly two hours, neither moving nor firing a shot. The Russians made no attempt to dislodge her, so far as was apparent, but she inexplicably withdrew of her own accord, steaming away slowly down the river.

Continuing their advance from Sistova, the Russians came upon Biela, a village about twenty miles from that place, in a southeasterly direction. Here the Turks were concentrated in great force, and a



EUROPEANS STARTING FOR A MINISTERIAL BALL IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

terrible battle began on Saturday, June 30th. Both sides fought as if the whole campaign had depended on the issue of the engagement.

The Ottoman General had employed the time at his command in taking measures for a most determined stand, and using the forces at his disposal to the best possible advantage.

The Russians began the attack with great impetuosity, but from the first the Turkish artillery made fearful havoc in their ranks. The Ottoman infantry also fought with conspicuous bravery, and in the end the invading columns, unable to withstand the onslaught of the defending forces, retreated, leaving the ground covered with the dead and dying.

On Monday the Russians made a second attack on Biela, where Echreff Pasha held the bridge across the Yantra, with troops from Rustchuk.

The Russians endeavored to cover the movements of their infantry by a heavy artillery fire. Anticipating the intention of their assailants, the Turks reserved their fire, replying but slowly with artillery.

Presently, the Muscovite infantry advanced to the assault, availing themselves of every spot of shelter till within a short distance of the bridge, when they suddenly developed their attack with a heavy musketry fire. The Turks, who were posted behind well-constructed semi-circular trenches, commanding the bridge and its approaches, now opened at short range—not over three hundred yards—a vigorous and sustained infantry fusilade, well supported by their batteries.

Although suffering severely from the concentrated fire with which they were met, the Russians moved steadily forward, the gaps in their ranks being quickly filled up, replying with file volleys—their dogged determination reminding one of the old soldiers of the Crimean War. They evidently meant to make a large sacrifice in order to achieve victory.

Immovably the Ottomans received the assault. Their steady fire at so short a range, and being so well entrenched, proved too much for the attacking force, which ultimately wavered and commenced to fall back. The Turks then assumed the offensive, and emerging from their trenches moved briskly with the bayonet on the retreating enemy, but being well controlled, they did not continue the pursuit very far, and returned to their former positions.

Night arriving, the Russians retired from Biela, taking the high-ground paths in the direction of Tirnova, their flank being enveloped in clouds of Cossacks, scouting and signalling.

On the 8th of the following month a body of cavalry and a battery of horse artillery appeared at Tirnova, surprised the defenders, and captured the Turkish camp, with the ammunition and baggage. The garrison consisted of three thousand regular Turkish infantry, and a battery with an unknown number of militia, who fell back upon Osman Bazar, in the direction of Schumla. Four days after, the Grand Duke arrived, with the Eighth corps, and the town was formally occupied by the Russians. The march from Sistova was rather like a military promenade or a triumphal procession than a forced march, which it really was. Everywhere the people came out, with the most friendly greetings. At the entrance of many of the villages, arches were erected, covered with leaves and flowers. Processions, headed by priests, came out singing to meet the troops, with pictures from the churches, standards, and banners, while in every direction there were deafening cheers, and the most extravagant joy.

Simultaneously with the march to Tirnova, a division of the Ninth Corps, which with the Eighth Corps and the Bulgarian Legion formed the army under the immediate command of the Grand Duke Nicholas, moved from Sistova towards Nicopolis, it being understood that when it had taken the latter town it would move southwards and advance towards the Balkans *via* Plevna, when it could either follow the Eighth Corps through Tirnova, or advance by the Lovatz Pass to Tatar Bazardjik and Philippopolis. The troops sent to Nicopolis arrived on the heights above that town on Sunday, July 15th. After a bombardment which lasted from five in the morning until nine at night, the Russians succeeded in gaining the fortress, and the Turks surrendered, their garrison consisting of six thousand men under command of Achmed Pasha and Hassan Pasha.

At Plevna occurred the only serious reverse the Russians had encountered in the European campaign, but it was very serious, and as an aggravation it occurred through neglect of common military precautions.

When the commander of the Ninth Corps proceeded against Nicopolis he made the omission of not protecting his flank by sending cavalry to occupy Plevna, then only weakly held. Afterwards an easy chance did not offer. The Turkish column from Widdin, marching too late to succor Nicopolis, turned aside and occupied Plevna. With intent to repair the blunder General Krüdener sent three regiments of infantry against Plevna and without a previous reconnaissance. These, after hard fighting, actually occupied the town, on the 20th of July. They had laid aside their cloaks and packs in the streets, and had quitted the fighting column formation, believing all was over, and were singing as they straggled along. No patrols had been pushed into the recesses of the town. No cavalry had been sent forward beyond. The whole business was slovenly to a degree.

The penalty was paid. Suddenly, from a hundred windows and balconies, a vehement fire was poured into the troops straggling along the streets. They were beset on all sides, and had to retreat. One regiment left its packs where they had been taken off in the street. During the retreat, more or less precipitate, about two thousand nine hundred men were lost. One regiment lost nearly two thousand men.

On the twenty-second, Prince Schackoskoy received orders to leave in position at Osman Bazar two infantry brigades, and march on

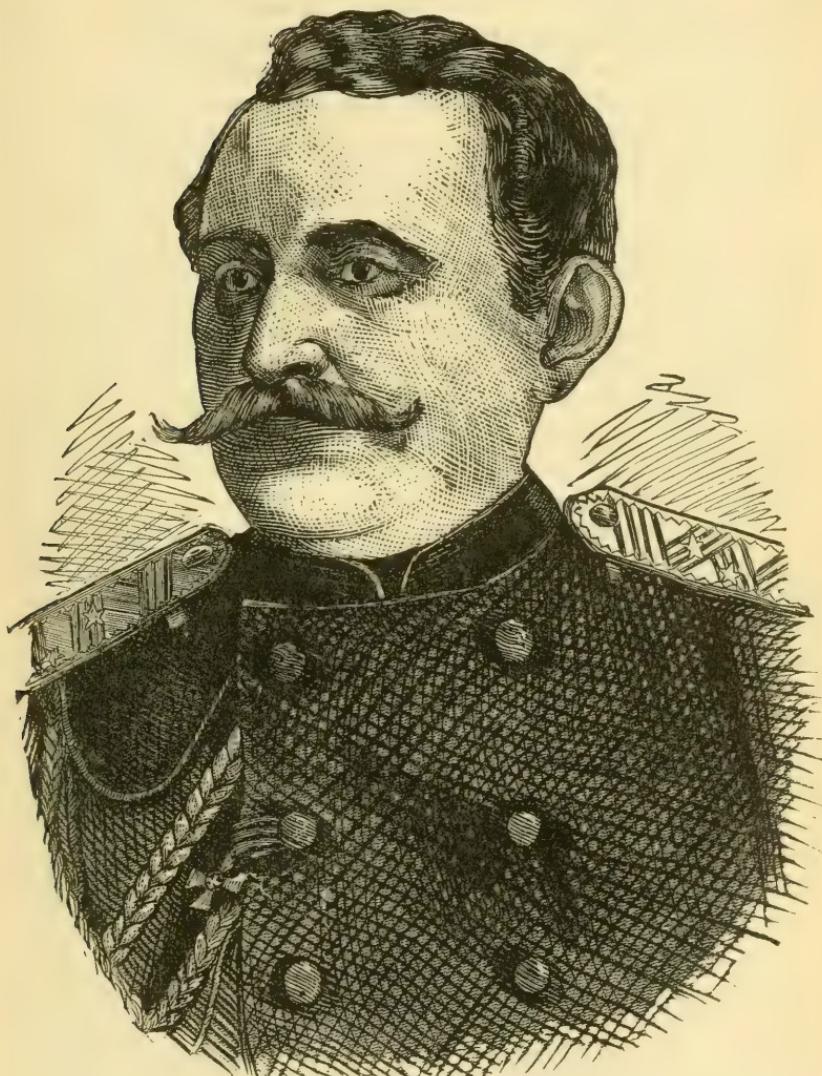
Plevna, right across the theatre of war from east to west, with one cavalry brigade and one infantry brigade of his corps. The Thirtieth Division of the Fourth Corps, who were crossing the river at Simnitsa, *en route* for Tirnova, were ordered on Plevna to stand under Schackoskoy's orders; and the Ninth Corps, about and in front of Nicopolis, was also ordered to coöperate in a combined movement against Plevna.

Plevna was reported to be occupied by the whole of Osman Pasha's army from Widdin, strengthened by troops from Sophia, in all believed to be from thirty-five thousand to forty thousand men. Their entrenchment line ran through a series of villages lying in a semi-circular order round Plevna, at a distance from it of about five miles, and touching the river Vid on both flanks. A strong Turkish advance force was reported at Grivitza on the road along which lay Schackoskoy's line of advance. From north to south the villages of the Turkish forepost position were as follows: Plizitza, Bukoya, Radisovo, Turcirici, and Bogot.

Schackoskoy was, as we have said, in the village of Karajac Bulgarski. His brother corps commander, Baron Krüdener, was for the night in the village of Kalisovil, on the road from Nicopolis to Plevna, and about eight miles northwest of Schackoskoy's headquarters. As senior, General Krüdener was nominally in chief command of the whole operations, but he acted under instructions from the Grand Duke Nicholas in Tirnova.

In the night of the 28th the younger general Skobeloff reached Prince Schackoskoy's headquarters from Tirnova, appointed to the temporary command of the Cossack Brigade, in the force of the Prince. He received instructions to march his brigade to the southward, and occupy, if possible, the town of Loftcha, an important position between Plevna and the Balkans—a hazardous expedition, conducted along the face of a hostile front, and likely to meet with resistance *en route*, and also at the point of destination. But Skobeloff galloped off with a light heart on this dangerous duty.

On the morning of the 29th Prince Schackoskoy quitted Karajac Bulgarsky, and made a reconnaissance along the road towards Plevna, in the direction of Grivitza, where the Russians killed in the previous attempt still lay unburied. His march lay over beautiful grassy downs and through little wooded valleys. The Turks were not seen, but cannon fire was heard to the south in the direction of the march of



APOLLON ERNESTOVITCH ZIMMERMAN.

Skobeloff on Loftcha. Retracing his steps, and bending to the southward, Schackoskoy bivouacked for the day on a plain near the village of Pordin, with a brigade of infantry in front. The Russian front was

thus widely extended, aiming at a concentric attack on the Plevna position, and including an attempt at wholly enveloping the Turkish position by cavalry operating on both flanks.

The night between the 29th and 30th was spent with tents struck and horses saddled, waiting for the order to advance, in anticipation of the commencement of fighting at sunrise; but Baron Krüdener had determined to wait yet a day longer to perfect his dispositions and give the troops, fatigued by severe marching, some rest. The 30th was therefore spent in inaction, except that the troops were somewhat drawn forward to be within striking distance for the morrow. Tidings came that no more Turkish troops were marching from Plevna on Loftcha, which simplified matters, since fewer troops were required to watch the latter place. A general council of war was held at Pordin on the afternoon of the 30th, at which were present Baron Krüdener, Prince Schackoskoy, and the generals of divisions and brigades. The colonels of regiments and staff officers waited to receive instructions as to the final dispositions. It was settled that the action should begin next morning at five o'clock by a general concentric advance on the Turkish positions in front of Plevna, and that Prince Schackoskoy and the general staff should move forward at four o'clock. Several aides of the Grand Duke Nicholas arrived, and were detailed to various points to make observations, and after the battle to carry reports of the results back to Tirnova. The gravity of the task before the army was fully recognized, for reconnoissances had proved the Turks to be in greater force than was at first believed. Twenty thousand regulars had come from Widdin. The Turkish positions were known to be strong by nature, and strengthened yet further by art.

The night between the 30th and 31st was very wet, and troops did not begin to march forward before six instead of four. The number of infantry combatants was actually about thirty-two thousand, with one hundred and sixty field cannon and three brigades of cavalry. Baron Krüdener was on the right with the whole of the Thirty-first Division in his fighting line, and three regiments of the Fifth Division in reserve at Karajac Bugarsky. He was to attack in two columns, a brigade in each. On the left was Schackoskoy with a brigade of the Thirty-second Division and a brigade of the Thirtieth Division in fighting line. Another brigade of the Thirtieth Division was in reserve at Pelisat. The Turkish position was convex, somewhat in a

horseshoe shape, but more pointed. Baron Krüdener was to attack the Turkish left flank from Grivitza toward the river Vid. Schackoskoy was to assail their right from Radisovo, also toward the river Vid. On the left flank of the attack stood Skobeloff, with a brigade of Cossacks, a battalion of infantry, and a battery, to cope with the Turkish troops on the line from Plevna to Loftcha, and hindering them from interfering with the development of Schackoskoy's attack. On the right flank stood Lascaroff, with two cavalry regiments to guard Krüdener from a counter attack.

The morning was gloomy, which the Russians regarded as a favorable omen. The troops cheered vigorously as they passed the General. Physically there seemed no finer men in the world. In the pink of hard condition, and marching without packs, carrying only great coat, haversack with rations, and ammunition, they seemed fit to go anywhere and do anything. Schackoskoy's right column marched over Pelisot and Sgalievica. The left column headed straight for Radisovo. The artillery pushed forward from the first, and worked independently.

Krüdener, on the right, opened the action at half-past nine, bringing a battery into fire from the ridge on the Turkish earthwork above the village. At first it seemed as if the Turks were surprised. It was some time before they replied, but then they did so vigorously, and gave quite as good as they got from Krüdener.

The objective of Prince Schackoskoy was in the first instance Radisovo. This village lies in a deep valley behind the southern ridge of the Turkish position, and there is another ridge behind this valley. On that ridge the cannon, placed by Colonel Bischofsky, chief of Prince Schackoskoy's staff, fired in line on the Turkish guns on the ridge beyond the valley, with fine effect. The infantry went down into the valley under this covering fire, and carried Radisovo with a trivial skirmish, for in the village there were only a handful of Bashi-Bazouks, who, standing their ground, were promptly bayoneted. The infantry remained under cover of the village.

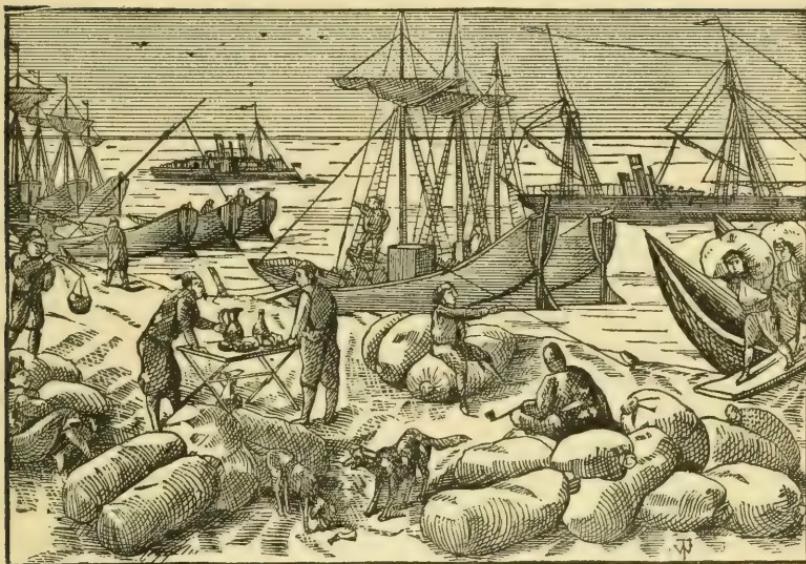
The batteries, firing with great rapidity and accuracy, soon compelled the Turkish cannon to quit the opposite height. During the last spurt of their firing Prince Schackoskoy rode along the rear of the batteries, from the right to the left, under a fire which killed two horses in the little group accompanying him. The cannon playing on

the Turkish guns on the opposite ridge quelled their fire after about half-an-hour's cannonade, and it was then for the Russian batteries to cross the valley passing through Radisovo and come into action in the position vacated by the Turkish guns; and following them the infantry also descended into the hollow, and lay down in the glades about the village, and on the steep slope behind the guns in action.

There were now five batteries ranged along the crest of the ridge beyond Radisovo, directing a converging fire on the Turkish guns on the central ridge beyond. In their exposed position their fire was notwithstanding heavy and steady. The staff awaited the result of the preparatory cannonade on the ridge behind Radisovo. Looking down into the Turkish positions, there could be seen four batteries defending the earthwork about the little village which seemed to be the foremost of their fixed and constructed positions on the central ridge. It stood on a little knoll, and was well placed for searching with its fire the valleys by which it could be approached. Beyond were more, and yet more earthworks right to the edge of the broad valley, where the roofs and church towers of Plevna sparkled in the sunshine from out a circle of verdure. The place had an aspect of serenity strangely contrasting with the turmoil of the cannon fire raging in front of it.

By one o'clock the Russian infantry had nowhere been engaged. The operations hitherto were confined to the artillery. Krüdener on the right flank had scarcely progressed at all, and his coöperation in a simultaneously combined attack on both flanks was indispensable. It would have been fortunate if Schackoskoy had acted on a full recognition of this fact, which the obvious strength of the Turkish positions should have impressed on him. Krüdener had gained much less ground than he. He seemed little further forward than at the commencement, whereas Schackoskoy was at comparatively close quarters, and within striking distance. Krüdener was behind, either because his attack was not pushed energetically, or because he was encountering obstacles with which Schackoskoy had not met. The latter, in his impatience, determined to act independently, and strike the Turks single-handed. Fearful was the retribution exacted for that error of judgment.

About half-past two the second period of the battle commenced. To ascertain whether the artillery had sufficiently prepared the way for



PREPARING TO BRIDGE THE DANUBE FROM WIDDIN TO KALAFAT.

the infantry to act, Schackoskoy and his staff rode on to the ridge where the batteries were firing, and had to dismount precipitately under a hurricane of shell fire which the Turkish gunners directed against the little group. A long and anxious inspection seemed to satisfy Schackoskoy and the chief of his staff that the time had come when the infantry could strike with effect.

Two brigades of infantry were in the Radisovo valley, behind the guns of General Tchekoff's brigade. The leading battalions were ordered to rise up and advance over the ridge to attack. The order was hailed with glad cheers, for the infantrymen had been chafing at their inaction, and the battalions, with a swift, swinging step, streamed forward through the glen and up the steep slope behind, marching in company columns, the rifle companies leading. The artillery had heralded this movement with increased rapidity of fire, which was maintained to cover and aid the infantry when the latter had crossed the crest and were descending the slope and crossing the intervening valley to the assault of the Turkish position. Just before reaching the crest the battalions deployed into line at the double, and crossed it in this formation, breaking to pass through the intervals between

the guns. The Turkish shells whistled through them as they advanced in line, and the men were already down in numbers, but the long undulating line tramps steadily over the stubble, and crashes through the undergrowth on the descent beyond. No skirmishing line is thrown out in advance; the fighting line remains the formation for a time, till what with impatience and what with men falling it breaks into a ragged spray of humanity, and surges on swiftly, loosely, and with no close cohesion. The supports are close up, and run up into fighting line independently and eagerly. It is a veritable chase of fighting men impelled by a burning desire to get forward and come to close quarters with the enemy firing at them there from behind the shelter of the epaulement.

Presently all along the face of the advancing infantrymen burst forth flaring volleys of musketry fire. The jagged line springs onward through the maize fields, gradually assuming a concave shape. The Turkish position is neared; the roll of rifle fire is incessant, yet dominated by the fiercer and louder turmoil of the artillery above. The ammunition wagons gallop up to the cannon with fresh fuel for the fire; the guns redouble the energy of their firing; the crackle of the musketry fire rises into a sharp peal; the clamor of the hurrahs of the fighting men makes the blood tingle with the excitement of the fray. A village is blazing on the left; the fell fury of the battle has entered on its maddest paroxysm. The supports that had remained behind lying just under the crest of the slope are pushed forward over the brow of the hill. The wounded begin to trickle back over the ridge; the dead and the more severely wounded are seen lying where they fall on the stubble and amid the maize. The living wave of fighting men is pouring over them ever on and on.

The gallant gunners to the right and to the left stand to their work with a will. On the shell-swept ridge the Turkish cannon fire begins to waver. In that earthwork over yonder more supports stream down with a louder cheer into the Russian fighting line.

Suddenly the disconnected men are together. The officers are signalling for the concentration by the waving of their swords. The distance is about a hundred yards. There is a wild rush, headed by the colonel of one of the regiments of the Thirty-second Division. The Turks in the shelter trench hold their ground, and fire steadily, and with terrible effect, into the advancing forces. The colonel's horse

goes down, but the colonel is on his feet in a second, and waving his sword, leads his men forward on foot. But only for a few paces. He staggers and falls dead.

Now is heard the sound of wrath, half howl, half yell, with which his men, bayonets at the charge, rush on to avenge him. They are over the parapet and shelter trench, and in among the Turks like an avalanche. Not many Turks get a chance to run away from the gleaming bayonets, swayed by muscular Russian arms. The outer edge of the first position is won. The Russians are bad skirmishers; they despise cover, and give and take fire out in the open. They disdained to utilize against the main position, the cover afforded by the parapet of this shelter trench, but pushed on in broken order up the bare slope. In places they hung a little, for the infantry fire from the Turks was very deadly, and the slope was strewn with the fallen dead and wounded; but for the most part they advanced nimbly enough. Yet it took them half an hour from the shelter trench before they again converged and made their final rush at the main earthwork.

This time the Turks did not wait for the bayonet points, but with one final volley abandoned the work. Their huddled mass could be seen in the gardens and vineyards behind the position, cramming the narrow track between the trees to gain the shelter of their batteries in the rear of the second position.

So fell the first position of the Turks. Being a village, it afforded ample cover, and Schackoskoy would have acted wisely had he been content to hold it and strengthen it till Krüdener, on his right, should have carried the Grivitza earthwork, and come up in line with him. But the Grand Cross of Saint George dangled before his eyes, and tempted him to rashness.

Krüdener was clearly jammed. The Turks were fighting furiously, and were in unexpected force on that broad central ridge of theirs as well as against Krüdener. The first position in natural as in artificial strength was child's play to the grim starkness of the second on that isolated mamelon; there with the batteries on the swell behind it. But Schackoskoy determined to go for it, and his troops were not the men to baulk him.

Schackoskoy kept his finger well on the throbbing pulse of battle. Just in the nick of time half his reserve brigades were thrown into the fight while the other half took part in the attack more on the left flank.



THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS,
In the Costume of a Circassian Chief, and attendant Wallachian Girl.

The new blood tells at once. There is a move forward, and no more standing and craning over the fence. The Turks in the flank earth-work are reinforced. All of a sudden the white smoke spouts forth, and swarms of dark-clothed men are scrambling on. There is evidently a short but sharp struggle. Then a swarm of men are seen flying

across the green of the vineyard. But they dont go far, and prowl around the western and northern faces of the work, rendering its occupation very precarious. The Turkish cannon from behind drops shells into it with singular precision.

As a matter of fact, the Russians occupied this the second position of the Turks, but never held it. It was all but empty for a long time, and continuous fighting took place about its flanks.

About six the Turks pressed forward a heavy mass of infantry for its recapture. Schackoskoy took a bold step, sending two batteries down into the first position he had taken to keep them in check. But the Turks were not to be denied, and in spite of the most determined fighting of the Russians, had reoccupied their second position before seven.

The First Brigade of the Thirty-fifth Division had early inclined to the left, where the tower and houses of Plevna were visible. It was rash, for the brigade was exposing its right flank to the Turkish cannon astride of the ridge, but the goal of Plevna was a keen temptation. There was no thoroughfare, however; they would not give up, and they could not succeed; they charged again and again, and when they could charge no more from sheer fatigue they stood and died, for they would not retire. The reserves came up, but only to swell the slaughter. And then the ammunition failed, for the carts had been left far behind, and the most sanguine gave up all hope.

Two companies of Russian infantry did indeed work round the right flank of the Turkish works, and dodge into the town of Plevna, but it was like entering the mouth of hell. On the heights all round, the cannon smoke spurted out, and the vineyard in the rear of the town was alive with Turks. They left after a very short visit, and now all hope of success anywhere was dead, nor did a chance offer to make the best of defeat. Schackoskoy had not a man left to cover the retreat. The Turks struck without stint; they had the upper hand for once, and were determined to show that they knew how to make the most of it.

They advanced in swarms through the dusk on their original first position and captured three Russian cannons before the batteries could be withdrawn. The Turkish shells began once more to whistle over the ridge above Radisovo and fall into the village behind, now crammed with wounded; the streams of wounded wending their pain-

ful way over the ridge were incessant; the badly wounded mostly lay where they fell. Later in the darkness the Bashi-Bazouks swarmed over the battle-field, and spared not. Lingering there on the ridge till the moon rose, the staff could hear from down below on the still night air the cries of pain, the entreaties for mercy, and the yells of bloodthirsty fanatical triumph. It was indeed an hour to wring the sternest heart.

On the 7th of August another battle was fought and won by Osman Pasha, this time on the road between Loftcha and Plevna, near the village of Vladina.

After his previous defeat of the Russians, Osman pressed on the retreating troops with his cavalry for a considerable distance, in the direction of the Yantra.

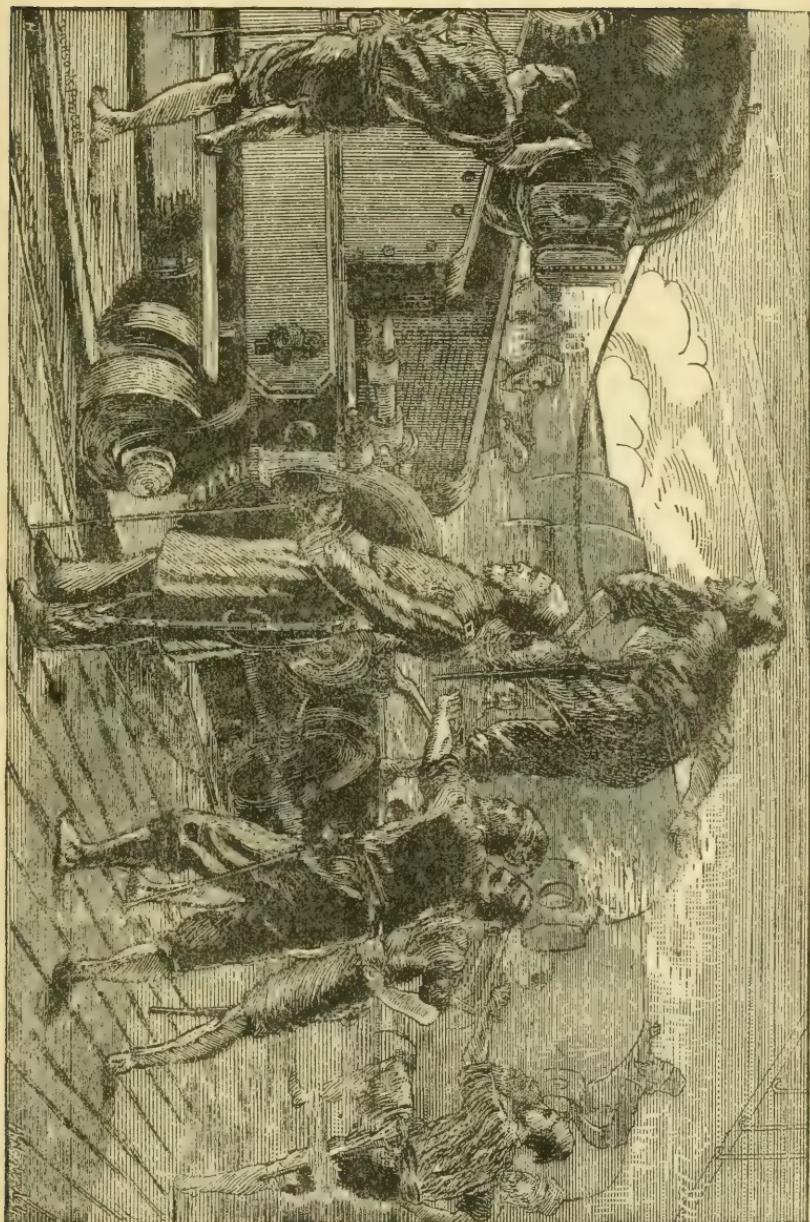
On the 5th of August he discovered that the Muscovites had commenced to concentrate, having received considerable reinforcements; and subsequently ascertained that they were again advancing to renew the attack. Collecting his detached forces, Osman Pasha took up a strong position at the place above indicated, and, having entrenched it, awaited the coming assault, his troops being animated with the utmost confidence in their chief, and eager for the conflict.

Early on the morning of the 7th the wished-for opportunity arrived. The Russians advanced to the assault in vast numbers, the Ottoman troops apparently adopting the same strategy as on the occasion of their victory at Plevna.

The Russians commenced the battle by a heavy artillery fire on the Ottoman batteries, to which there was a sharp and effective reply. For some time this artillery duel was maintained, without advantage to the Muscovs. A simultaneous movement on the flanks and centre was then developed by the entire Russian attacking force, their infantry advancing in dense masses against the Turkish trenches, from which a terrible fire was delivered on the Russians.

Throughout the day a deadly fight was waged along the whole line, the Russians unavailingly endeavoring to dislodge the defenders of the position so well selected by Osman Pasha. Every renewed effort by the Muscovs resulted in terrible loss and defeat.

At every point the Ottomans maintained their ground, fighting with an obstinacy and a courage intensified by the recollection of their recent success against the same foe, and conscious of the disastrous consequences of defeat at this supreme Russian effort.



SCENE ON A TURKISH GUNBOAT.

The assault was made with great determination and valor. Nothing but the superior generalship and willing sacrifice of the defenders could have successfully resisted the tremendous onslaughts of the Russian infantry, as they advanced undaunted and unflinching under a fusilade that ploughed their ranks with a destructiveness that was appalling.

Watching his opportunity, Osman turned his defence into attack on his enemy, which decided the fate of the day, and once more brought him victory. The Russians were driven back along the entire line, leaving immense numbers of killed and wounded on the field.

While these events were being enacted in the vicinity of the Balkans, offensive operations were not neglected in the region of the Danube. A spirited naval engagement took place below Silistria on July 21st, the actors in which were those who had lately blown up a Turkish monitor with torpedoes. The Turkish Danube flotilla, which had disappeared from view since the taking of Nicopolis, had again shown itself in action with most disastrous results. In the judgment of the Russian commander, the time had come when the operations of the army on the right bank of the Danube might be supported by the very rudimentary Russian fleet on the river. Accordingly Lieutenant Doubasoff went with the steamer Nicholas and two steam launches, and opened fire on a Turkish camp fourteen miles from Silistria, compelling the Turks to remove from that position. This proceeding was as presumptuous as it was annoying, and the Turkish naval authorities, remembering that the late commander of their flotilla was in Constantinople to answer inquiries as to his past inertness, sent a monitor out to meet the Russians. The fifth shot from the Nicholas, commanded by Lieutenant Maximovitch, an officer of engineers, set fire to the bridge of the monitor, but the flames were extinguished. The tenth shot caused a more violent outbreak of fire, and the monitor, compelled to cease firing, approached the bank and began disembarking her crew, the Russians stimulating the process by shell-firing. A Turkish steamer and another monitor subsequently arrived from Silistria, and as a battery was also brought up to the bank, the Nicholas and the sloops retired firing, having suffered no loss. On the 23d five Turkish steamers and two monitors went down the river from Rustchuk, when the fire from the heavy guns at Slobosia set on fire and destroyed three Turkish steamers and sank a fourth. Thus

within a few days four Turkish steamers were destroyed, and another and a monitor seriously damaged.

In the meantime preparations were gradually progressing for an attack upon Rustchuk, about sixty miles above Silistria. The fortress stands on a plateau, which rises abruptly fifty to a hundred feet high from the river at twenty to eighty paces from it. Inclosed by a wall, and in some places by moats, it appears hardly capable of any great resistance; but it is rendered unapproachable in the west by the Balta (lake) Mairu, on the Roumanian bank of the Danube, which runs here from southwest to northeast, and also by the river itself and its tributary, the Lom (not to be confounded with the river of that name in West Bulgaria). It can, therefore, only be attacked from the northeast and south, where well-armed fortifications were constructed, calculated to afford an obstinate resistance to an attacking party. A strong citadel serves to protect Rustchuk; it commands the whole town, the Danube with its islands, and even the low-lying portions of Giurgevo, on the Roumanian shore.

After the crossing at Sistova, the Twelfth and Thirteenth Army Corps were constituted into the army of Rustchuk, destined for the siege of that fortress, with the Cesarewitch as commander-in-chief. General Camcowsky, hitherto chief of the Twelfth Corps, was appointed chief of staff to the Cesarewitch; and the Grand Duke Vladimir, brother of the Cesarewitch, succeeded to the command of the Twelfth Corps, heading the advance on Rustchuk. In the early part of July its cavalry division was already forward in the vicinity of the fortress, driving in the outlying Turks, and the Thirty-third Division marched forward soon after. The First Division advanced nearer the Danube in a parallel line.

During the first weeks of July the main portion of the army was massed along the river Yantra, with headquarters at Biela, with the object of holding in check the Turkish field army extending from Rasgrad to Osman Bazar. Great impatience was naturally felt in the Rustchuk army at this prolonged inactivity, yet the policy of this attitude was obvious. While two corps stood lining the road of advance on Tirnova, an attempt to intercept that advance, or to disturb its communications, could be made. Nor was this all. The Turkish field army could not change its front and, marching to its left, move off into the Balkans to interfere with the passage of the

Russians through the defiles without showing a flank, and, indeed, its rear, to this threatening mass of men, purposely motionless for the time, but ready to march quickly and far when the opportunity for doing good by so doing should offer. The policy was obvious, but it was cautious. It was not in accord with Prince Frederick Charles's standing orders, "Find your enemy, and fight him whenever and wherever you find him."

Towards the middle of July, the restriction against crossing the Yantra at length gave way. The army of Rustchuk was ordered to move on towards Rustchuk, and the headquarters were moved to a village called Beleova, on the east bank of the Yantra, about midway between Biela and the Danube, the centre of the new position being located about Domogila, a village seventeen miles from Rustchuk, between the Yantra and the Lom.

By the close of July Rustchuk was completely invested, the Russian army being massed on the western bank of the Black Lom, which flows due north and enters the Danube at Rustchuk. The principal concentration of this army was near the Danube, but the right flank of its cavalry was at Polomarka, twenty-five miles north of Osman Bazar, and the villages of the intervening space were filled with troops.



A RUSSIAN AMBULANCE TRAIN.

CHAPTER XXX.

PASSING THE BALKANS.

GENERAL GOURKO marched out from Tirnova on the morning of July 12th at the head of eight regiments of cavalry and six battalions of the Tirailleur brigade. His main body marched upon Elena, a place southeast of Tirnova, but it was necessary to ascertain how far the Turkish concentration, said to exist about Osman Bazar, was in force, and whether the alignment of the enemy was prolonged from Osman Bazar in a southerly direction through the Balkans. Accordingly General Gourko led a cavalry reconnaissance on the Schumla road in the direction of Osman Bazar, and pushed it home with considerable determination. He learned that there were some six thousand Turks in the Osman Bazar district, which, however, constituted the left flank of the Turkish alignment between the Danube and the Balkans. Their position did not prolong itself into the mountains, so leaving a detachment of the Ninth Corps, which had followed him, to watch the Turkish position about Osman Bazar, he coolly turned his back on the Turks and headed due south for the Balkans.

About Elena he picked up the mass of his detachment, and in two forced marches he was in the heart of the Balkans, striking that section of the range known as the Elena Balkans. Through these there are three passes into the Valley of the Tunja, nearly parallel with each other. One, which is the central of the three, is called the Hanka, or Hainkoi Pass, from the name of the village at its southern exit. The most easterly pass of the three is called the Zupanci Mesari Pass. General Gourko had as guides the Christian inhabitants of the intricate valleys of the Balkan ranges, who have never wholly bowed to Turkish rule. Led by them with long-extended and swiftly stretched-out arm, he clutched a grip of the throats of these three passes. Through each he passed a detachment, but he himself, and the mass of his command, penetrated the defile of the Hanka Pass, a narrow defile with precipitous rocks on either side, and somewhat tortuous. The gradients of the track are surprisingly easy, but the

track was too narrow for the wheels of the gun carriages and mountain batteries which accompanied the column. In the most difficult part of the pass General Gourko's éclaireurs came on a fortified position held by a battalion of Turkish Nizams who appeared taken utterly by surprise by the sudden appearance of the Cossacks. Many were killed and wounded, and the Nizams, who never had recovered from the confusion of the surprise, bolted precipitately.

- Here, as in the two other passes, battery emplacements were found in judiciously-chosen positions; but they had remained unarmed. General Gourko had been too nimble for the slow-paced, unmetho-dical Turks. When they were sitting still saying "Bismillah," he was riding through their unarmed earthworks. When General Gourko had traversed this Hanka Pass he found himself, as we have stated, in the valley of the Tunja, and he came out of the mountain into that at a singularly advantageous point, the village of Esekei, nearly equidistant from the three important places, Kazanlik, Yeni Saghra, and Eski Saghra.

The importance of Kazanlik consists in being at the mouth of the Shipka Pass, one of the Balkan thoroughfares between Gabrova and Kazanlik. Yeni Saghra is on the branch railway to Yamboli. Eski Saghra is quite beyond the Balkans, on the higher slopes of the Maritza Valley, and is the focus of good roads leading to all the points of the valley.

General Gourko knew that reinforcements were following him, and seemingly believing in the axiom that nothing succeeds like success, struck at all three places. He sent a detachment of Cossacks to cut the railway at Yeni Saghra. He sent a small body of cavalry to occupy Eski Saghra, and collect transport materials. As for Kazanlik, information reached him that it and the Shipka Pass were strongly held by the Turkish troops. Assuming that these belonged to the same army he had already touched at Osman-Bazar, his march had cut them off. He had traversed the line of communication between them and their main body. If so, they would the more easily be dealt with. If, on the other hand, they belonged to troops in force further west, or were simply an independent command, the daring wisdom of attacking them seemed to General Gourko equally obvious. So, instead of setting his face in a southeasterly direction down into the valley, with the glittering spires of Adrianople as his



GENERAL JOSEPH VLADIMIROVITCH GOURKO.

objective, he turned westward, and marched up the Tunja Valley on Kazanlik.

It was on the 14th that the Hanka Pass was forced. The Turks retreated westward on Konaro, but next day having received reinforcements, they attacked General Gourko's vanguard, a rifle battalion, as the column marched on Konaro. After some sharp fighting the Turks were repulsed, Konaro occupied, and two of their camps taken.

On the same day a column of Cossacks sent to Yeni Saghra successfully cut the telegraph and railway. Next day, the 16th, General Gourko marched on Naglis. His troops formed in three columns, some consisting of infantry, close to the mountains. The middle column was cavalry and infantry, and the left column cavalry only, with orders to cover the flank, and if possible to turn that of the enemy. At Uflami he was stopped by a strong position, and had to cope with the Turkish artillery, cavalry, and infantry. When he was pushing them hard, five battalions of Anatolian Nizams came up as reinforcements, and behaved very well. Their fire, begun as it was at two thousand paces, caused the Russians considerable loss. The Russian orders were not to open fire till within six hundred paces of the enemy, and it was in the interval that the Russians suffered. But when their distance was reached they poured in a fire which soon compelled the Anatolians to yield the ground.

The Russian direct attacking force was four battalions of rifles and two sotnias of infantry Cossacks, whom the Turks call priests, because of the cross they wear to distinguish them from the Circassian Turks. While the direct attack was being delivered the Russian hussars and dragoons charged the Turkish flank. There was very hot fighting, sabre and bayonet both being used freely. The Turks were at length driven from their position with loss. Four hundred were left dead at one point. The Turks fought very hard here, but their defeat at Uflami seemed to destroy their morals, and subsequently they did not fight so stoutly.

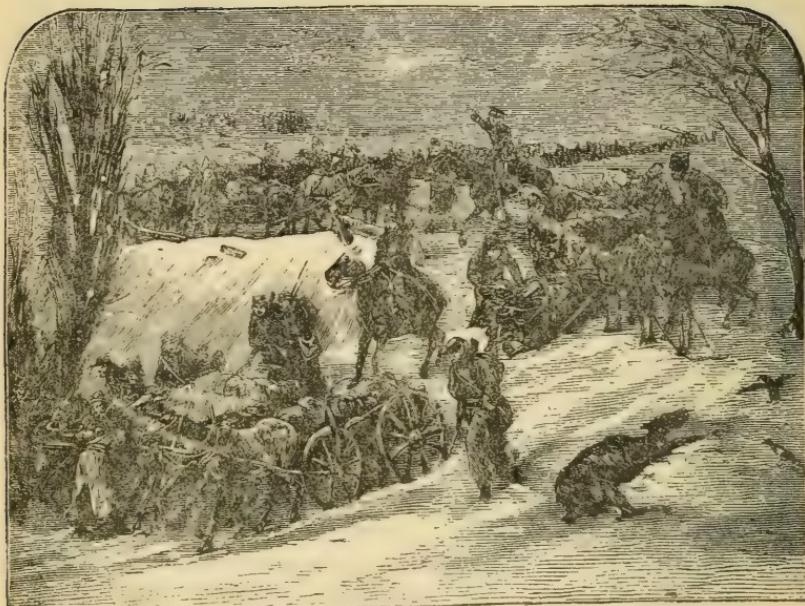
On the 17th General Gourko approached Kazanlik. There was terrible heat, and it was severe marching. The infantry waded into little streams to become soaked and so gain coolness. There was fighting more or less all day. On the evening of the 17th General Gourko entered Kazanlik. The Turks had detailed from the force

holding the Shipka Pass a column to occupy the heights flanking the entrance to Kazanlik and hinder General Gourko's entrance; but his riflemen were beforehand in occupying these heights, and the Turks retired disappointed.

It had been designed that Gourko should reach Kazanlik on the 16th, and on the 17th be free to assail in the rear the Turks holding the Shipka Pass, while Prince Mirski with the Ninth Division attacked them in front. But he was delayed by hard fighting, and the troops were too much fatigued to move further on the same day after the occupation of Kazanlik. So there was no coöperation between General Gourko and Prince Mirski in attacking the Shipka Pass, but the latter, nevertheless, delivered an attack on that position marching southward from Gabrova. He sent against the Turks but one regiment, that of Orloff, which he divided into three columns.

The pass was strongly fortified with six successive tiers of entrenchments and batteries, and defended by picked Turkish troops, Circassians and Egyptians. The latter fought very hard. Of Prince Mirski's three columns, that on the right encountered little opposition and went on some distance, till it missed the support of the centre column, fought five or six hours, and then made good its lodgment in the hostile line. The left column, consisting of two companies, missed its way, and was beset by twelve companies of Turkish soldiers. It fought a retreating combat for four hours against terrible odds, losing eight officers killed and wounded, and about one hundred and fifty men.

On the 18th General Gourko, his men refreshed, advanced to the attack of the Shipka position from the rear. Two battalions of rifles formed his advance. As they neared the rear of the position a flag of truce came out with a Parlementaire. The rifles at once halted, and an officer acting as escort went forward to meet the Parlementaire. While negotiations were going on the Russian riflemen in their curiosity quitted their extended formation and drew together into a mass behind where the officer was communing with the Parlementaire. Suddenly volleys of rifle fire were poured in upon them from the Turkish position. The Parlementaire took to his heels at a signal which the Russians heard but did not comprehend. So sudden and fierce was the fire that in their two battalions the Russians lost one hundred and forty-two men killed and wounded in a few minutes. The survivors



A RUSSIAN MILITARY SUPPLY TRAIN.

in their fury waited for no order to attack, nor regarded any formation. With one common impulse and with yells of wrath they rushed on. It was a bad quarter of an hour for the Turks; but the riflemen, finding no signs of coöperation in the attack from the north by Prince Mirski, contented themselves with driving back the Turks some distance, and occupied the abandoned Turkish camp in the rear of the fortifications.

On the same night, in reply to General Gourko's summons to the Turks to surrender and abandon the further unavailing defence of the pass, there came a letter from the Turkish commander, Mehemet Pasha, offering to surrender. Negotiations were entered into, and the hour for the surrender of the Turks was fixed for twelve at noon the next day. An armistice was arranged, and early on that morning the sanitary detachments went forward to bring in the wounded which the rifle battalions had been forced to leave behind. They sent back word that the Turks had fled and vacated the position. The offer of surrender was a ruse to gain time.

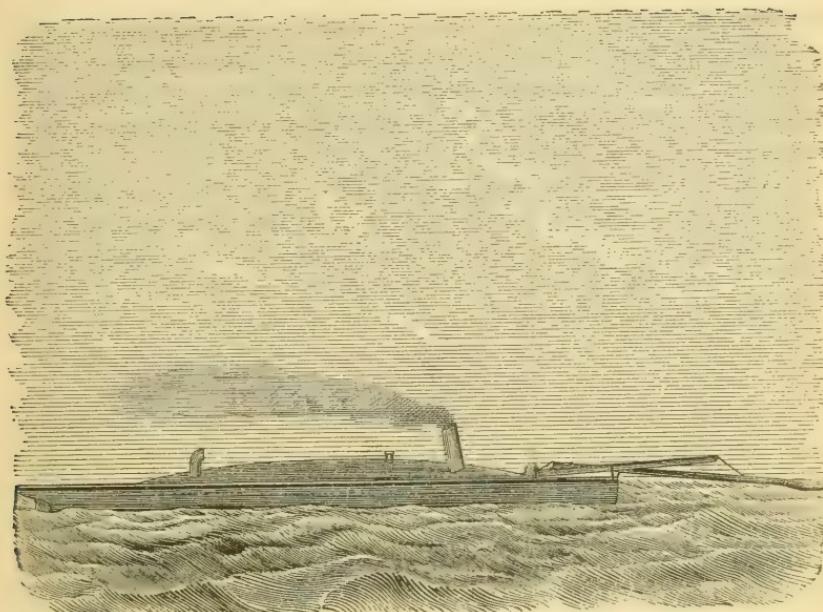
Meanwhile, on the 18th, Prince Mirski had remained quiet, waiting

for further information about Gourko's movements. But on the 19th, young Skobeloff, taking some troops of Mirski's, had pushed forward a reconnoissance into the pass from the north. To his surprise he met no opposition as he passed line after line of fortifications, and the hastily abandoned Turkish camps, with fires yet lit, rations half-cooked, and half-written telegrams. At length he reached the crest of the pass, and the view to the south opened before him. In a hollow at his feet he saw troops in camp. Were they Turks or Russians? The tents seemed Turkish, but the soldiers looked like Russians. Skobeloff tried the Russian hurrah as a test, but it was not replied to. At length, seeing the red cross flag of the ambulance staff, he knew that the men in the valley were his own people, and a junction was immediately formed.

The Turks had fled westward in the direction of Hermedji. General Gourko remained in Kazanlik till the Eighth Corps, then occupying the defiles of the Balkans, had passed through them and massed, with supplies, for further progress. The road at first was only practicable for vehicles drawn by bullocks, but large numbers of men were at once employed in improving it.

During the succeeding days the war was carried by the Russians further south of the Balkans, and nearer to Adrianople. For an advance upon Yeni Saghra General Gourko organized a force consisting of three columns, with orders to converge at different points on Yeni Saghra, as follows: The right column, consisting of the Bulgarian Legion, two batteries of artillery and three regiments of cavalry, were to march from Eski Saghra; the central column, under Gourko himself, consisting of the Rifle Brigade, a regiment of Cossacks and four batteries of artillery, marched from Kazanlik; the left column, of five battalions of infantry, two batteries and some Cossacks, marched from Hain Koi, the objective of all three columns being Yeni Saghra. Gourko marched from Kazanlik on the 29th of July, a terrible march of forty miles long. Nevertheless his troops came into action next morning on the left flank of the Turkish entrenchments in front of the railway station at Yeni Saghra to support the attack of the left column on their right flank. The Turks fought desperately, and bayonet fighting was long and strenuous, but after midday the Russians forced the position, drove out the Turks, took Yeni Saghra, captured three guns, blew up the railway station, and destroyed an

immense mass of Turkish ammunition and stores. For want of cavalry no pursuit was then possible; but next day the Cossacks fell on the retreating Turks. In the afternoon came tidings, by a circuitous route, that the right column was seriously compromised in an attempt to force its way from Eski Saghra, and General Gourko determined to march westward to its succor. That night (the 30th) he reached Karabunar, where he arrived in darkness, but the whole valley was illuminated by blazing villages. Next morning he marched onward upon Dzuranli, on the road to Eski Saghra, ignorant of the fact that some thirty thousand Turks confronted him and stopped the road into the latter place. The Turkish batteries swept the road with persistent fire; nevertheless General Gourko came into action, sending forward five battalions of infantry, covered by artillery. He had forty-eight horses killed in one battery and eight in another. Later the Turkish masses strove to turn the Russian left. The operation was resisted by the Tirailleur Brigade, supported by two regiments of the Ninth Division. The attack was repelled, but with heavy fighting. Still later a column of Circassian cavalry strove to turn the Russian right on the mountain slopes, and the attack was succeeding when there appeared on the scene Leuchtenberg's cavalry, which had cut its way out from Eski Saghra, and which repelled the movement of the Circassians and saved the right wing. General Gourko then bore on forward and reached a position which afforded him a distant view of Eski Saghra. Here there came to him an orderly who had evaded the Turks and brought him intelligence that his right column, consisting of the Bulgarian legion, was beset in Eski Saghra by a force of Turks estimated at twenty thousand men. General Gourko, small as was his force, resolved on an attempt to succor them, and in the meantime determined to maintain his position; but his resolution quailed before the appearance of two massive columns of Turks marching on his flank and rear. He had to leave the Bulgarians to shift for themselves, and make good his own retreat through the difficult and narrow Dalboda Pass, and thence through the Hainkoi Pass, accomplishing his retreat on Thursday, 2d of August, amid cruel hardships. In the retreat the wounded died like flies from jolting and exposure. Hale men succumbed from fatigue and sunstroke. As for the Bulgarian legion composing Gourko's right column, they, advancing from Eski Saghra towards Karabunar, found the enemy and



A RUSSIAN MONITOR ON THE DANUBE.

were driven in. On the 31st of July, after very hard fighting, the Bulgarians had to retire into the defile north of Eski Saghra, and thence effect their retreat through the Shipka Pass. Of the severity of the fighting a judgment may be formed from the fact that the Bulgarian legion began sixteen hundred strong. Between four and five hundred reached Shipka.

The inability of General Gourko to hold Yeni Saghra and Eski Saghra against the superior forces of Suleiman Pasha foreshadowed the inevitable result—that at the beginning of August that officer held no important town south of the Balkans, and was only master of the position before the southern end of the Shipka Pass. Two regiments held the Hainkoi Pass, and detachments of troops were stationed at Drenova and Gabrova, while the main portion of the Russian army occupied in force a line extending from Tirnova to Shipka, under the command of Prince Mirski.

On the 16th there was a general reconnaissance in some force by the Turks all along the Russian left flank. From the Danube to beyond the Balkans; from under the guns of Rustchuk, from Ras-

grad; from Osman Bazar towards Bebrova, and at half a dozen intermediate places the soldiers of Mehemet Ali Pasha, beat up the Russian positions confronting them. There was not much hard fighting, and little loss on either side; but the significance of the movement was that the Turks took the initiative.

From the Tunja Valley on the same day a column of Suleiman Pasha's force attempted strenuously to force the Hainkoi Pass, but after forcing its way into the defile, it was so roughly handled by the Russian artillery in position, and by a regiment holding the Pass, that it was compelled to retire.

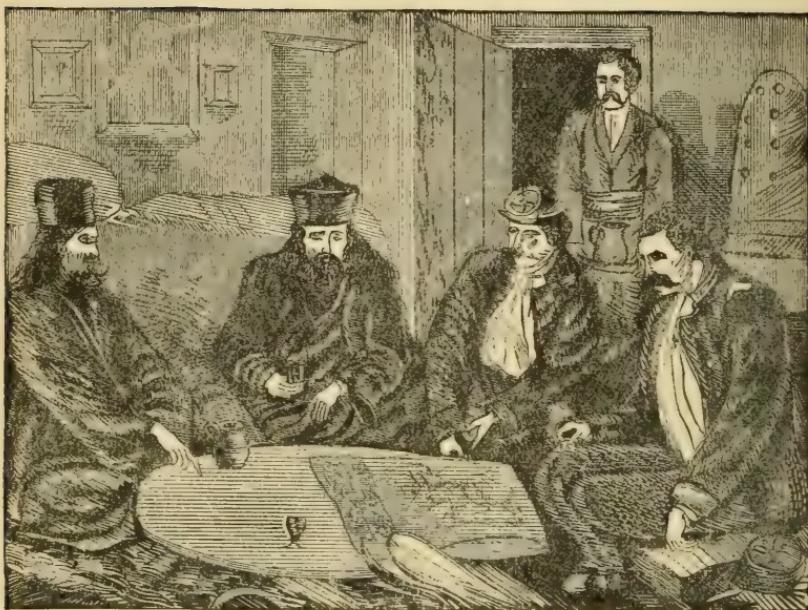
On the 19th Suleiman Pasha occupied the village of Shipka, and on the 21st commenced an attack on the Russian positions at the head of the Pass. It may be proper to explain to the reader that the Skipka Pass is not a pass at all in the proper sense of the term. There is no gorge, no defile; there is no spot where three hundred men could make a new Thermopylæ; no deep-scored trench where an army might be annihilated without coming to grips with its adversary. It has its name simply because at this point there happens to be a section of the Balkans of less than the average height, the surface of which, from the Yantra Valley on the north to the Tunja Valley on the south, is sufficiently continuous, although having an extremely broken and serrated contour, to afford a foothold for a practicable track, for the Balkans present a wild jumble of mountain and glen, neither having any continuity. Under such circumstances, such a crossing-place as the Shipka point affords is a godsend, although under other circumstances a road over it would be regarded as impossible. What was a mere track had now become a really good and practicable, although steep, high road. The ground on either side of the ridge is depressed sometimes into shallow hollows, sometimes into cavernous gorges; but these lateral depressions are broken, and have no continuity, otherwise they would clearly afford a better track for a road than the high ground above.

The highest peak is flanked on either side behind the lateral depressions by a mountainous spur higher than itself, and therefore commanding it and having as well the command of the ridge behind. The highest peak, that is to say, the first of these two spurs, can rake the road leading up to the Russian positions. These spurs break off abruptly and precipitously, one on the northern edge, and therefore

afford no access into the valley north of the Balkans. Their sole use to the Turks, therefore, was in affording positions whence to flank the central Shipka ridge. It is possible also for troops to descend from them, struggle through the intervening glens, and climbing the steep slopes of the Shipka ridge, give the hand to each other on the road which runs along its summit. This done the Shipka position would of course be turned, but the advantage would be of little avail till the road had been opened by carrying the fortified positions on it. Without the command of the road an enemy might indeed send bands down the road on to which he had scrambled, into the lower country about Gabrova to burn and plunder, but the road over the Shipka constitutes for an army the only practicable line of communication in this section of the Balkans.

The troops engaged in the battle of Shipka Pass were as follows : The Bulgarians and a regiment of the Ninth Division under General Stoletoff; the Second Brigade of the Ninth Division, under General Derotchinsky; the Rifle Brigade under General Toitzwinski. The Second Brigade of the Fourteenth Division, commanded by General Petrotchesti, arrived at nine in the morning, brought up by the commander of the division, General Dragimiroff, the whole force being under the chief command of General Radetzky, commanding the Eighth Corps, which is composed of the Ninth and Fourteenth Divisions, in all twenty battalions, which if full would give an aggregate of about seventeen thousand men ; but every regiment engaged had already fought and lost. The Tirailleurs and Bulgarians shared the fortunes and misfortunes of General Gourko. The Fourteenth Division fought hard in crossing the Danube. The stones of the Shipka had already been splashed with the blood of Mirski's gallant fellows of the Ninth Division. The total strength was not above thirteen thousand.

The Turks began the attack on the 21st, pushing on directly up the steeps above the village of Shipka. The Russian garrison in the works of the pass then consisted of the Bulgarian Legion and one regiment of the Ninth Division, both weakened by previous hard fighting, and probably reckoning little more than three thousand bayonets, with about forty cannon. No supports were nearer than Tirnova, a distance of forty miles. The garrison fought hard and hindered the Turks from gaining any material advantage, though they forced the outer line of the Russian shelter trenches on the slopes below



SERVIAN STAFF OFFICERS AND MONKS HOLDING COUNCIL IN A MONASTERY.

the position of Mount Saint Nicholas, the highest peak of the Shipka crossing. The Russians had laid mines in front of their trenches, which were exploded just as the head of the Turkish assaulting parties were massed above them, and a large number of Moslems were blown up into the air in fragments. The loss to the Russians on the first day's attack was but two hundred, chiefly of the Bulgarian Legion.

On the second day, the 22d, the fighting was not heavy, the Turks being engaged in making a wide turning movement on the right and left flanks of the Russian position, and these attacks were developed with great fierceness and pertinacity.

On the 23d the Turks assailed the Russian position on the front and flanks, and drove in the defenders from their outlying ground. The radical defects of the position became painfully apparent, its narrowness, its exposure, its liability to be outflanked and isolated. Fortunately reinforcements had arrived, which averted the mischief which had otherwise imminently impended. There had come to him, swiftly marching from Selvi, a brigade of the Ninth Division, commanded by

General Derotcninski, and this timely succor had been of material value to Stoletoff. The fight lasted all day, and at length, as the sun grew lower, they had so worked round on both the Russian flanks that it seemed as though the claws of the crab were about momentarily to close behind the Russians, and that the Turkish columns climbing the Russian ridge would give a hand to each other on the road in the rear of the Russian position.

The moment was dramatic with an intensity to which the tameness of civilian life can furnish no parallel. The two Russian generals, expecting momentarily to be environed, had sent, between the closing claws of the crab, a last telegram to the Czar, telling what they expected, how they tried to prevent it, and how that, please God, driven into their positions and beset, they would hold these till reinforcements should arrive. At all events, they and their men would hold their ground to the last drop of their blood.

It was six o'clock, there was a lull in the fighting, of which the Russians could take no advantage, since the reserves were all engaged. The grimed, sun-blistered men, were beaten out with heat, fatigue, hunger, and thirst. There had been no cooking for three days, and there was no water within the Russian lines. The poor fellows lay panting on the bare ridge, reckless that it was swept by the Turkish rifle fire. Others doggedly fought on down among the rocks, forced to give ground, but doing so grimly and sourly. The cliffs and valleys send back the triumphant Turkish shouts of "Allah il Allah!"

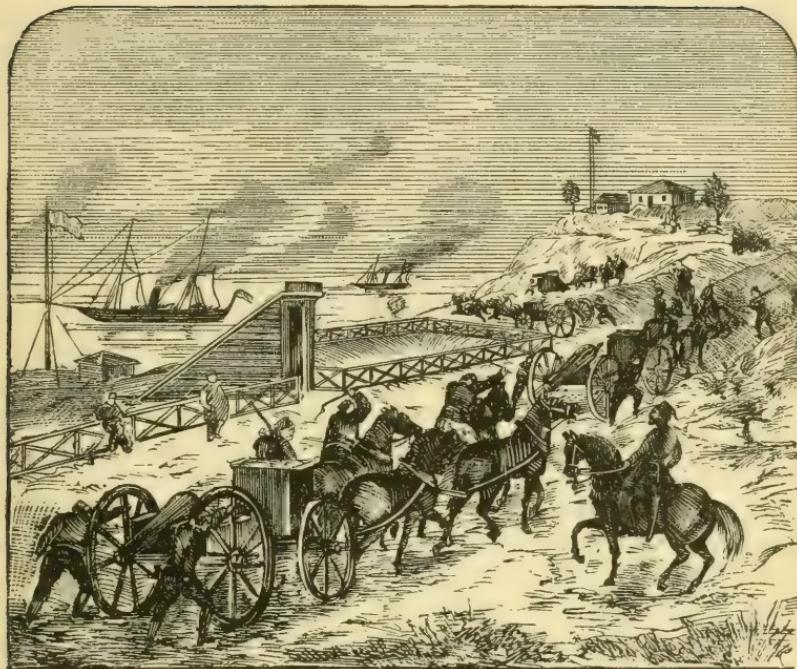
The two Russian generals were on the peak which the first position half encloses. Their glasses anxiously scanned the visible glimpses of the steep brown road leading up there from the Yantra valley, through thick copses of sombre green, and yet more sombre dark rock. Stoletoff cries aloud in sudden access of excitement, clutches his brother General by the arm, and points down the pass. The head of a long black column was plainly visible against the reddish-brown bed of the road. "Now God be thanked!" says Stoletoff, solemnly. Both generals bare their heads. The troops spring to their feet. They descry the long black serpent coiling up the brown road. Through the green copses a glint of sunshine flashes, banishes the sombreness, and dances on the glittering bayonets. Such a gust of Russian cheers whirls and eddies among the mountain tops that the Turkish war-cries are wholly drowned in the glad welcome which the Russian soldiers send to the

comrades coming to help them. Some time elapses. The head of the column draws near the Karaula, and is on the little plateau in front of the khan. But they are mounted men. The horses are easily discernible. Has Radetzky, then, been so left to himself, or so hard pushed, that he has sent cavalry to cope with infantry among the precipices of the Balkans? Be they what they may, they carry a tongue that can speak, for on the projection to the right of the khan a mountain battery has just come into action against the Turkish artillery on the wooded ridge, by the occupation of which the Turks are flanking the right of the Russian position. There are no riders on the horses now, and they are on their way down hill. But a column of Russian infantry are on the swift tramp up hill till they get within firing distance of the Turks on the right, and then they break, scatter, and from behind every stone and bush spurt white jets of smoke.

It is a battalion of the Rifle Brigade, the brigade itself is not far behind, and it is a rifle brigade that needs no more fighting in the Balkans to link its name with the great mountain chain. It is the same rifle brigade which followed General Gourko in his victorious advance and checkered retreat. The brigade has marched thirty-five miles straight on end without cooking or sleeping, and now is in action without so much as a breathing halt. Such is the stuff of which thorough good soldiers are made. Their General, the gallant Tzvitinsky, accompanies them, and pushes an attack on the Turkish position on that wooded ridge on the Russian right. But Radetzky, who himself brought up the Tirailleurs, and so saved the day, marches on up the road with his staff at his back, runs the triple gauntlet of the Turkish rifle fire, and joins the other two Generals on the peak hard by the batteries of the first position.

In the night a renewed attempt to carry the Turkish positions threatening the right flank could well be spared. But it was felt that there was no safety, far less elbow-room for the Russians until the Turks should be driven off that dominating wooded ridge looming so ugly on the right flank. The left flank, which the Turks assailed the previous day, was now comparatively safe. So the next day's fighting began at daybreak with a renewed attack of the Russians on the positions named.

The fighting hung very much in the valley, and the reinforcements



REINFORCEMENTS ARRIVING TO BARRICADE THE DANUBE.

of the Ninth Division sent down effected much perceptible good. About nine Dragimiroff arrived with two regiments of the Second Brigade of his own division, the Podolsk Regiment. He left in reserve near the khan the Jitomer Regiment, and marched up the road to the first position. There was no alternative but to traverse that fearfully-dangerous road, for the lower broken ground on its left was impracticable, and reported besides to be swarming with Bashi-Bazouks. The Jitomer men lost heavily while making this promenade, and having reached the peak, found no safe shelter, for the Turkish rifle fire was coming from two quarters simultaneously. So the infantry were stowed away till wanted in the ditch of the redoubt.

The firing in the valley waxed and waned fitfully as the morning wore on to near noon. The Turks were apparently very strong in their wooded position, and there was an evident intention on their part to work round their left and edge in across the narrowed throat of the valley towards the Russian rear.

About eleven the firing in the valley swelled in volume. It was clear that the battle waged to and fro, now the Russians, now the Turks, gaining ground occasionally. The Russians at some point would be hurled out of the wood altogether, the Turks following them eagerly to its edge, and lying down while pouring out a galling fire.

There is something terrible in a fight in a wood. You can see nothing save an occasional flash of dark color among the sombre foliage, and the white clouds of smoke rising above it like soap-bubbles. Hoarse cries come back to you on the wind from out the mysterious inferno. How is it to go? Are the strong-backed Muscovites, with these ready bayonet points of theirs to end the long drawn out fight with one short, impetuous, irresistible rush, or are the more lissom Turks to drive their northern adversaries out of the wood backwards into the fire-blistered open. Who can tell?

The Tirailleurs and Breanski Regiment are not making headway in their difficult enterprise of attacking direct in front the steep Turkish slope, with its advantage of wooded cover, although they have foiled the efforts of the Turks to work round by their own left into the Russian rear. It was determined at twelve o'clock to deliver a counter flank attack on the right edge of the Turkish ridge, simultaneously with a renewed strenuous attack of the Tirailleurs and the men from below. The two battalions of the Jitomer Regiment, each leaving one company behind as supports, emerge from the partial shelter of the peak of the Russian first position, and march in company columns across the more level grass land at the head of the intervening valley. They have no great dip to traverse, and their way is good marching ground, but the Turkish mountain guns from the battery high upon the wooded peak of the Turkish position, are ready for them, as also is the Turkish infantry on the Turkish right edge of the ridge. The fire sweeps through them, and many a gallant fellow dyes the grass with his blood. But the battalions press steadily on, and dash into the wood at the double. The Russian artillery had done its best to prepare the way, for their battery on the peak had fired hard while they were crossing over, and a reserve battery near the khan down below had come into action. But now the artillery had to cease, for there was danger in blind firing into the wood when the Russians were in it. The arbitrament had to be left to rifle and bayonet.

The crisis of the battle had now arrived. It remained for the Russians to gaze into the perplexing mystery of forest and to hope fervently. The fighting of the infantry on the Turkish front and flank lasted for a long hour, and raged with great fury, but it was clear that the Russians were gradually gaining ground. The Turks were seen withdrawing their battery of mountain guns near the right flank, a sure sign that danger menaced it if it stayed longer. Then the left battery followed their example, a sure sign too that the Tirailleurs and Breanskis had gained the ridge on the Turkish left also. There remained but the central peak of the Turkish position.

The fight was on the balance. The Russians as they stood could all but succeed, but not quite. It was an intensely exciting period, and Radetzky was equal to the occasion. We have mentioned that the Jitomer battalions had left two companies in reserve when they marched out from behind the peak. Radetzky took one of these companies; the Colonel of the Jitomer Regiment placed himself at the head of the other; and thus led, the two companies set forward to throw themselves into the fray. The Jitomers had been chafing at their inaction, but the leadership of their chief thrilled them with increased zeal. Their ringing cheers rose high above the rattle of musketry as they dashed across the grassy slope at the head of the valley, and precipitated themselves into the wood.

Now there was a concentric rush on the peak. Its rude breastworks were surmounted there was some hot bayonet work, and then a tremendous volley of Russian hurrahs told that the Turkish ridge was cleared and the position won. This was at two o'clock. The Turks, however, are irrepressible. All day they had fought with stubborn valor, and would not yet own themselves beaten. They came on again out of the valley beyond their late ridge, and strove to retake it, but were severely repulsed. By three o'clock they had abandoned the effort for the day, and the fire had all but died out.

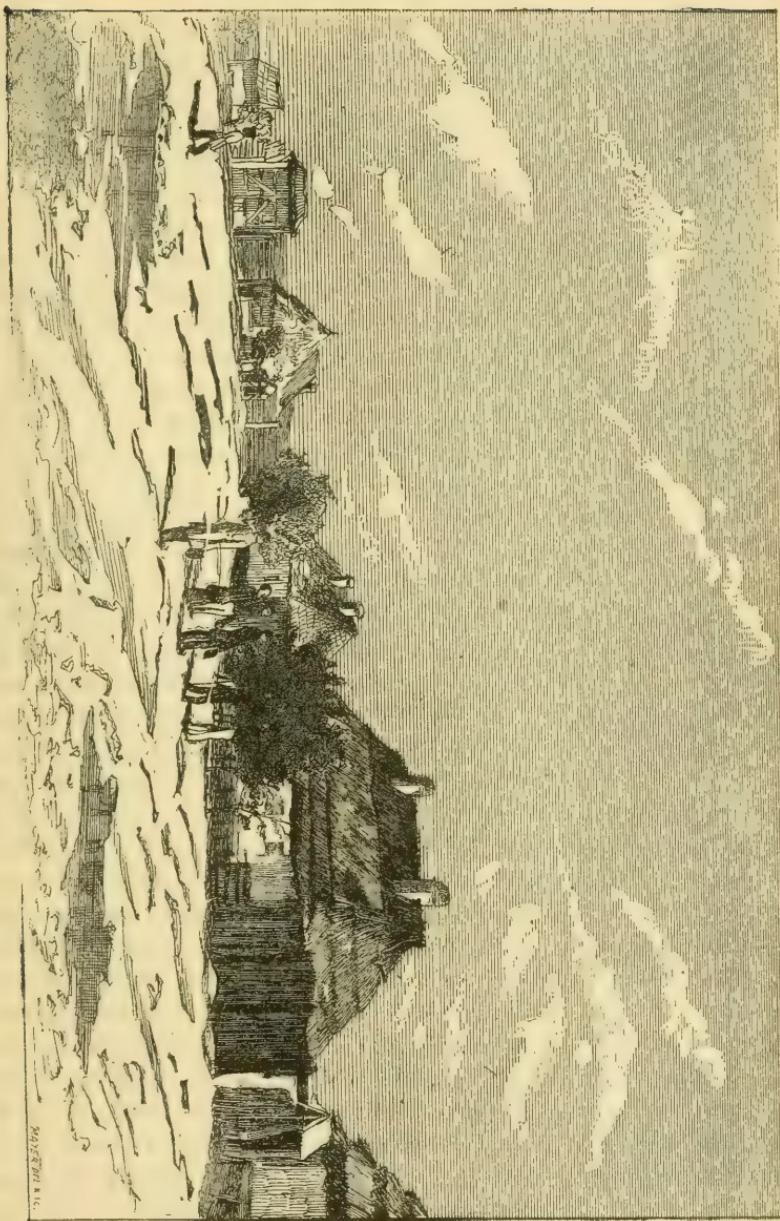
During the following day, the fight raged with unabated fury. The arrival of Radetzky with reinforcements saved the situation for the moment and drove back the Turks, who were on the point of seizing the pass; but the Russian position was still most critical. The Turks had not only turned both the Russian flanks by seizing Berdek on the left and the mountains on the right, but had constructed a redoubt and planted a battery on the right which commanded the road leading

up to the pass. This gave them possession of the ridge running parallel to that up which the road winds fifteen hundred yards distant. The redoubt enfiladed the road in several places, and the Turkish infantry, by extending along this ridge, which is thickly wooded, could practically render the road impassable.

General Radetzky had no sooner arrived than he began making dispositions in earnest. From the highest point of the pass there is a high short narrow ridge extending to the right at nearly right angles to the road. At a distance of half a mile it rises into a sharp peak, which was crowned by a Russian redoubt, effectually protecting the Russian batteries from that side. Half a mile further the ridge rises into another peak, which was crowned by the Turkish redoubt already spoken of, and it was the head of the ridge mentioned which curved round on the Russian right until parallel with the road, thus enabling the Turkish infantry to command it.

The two peaks occupied by the Russian and Turkish redoubts were thickly wooded as well as the connecting ridge between. General Radetzky advanced his troops along this ridge under cover of the woods, and opened fire on the redoubt with two or three batteries. He at the same time sent troops across the deep hollow from the road to take the Turkish redoubt on the Gabrova side, by advancing up the steep mountain flank. Soon a terrible musketry fire told that the troops were in contact and the attack fairly begun; and for hours the mountains reëchoed with the continuous roll of musketry and the thunder of cannon.

The Russians advanced like Indians under cover of the trees, firing as they went. In a short time they had reached within fifty yards of the redoubt. Here they found obstacles which for the moment were quite insurmountable. The Turks had cut down the trees around the redoubt, making an abattis over which the Russians found it almost impossible to pass. They gathered around the edge under cover of the trees, and suddenly made a rush for it, but were driven back with fearful loss. The soldiers became entangled in the masses of brushwood, trunks, and limbs of the trees over which they were obliged to scramble, while the Turks poured in a terrible fire upon them at this short distance, and mowed them down like grass. Of the first assault launched against the redoubt very few got back under cover to tell the tale. It was very evident that the assault under such conditions



VILLAGE IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF RUSSIA.

could not succeed. Only one battalion had been sent to attack. The force was insufficient, and of this one company sent to the assault was nearly destroyed. Reinforcements were sent by Radetzky. The attack began again with a heavy and well sustained musketry fire, before which the Turks, unable to maintain their ground, fell back slowly. The Russians followed, supported by their artillery, until they gained the crest of the ridge. Here a desperate fight took place, the Russians maintaining their fire, and the Turks slowly retiring before the assailants, who every moment received strong reinforcements, columns of infantry continually coming up. By nine o'clock at night the Russians were pushing forward in three attacking columns. The Turks fought hard, taking advantage of every bit of cover; but they were unable to hide themselves completely, owing to the bright moonlight, which rendered the landscape as clear as day. The Turks, consequently, were forced to continue their retreat up the hill until the summit alone was in their possession. At 11 P.M. the Russians made a grand charge, cheering loudly. They stormed the earthworks covering the battery, and almost effected an occupation of the hill; but at this juncture the Turkish officers called upon their men for a supreme effort. Forthwith arose loud cries of "Allah!" as the Turks rushed out of the side of the trenches in the rear of the battery, and dashed upon their enemy with the bayonet, hurling the Russians down the slope and forcing them through the wood which covers the side of the hill. The air was rent with the shouts and shrieks of the soldiers, whilst the scene itself was perfectly indescribable. The fighting was simply terrific. The Russians fell back quickly, but receiving fresh reinforcements, renewed the attack at one o'clock in the morning, storming the height again, and reaching the summit, which they partly recovered. They were, however, driven back again. One hour later, at two o'clock, they repeated the attempt with the same result. After that they remained quiet until six o'clock, when, being heavily reinforced, they made a final attack. This time the Turks, being also reinforced, calmly awaited the onslaught. They allowed the Russians to reach the summit, and then charged them with the bayonet. The latter broke and fled down the hill and through the wood. Completely routed, they were pushed into the valley, the Turks pursuing them with the bayonet up to their forts, which immediately opened a heavy fire. The Russians receiving re-

inforcements on Sunday morning, unsuccessfully attempted a final assault, after which they returned to their fortified works. The cannoneade continued all Sunday without appreciable result.

On Tuesday morning, the 28th, Suleiman Pasha again attacked the Russian positions. The Turkish guns opened fire at ten o'clock, and the infantry at half-past ten. The artillery was effectively served, every shell falling into the Russian batteries. The infantry advanced so close to the Russian entrenchments that the Turks were compelled to suspend their artillery fire. The Muscovs were driven back at all points. The Turks fought magnificently, rushing up the mountains, and with loud cheers attacking their enemy with the bayonet.

The Russians retired to an impregnable rock, defended by rifle pits, from which it was impossible to dislodge them, owing to the lateness of the hour and the fatigue the troops had suffered. During the night the Turks dragged up a number of guns, and on the next morning fighting commenced at daybreak, the Turks pushing forward still closer to the last of the Russian positions. Fighting was continued throughout the day, but nothing important occurred.

At daybreak on Thursday the battle recommenced. The Turkish artillery fired with perfect precision, every shell falling into the Russian rifle pits. At noon the Russian batteries in the centre were silenced, and shortly were abandoned, the men running away like sheep. The Turkish shells mowed down the retreating troops; but presently receiving heavy reinforcements, they returned and re-occupied their batteries and rifle pits. The Ottoman soldiers behaved like heroes, fighting hard with the bayonet; but being unsupported, the attacking column was obliged to fall back, after making a gallant resistance. They, however, retained most of the important heights they had previously captured.

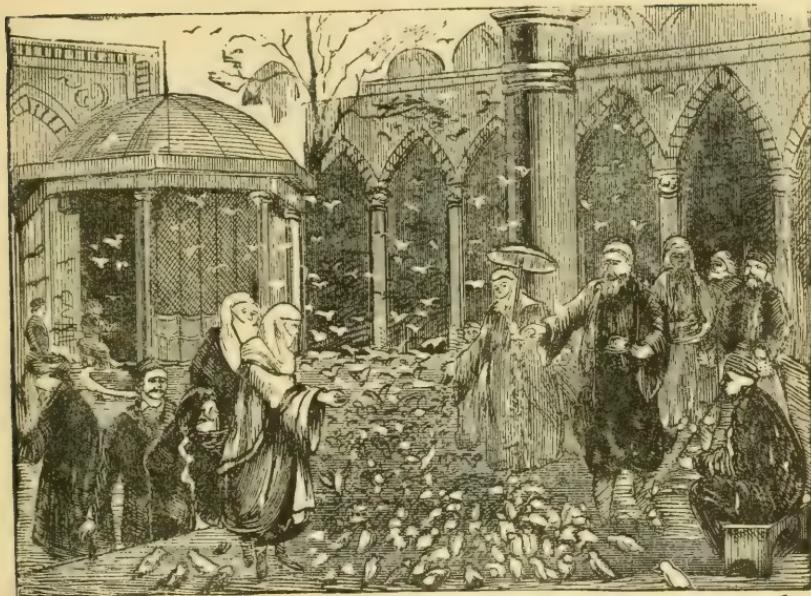
Subsequently the Turks pushed on near to the rear of the Russian position, whilst the latter attacked the Turkish left. Furious fighting ensued, and lasted all day. The Russians this time were repulsed with heavy loss. Their batteries in the centre were unable to fire at all, owing to the Turks having established a battery on the heights to the right.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OPERATIONS BEFORE PLEVNA.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with Suleiman Pasha's movement upon the Shipka Pass, Osman Pasha moved up troops from Loftcha towards Selvi, on the way to Gabrova, by which town Suleiman Pasha, if successful, intended to descend upon Tirnova, and at noon on the 22d of August rifle firing began at the position occupied by the Russian advanced guards before Selvi.

On the last day of August was fought the third battle of Plevna. The Turks, at eight o'clock in the morning, made a furious attack on the Russian positions, which resulted in one of the most hardly fought battles of the war. The extreme Russian front was about four or five miles from Poredin, and the battle was begun by an advance of the Turks upon Pelisa and Zgalince. A mile in front of the former village was a Russian redoubt, which the Turks took in their advance, lost, and retook very early in the day. Zgalince was the Russian centre, having before it a redoubt and a series of trenches. The capture of the redoubt before Pelisat enabled the Turks to drive the Russian left back upon Pelisat, in front of which trenches had been dug and lined with troops. The Turks marched down the hill to the attack in loose order, without firing, and had accomplished half the distance under a destructive artillery fire, when a tremendous rifle fire was opened on them as they were advancing to the Russian trenches on the crest of the hill half way between Pelisat and Zgalince. As they attempted the ascent they were received with a storm of balls, under which they remained for fifteen or twenty minutes, during which time a fearful loss of life occurred. Before reaching the trenches they began to waver away, and retreated, carrying off the wounded. No sooner, however, had they withdrawn from the Russian fire than they formed and encountered it again. Their valor cost them dear, for many bodies of Turks lay within ten feet of the Russian trenches. The little slope, on the crest of which the trenches were situated, was literally covered with dead. As many as seven were counted on a space of not more than ten feet square. The battle here was terrible, but the Turks were



FEEDING PIGEONS IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

again repulsed, and again they retreated. A third time they advanced, although the Russian fire never slackened an instant, and the Russian line never wavered, while the Russian reserves were waiting behind, ready to advance at the least sign of instability. The scene of carnage was again repeated, but it only lasted a moment. The Turks, completely broken, withdrew, sullenly firing, and taking time to carry off their wounded and many of their dead. Still they held the redoubt in front of Pelisat, upon which they fell back apparently with the intention of holding it, but they were not allowed to remain long there. The attack on the redoubt in the Russian centre had been as unsuccessful as that on the Russian trenches on the left. The Russians pursued their enemy with a murderous fire, and then six companies attacked them with the bayonet and swept them out of the redoubt like a whirlwind. At four o'clock the Turks were in retreat everywhere. The Russians occupied the whole of their first positions, besides pursuing the Turks a short distance with cavalry. The Russians were about twenty thousand. Their loss is estimated at five hundred, and the loss of the Turks at two thousand five hundred killed and wounded.

On the 3d of September the Russians succeeded in retaking Loftcha

from Osman Pasha. The position was carried by assault by the troops under Generals Meretinsky and Skobeloff. One of the first things which Osman Pasha did when he had taken Plevna was to make sure of Loftcha. The place is on the road from Plevna to Gabrova by Selvi, and it is in this southeastern direction that Osman Pasha steadily sought to advance. Loftcha is also on the line of road from Rahova or Nicopolis by Trojan to Philippopolis, south of the Balkans, and gives its name to the Pass.

The fighting which resulted in the capture of this position by the Russians was, as might have been expected, of the severest description. The conflict raged for twelve hours among the rifle pits and redoubts with which the Turks had fortified their position. The Turks made a most obstinate resistance, and the loss on each side was great. The operation was important in many respects. It foreshadowed the kind of fighting which must take place at the attack on Plevna; it placed a strong force upon Osman Pasha's right flank, and exposed to Russian attack the road from Plevna to Sofia by which Osman Pasha received his supplies, and which was also his best line of retreat.

The great battle of Plevna, the one long expected, began on the morning of Friday, September 7th, the Russians having decided, after the successful affair of Loftcha, no longer to delay attempting to take Plevna. Since the last affair at Plevna the Russian army had remained idle in and around its positions in front of Poredin, Scalinka, Pelisat, and Bogot. The Turks, notwithstanding the energy displayed on the other side of the Balkans by Suleiman Pasha, apparently feared a trial of strength here.

It therefore seemed a great relief to officers and men alike when it was known that something was to be done. For two or three days new life had been infused into the semi-dormant armies. Regiments and divisions quickly and mysteriously disappeared, and their places were rapidly occupied by new comers. Then on Sunday came the new Commander-in-Chief of the Plevna army, the dark, handsome, and courteous ruler of Roumania, Prince Charles Hohenzollern, with a brilliant escort. There seemed nothing further to wait for but the command to the new ally to commence the attack. The victory at Loftcha made this command possible, for with the left flank completely developed, and the right flank occupied by the three Roumanian divisions, there was before Plevna with Trottaff's original command a fighting army of at least one hundred thousand men.

The battle commenced at seven o'clock in the morning, and raged ten hours, but was simply an artillery duel. The Turkish redoubt on the heights above Grivitza all day long received the fire of the Russian and Roumanian batteries from all sides of the plateaus commanding it.

When the cannonade recommenced on Saturday morning, it was not easy at first sight to recognize that the Russians had gained any advantage by their profuse powder-burning of the day before. At first sight the parapet of the Grivitza redoubt had been a good deal jagged by the Russian shell fire; but, under cover of night, all its defects had been made good, and it looked as trim as if never a shot had been fired at it. But the Russians had been at work also during the night. They had gained a large slice of ground in the direction of Grivitza, that is, their working parties had been pushed forward in the fortunate darkness, and a battery of siege guns had been built and armed on an elevation comparatively close to and overhanging Grivitza village, and within easy battery range of the irrepressible redoubt.

As soon as the sun rose that battery came into action against the redoubt, supported by isolated big guns. Away to the right a battery of siege guns sent its fire sweeping down the valley and over traversing undulations into what in the previous battle was called the Turkish first position, the redoubt and entrenched village in the central swell. This position was also receiving the fire of two or three batteries of field guns stationed on the heights beyond Radisovo, the height where Schackoskoy's cannon stood so long. The redoubt could not reply to the siege battery, the range of the latter being too long, so it accepted punishment from that quarter, and pounded away in reply to the field batteries on the ridge.

Early on the morning of the 9th, the furious bombardment was renewed. On the top of the ridge which formed the Turkish first line, every battery was engaged, the Russians having during the night brought up heavier guns and placed them nearer. They had also pushed between the Turkish position and the Danube, getting into a northeasterly direction and opening upon the flank of the second and third line a heavy shell fire.

As midday approached special orders were given to the Turkish redoubts only to fire when necessary. Osman Pasha had hoped by this means to make the Russians think that they had nearly silenced

the Turkish attack, and that they might now safely make an assault with infantry. Still, one and two o'clock struck, and the bombardment of the Turkish position continued, till, about a quarter to three, a little dust was observed on the Orkhonie road, and then scouts came flying in with the news that the enemy was advancing up the valley of the Vid. A few minutes later and six or eight battalions of infantry, several guns and two regiments of cavalry were seen coming over the plain. Simultaneously, over the northeast point of the position—that is to say, a little in rear of the third line of defence—an infantry force of the Russians was reported, which was soon seen descending down the broad Loftcha road, which intersects the hill just above Plevna. The great battle of Plevna seemed to be begun. Osman Pasha's dispositions were rapidly made. Moving three battalions which bivouacked just above the town on to the road by the river, he ordered about one thousand irregular cavalry, three or four hundred Circassians and a couple of guns to precede them, and find out what the enemy was made of. At the same time he took five battalions from the reserve in the headquarters camp, and moved them into a clump of trees at one end of the valley, with two more guns. The whole operation was very quietly effected. The Russian cavalry advanced in a long line extending nearly across the plain, having very few scouts in front and halting very frequently. The infantry, in columns of battalions, followed, four battalions in line, three in support, and one in reserve. A half-battery of guns was well advanced; another half-kept in rear. As they came over the plain, the sun burning brightly, every bayonet and every lance could be seen. The whole movement had all the appearance of a peaceful review. For the purpose of advancing upon the enemy thus menacing them, the Turks had a little pathway close under the left ridge by which their troops could go till they were nearly upon the Russians, and along this path the cavalry, two guns, and three battalions noiselessly went, while those in the clump of trees got ready to advance quickly at a moment's notice. On came the Russians quite comfortably; they seemed to be walking heedlessly into the trap prepared for them, and would soon be quite close by, when some Russ, more wary than his comrades, suspected something; for they all on a sudden wheeled round and began marching away much more quickly than they had come. With a cry of disappointment the Turkish soldiers begged to be allowed to



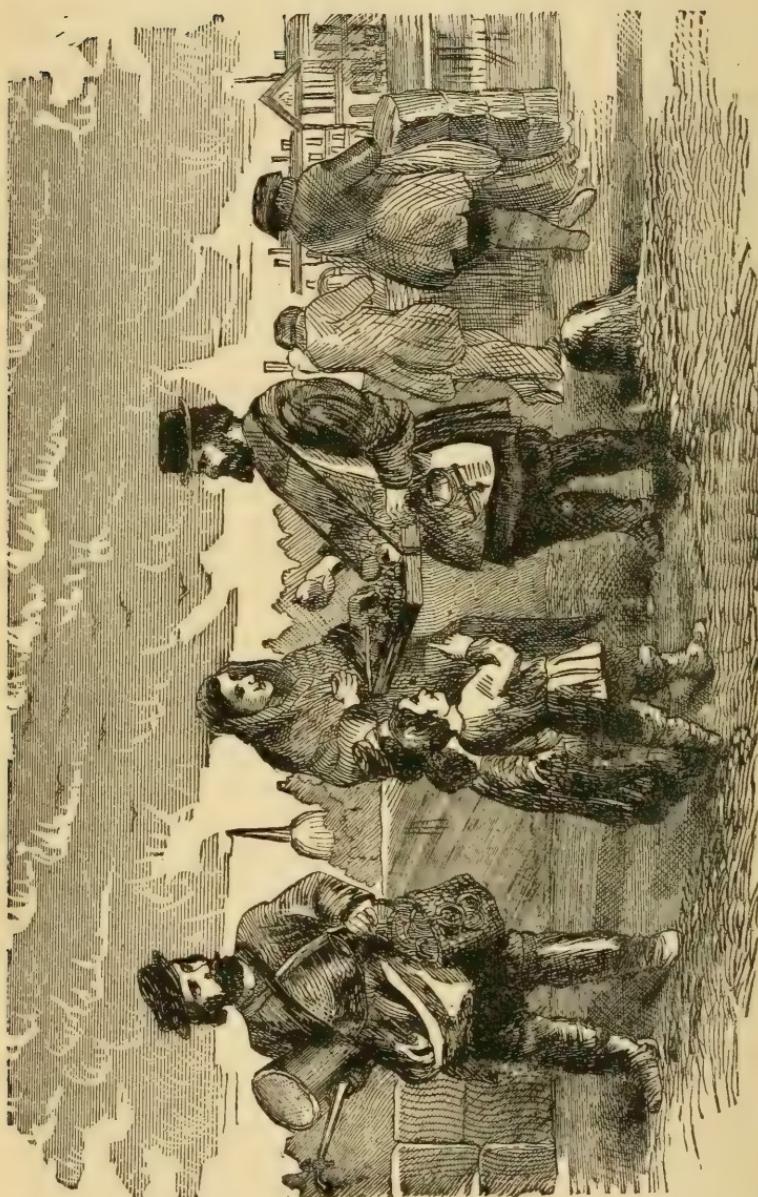
MEHEMET MURAD, THE NEW SULTAN OF TURKEY.

attack, and the word to advance was immediately given, but the harder they marched the harder their enemy went, but they presently overtook them, attacked them in line, and, after a fight of about half an hour, gave them a severe repulse.

While this skirmish was going on, a descent was made by the Russians in force from the Loftcha road. To meet this new attack Osman Pasha moved forward immediately four battalions into the maize field through which the Russians would come; four more battalions, with four guns, were advanced to a hill which immediately faced the Russian force. On a ridge which flanks the road which the Russians had taken, two battalions from redoubts placed there, were moved into a breastwork about six hundred yards away from the Muscovs, and two more battalions were brought down upon their left flank. The action was not long in beginning. Pushing through the maize with great rapidity, the Russians were received with a smart fire from every direction. From the breastwork on the right and the ridge on the left, from the hill in front, and from all the redoubts near, such a storm of shot and shell fell in upon them that in a quarter of an hour the Turks began to shout "Allah!" and the Russians commenced to run. Over the hill came more battalions, with a thundering fire, while fresh field guns were unmuzzled and opened upon the Turkish position. Then the fight opened again in earnest. The first and second battalions fell back, and the two battalions that had been behind the breastwork went down to their assistance; more troops pushing into the maize, while more guns went into action, and the firing in volleys became continuous. It was clear that a serious conflict had begun. With his usual coolness, Osman Pasha ordered the battalions on the Russian right flank to go into action, holding only as reserve the two on the hill immediately in front of them. Descending the height in open order, they too crept into the long grass and maize, and advanced as rapidly as possible under a shell fire of terrific power, the missiles plunging about in such a manner that those who did not get hit by the shells themselves got plentifully sprinkled with stones and earth. It was simply a desperate struggle; for the Russians having the top of the hill, while the Turks only had the bottom and the sides, and so distinct an advantage over the latter that it was, to all intents and purposes, a Turkish and not a Russian attack at all. However, the Ottomans went forward shouting "Allah!" with a great cheer every few minutes, and thus, simultaneously cheering each other and worrying their enemy, Adil Pasha pushed forward the Turkish right, all in open order, while Osman Pasha kept the centre a little back and worked the left forward,

so as to get their enemy within the fire of the semicircle. By half-past five the Turkish force were half way up the hill, the Russians constantly giving ground, but being continually reinforced, while Osman never so much as called on another soldier to aid him. The fight continued, the Turks slowly pushing up the hill, but cheering whenever they gained an advantage. A quarter-past six o'clock, and still only three-quarters up the hill. Another cheer and a little rush; and then more heavy firing for ten minutes, the soldiers all the while pressing through the maize. At last they have reached the end of the corn, and the Russians are exposed fully to view. "Charge!" says Osman Pasha, and all go forward. The Russians run. "Go in pursuit!" is the command to some Circassian cavalry who are close at hand, and these, too, rush up the hill. It is now a quarter to seven, and the last three volleys are being fired; the last, for the Russians, many of them falling from the effects of the Turkish bullets, are doing their best to get away. Then a loud cheer; two more shots from the batteries, and all is over. The Turkish troops move on to the top of the hill—the whole side strewed thickly with Russian bodies. In five minutes all is quiet, for there is even a lull in the bombardment.

The next day, Monday, wore away without special incident. On Tuesday the long expected grand attack was made. From daybreak the Turkish position was assailed with a heavy cannonade on all sides, which continued until midday, when great masses of Russians were seen descending the slopes near the Loftcha road, exactly above the town of Plevna, and approaching the hill which forms the third line of the Ottoman defence facing northward. Osman Pasha was ready for the assault. Without any delay his preparations were carried out, the redoubts were manned, and the trenches on either side occupied with troops, while reserves were disposed in the best positions for assisting the defence wherever it might prove weakest. On the southern side, the task which the Russians had before them was to take three redoubts crowning the top of a high ridge. On the northern side the work cut out was to storm another high ridge similarly defended by five redoubts, also connected by entrenchments. One great advantage which Osman Pasha possessed was the situation of his headquarter camp, which occupied a central position, enabling him to take in at one view the entire field of operations and to use his reserves in the most judicious manner.



SCENE ON THE QUAY AT ST. PETERSBURG.

We will describe the Loftcha attack first. The Russians advanced in heavy masses of close column of battalions. The Turks reserved their fire till the leading masses of the foe drew near enough for it to tell with deadliest effect. Then opened above the heads of the defenders in the trenches a more than ever terrific cannonade, under which the Russians were seen to desperately quicken their step, advancing in open order, while their men were falling singly and in groups all over the fiery field. Now also quickened the dreadful roll of the Turkish infantry fire, bursting forth from the redoubts and entrenchments. While these volleys swept backwards and forwards all along the trenches, the assailants went down by hundreds; but as fast as the advanced files thus melted away swarms of fresh men poured up from the rear. They only served to feed, however, the awful harvest of death; yet, still pushing forward, the mass of them at last appeared to be gaining ground.

Reinforcements were now also freely pushed up on the Turkish side, with the effect of feeding afresh the tremendous rifle fire maintained in the trenches. The nearer approach of the Russian swarm of stormers to that white and red line of flame and smoke, and the bursting forth, as it seemed, everywhere of redoubled volleys, made this moment supreme. Clouds of Russians were now quite close to the edges of the trenches, near enough, indeed, to enable the officers who led them to make a visible employment of the revolvers which they brandished. Amid ever-increasing slaughter on both sides, the Turkish line once again received reinforcements, and then at a sudden signal—raising a tremendous shout of “Allah, Allah!” and discharging simultaneous volleys—they leaped over the lips of the trenches and hurled themselves with steel and clubbed muskets upon the Russians. These latter yielded and ran, for the shock was intolerable, the ground behind them being soon literally covered with their dead and wounded as they went down under this onset, or were shelled from the redoubts while flying across the valley to the wooded hill opposite.

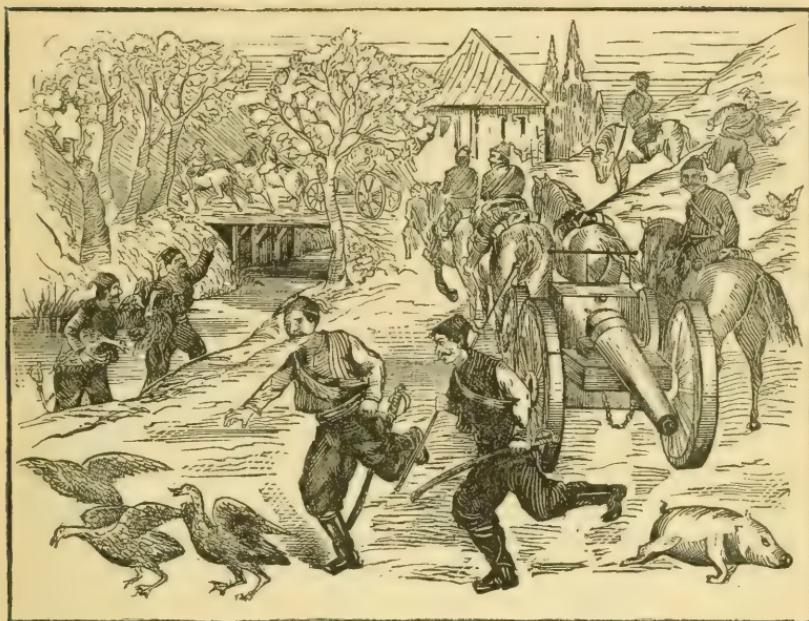
Meanwhile the attack on the northern side of Osman Pasha’s great stronghold was developing itself. About three o’clock in the afternoon Adil Pasha’s preparations for resistance there had been pretty well completed. The tripled demilunes guarding the hills had been filled to their utmost possible capacity with ranks of concealed men; a double quantity of cartridges had been served out to every soldier;

and the batteries above were all lavishly replenished with ammunition. The Russians now came on. They were greatly exposed during their passage of the hollows to the Ottoman shell fire, which from the first was already costing their advance dearly.

The Russians gradually advanced, keeping their order, till shortly before four o'clock the word was given them all of a sudden to make a grand rush upon the trenches. It was a splendid and thrilling, but most terrible sight to see the long lines topping the brow and breaking into the critical impulse of the charge. As the Russians thus accelerated their pace the Turks in the trenches opened upon them a perfectly consuming fire from their rifles, the effect of which was literally to wipe away line after line of those doomed Muscovites as they successively appeared upon the ridge of the hill. Each successive Russian battalion, as it bravely crowned that fatal plateau, was mown down by the deadly fire as ridges of wheat go prone to the earth before reapers. Again and again, it seemed that scarcely a single man stood up alive after the thunder and lightning of one of these tempests of bullets. The Turkish officers, meantime, with a calmness worthy of the cool and sturdy stuff that they commanded, directed their men to load and fire as steadily as possible, and to hold the muzzles of their rifles low down at the waistbelts of their foe.

Nevertheless, though the leading Russian files thus faded away from the front of the Turkish trenches, the same tactics of reinforcements were being pursued; and, augmented by ever fresh bodies of men, another and another attack was delivered on the northern face. The results were always exactly the same. Their devotion and desperation could not carry them past the edge of those clouds of smoke; and the moment came here also when the Turks, with a loud cry of victory, dashed outside their cover and furiously swept the remnants of their enemy from the hill, scarcely numbering now more than a few hundreds of survivors.

After this exciting business there came upon the scene of battle for some time a period of comparative peace, interrupted only by sullen cannon-firing. This lasted for a certain interval, when by-and-by news was brought to the outlook, where Osman Pasha watched the whole warlike scene, that the Russians were advancing yet again on the Loftcha side. Once more, therefore, the trenches were silently filled up on the threatened face, and this time the assault of the Rus-



NATIVE TURKISH TROOPS FORAGING ON THE MARCH.

sians proved, if possible, more than ever furious, and was supported in greater numbers than before. A flank attack on the western side of the ridge was moreover combined with the movement; the object being to seize some outlying redoubts, which were the weakest part of the Turkish position, because the approaches to them were covered for some distance by a low scrub. This part of the ground had been entrusted to Bashi-Bazouks, while the Turkish regulars manned the redoubts and entrenchments beyond. The Russians moved up a whole division for this part of their effort, advancing rapidly on the front and flank of the outlying redoubts. They were met, as heretofore, by a heavy shell fire from the batteries, and a well-sustained storm of rifle bullets from the pits; and, although some of Osman's troops engaged were now grievously fatigued, the attack upon the front of the trenches was again and again repulsed with fearful slaughter, the Turks cheering loudly as the evening slowly fell. Suddenly the Bashi-Bazouks, being unexpectedly assailed, fled in a panic, leaving the important point they held in the hands of the Russians, who, pouring after them

in enormous numbers, rushed upon and into the redoubt higher up, which the Turks, half surprised, were unable to deny to them, and consequently retired or fell, fighting hand-to-hand, the assailants swarming in and extending their temporary advantage afterwards to the possession of two other redoubts, which were seized and filled with their men.

All night long a desultory struggle went on. Wednesday morning dawned, and found the Turkish commander gloomy and taciturn, but wrathfully determined to recover the compromised points of his defence. Orders were given by Osman to Emin and Thahir Pashas to attack the lost hillock with twenty battalions. The fight began with the very first clear streaks of light in the sky, the Russians resisting all the more desperately because during the night they had managed to throw up rough ramparts of earth in reverse of the captured position. The Turks, nevertheless, gradually recovered line after line of the entrenchments, till at midday they were well lodged near the top of the eminence, the Russians still holding its wooded shoulder and also the redoubts on the ridges, in which spots the headquarter camp and other neighboring batteries fiercely shelled them with a precision costing them terrible sacrifices.

At two o'clock the Ottoman soldiers had got as far as the scrub, and fresh troops were being sent round to help them by attacking the Russians in the rear. The Muscovites, also largely reinforced, once and again drove back from the disputed redoubts their sturdy antagonists, who, however, on each occasion retired only to return with fresh cheers, till they stood firm at last under cover of the wood. At three o'clock the ferocious combat reached its culminating point, for stoutly as the Russians tried to hold their conquest, they were at last hurled out beyond rampart and trench, doing the utmost that courage permitted, but utterly unable to resist the indomitable resolve of the Osmanlis. About this time also two fresh Turkish battalions came up in rear of the wood, and when the bugles sounded clear above the thunder of battle the notes of the Turkish charge—that never-to-be-forgotten cry of “Allah!” “Allah!”—echoed again along all the line, and Osman's men, sweeping forward at the top of their speed, thrust down the hill the last throngs of the lingering Russian resistance. The soldiers of the Czar now flung away their arms and scampered down the incline, leaving their guns and everything belonging to them in

the battery. The Turks, in the pursuit, strewed the glacis of the redoubts with flying Russians, and it seemed that those who escaped were saved chiefly by the energetic fire opened from the Russian batteries.

Thus Wednesday saw almost all the slight losses of Tuesday's fighting triumphantly repaired. On Thursday, and also during part of Friday, the Russians feebly and, as it were, formally bombarded the Turkish headquarter camp from the northeastern side, without any result.



BOMBARDMENT OF RUSTCHUK—SCENE IN A TURKISH MILITARY HOSPITAL.

CHAPTER XXXII.

AROUND KARS.

WE left the contending armies in Asia after the engagement of the 22d of June, in which Mukhtar Pasha avenged the defeat of Delibaba by turning on the Russian left wing. On Sunday and Monday, June 24th and 25th, the Muscovites made a desperate attack on Kars.

Fort Tachmos is one of the strongest and best-constructed tabias protecting Kars. It commands the road to Erzeroum, and connects its fire with that of the outer entrenchments on the west side of the town. To reduce this stronghold, in the first place, the Russians had concentrated their efforts during the progress of the siege. On the days named above, they renewed their attempts, with increased forces, to storm it. The Turks received each assault with equal determination, repelling the besiegers with heavy loss.

Finally, on the 26th, the supreme effort was made with no better success. The Turks, availing themselves of the opportunity afforded by the serious repulse they had inflicted, made a sortie in great force, charging the Muscovites, whilst from the entrenchments and fort a destructive fire was poured out on the retreating Russians.

Disorganized by the impetuous sortie before they had time to recover from the effects of the repulse, and subjected to the raking cannonade of the fort and batteries, the Russians made a hasty escape by the Erzeroum road, the pursuit having terminated within range of the heavy guns.

Meanwhile, at Zivin, a general action was being fought between General Loris Melikoff and Ismail Pasha. A most obstinate combat was here maintained, with, for a time, doubtful results to either side. The latter, however, ultimately out-maneuvred his opponent, and, attacking him with great vigor, accomplished his defeat, inflicting losses estimated at four thousand men, including two generals of division. On the 29th, under the cover of darkness, General Melikoff made a precipitate retreat, abandoning his tents, ammunition, and a large quantity of provisions.

Saturday and Sunday following, the Turkish right wing took the

offensive against the other Russian force at Karakilissa. Here the latter made a desperate effort to maintain its ground, being entrenched in this place. Sunday afternoon the Ottoman commander, under cover of a heavy artillery fire, threw his entire force against the Russian position, moving double-quick to the attack with the cry of "Allah!" So impetuous, and apparently unexpected, was the charge of the Turks, that the defenders, terror-stricken, ceased firing, and decamped, leaving their dead and wounded, and many actually threw away their arms. They were hotly pursued, and lost many prisoners. During Sunday night they continued their retreat, having burnt their tents. They threw rifles, ammunition, and everything that could encumber them into the river, exploded their field magazines, and left behind them large stores of provisions, including flour, biscuit, and other eatables.

The Circassians followed closely on the flank of the retreating army, capturing the stragglers and inflicting some additional losses. Faick Pasha, coming from Bayazid, tried to intercept this Russian column; whilst Moussa Pasha followed closely on the Russian left flank; and Mukhtar Pasha pursued the forces in his front into the very plains of Kars.

On the 6th of July, Mukhtar Pasha, having entrenched the positions occupied by his army, effected a junction with Kars, after it had been bombarded for nineteen days.

During this period the Russians testified their ardor by launching each day about two thousand balls upon the town; but with the exception of missiles discharged from the heavy Krupp guns, they appear not to have done a great deal of damage, owing, it is said, to the rapidity with which the Turkish gunners interrupted the Russian aim. A tempest of shot and shell flew completely over the citadel into the cemetery at the back, and although heaps of dust thrown up into the air, and loud explosions constantly disturbed the ground at the foot of the hill crowned by the "keep," very little damage was done to the latter place. Notwithstanding the length of the siege, together with the violence of the cannonade, the loss in soldiers as well as in civilians, counting both killed and wounded, only amounted to a hundred and thirty, among whom were a few women; and it is likely that if the Russians had continued the siege for twenty days more a want of ammunition would have silenced the Krupp guns.



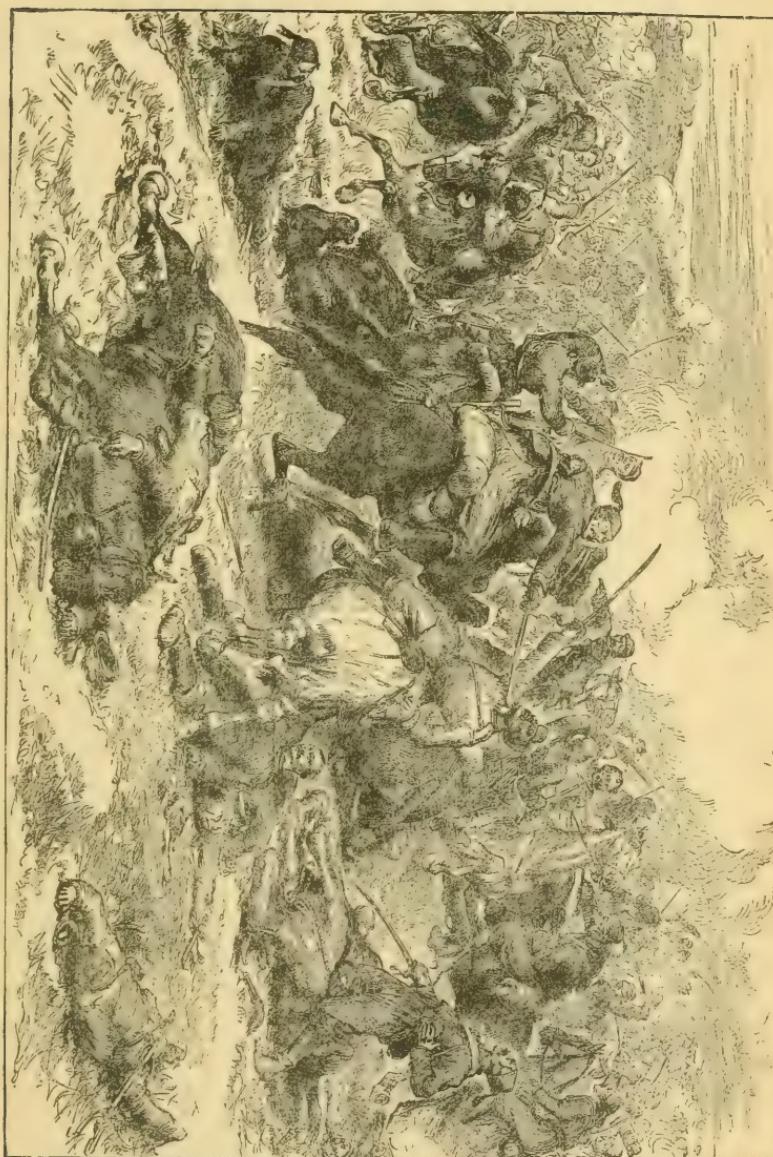
BEFORE PLEVNA—TURKISH CAVALRY RECONNOISSANCE AND REPULSE.

If, when the frontier was passed on April 24th, the Muscovites had acted vigorously and had made a sudden assault upon the town of Kars, it is probable that, with no greater loss than that of about two thousand men, they might have become masters of it; and had such a shock to the Turkish power in Armenia been suddenly dealt, it seems equally certain, and particularly as only six heavy siege-train guns had then been got into position for its protection, that the town of Erzeroum might have been taken with comparatively little difficulty. It is evident that the calculations of Guyman, chief of the staff—based on the supposition that Kars could not hold out for twenty days—by deceiving Melikoff, caused him to alter his original idea of a rapid advance on Erzeroum; and afterwards—to his great astonishment—discovering the courage and obstinacy with which Turks can defend fortifications, as well as the admirable manner in which they worked and stood to their guns, he made a dash on Ardahan, the small and feebly commanded garrison of which rendered it a very easy prey. As most of the Russian spies were Armenians, hating the Turks with extreme violence, and longing for their destruction, they, in order to bring about as quickly as possible the consummation of their hopes, and perhaps, like most men, expressing their wishes under the guise of an opinion, declared that the garrison, being on half rations, could not possibly hold out for a period of even two months, although it afterward appeared that nothing could be further from the truth, and that the garrison as well as the inhabitants suffered no greater privations than such as are usual in Armenia. These rumors were even believed by the Turks themselves, notwithstanding the probability of the town, being provided with an abundance, holding out a fair prospect of resistance till the end of the campaign. The town might, however, have easily been kept in check by a small blockading force, and even if twenty days after his invasion Melikoff had moved diligently through the Soghanli Dagh he might have confined the Mushir in the Valley of Bardegand. As the latter only received his scanty supply of provisions from day to day the Russian would have obliged him, in spite of his entrenched position, to capitulate in about a fortnight. For upwards of two months the operations of the Muscovites were conducted with slothfulness and timidity; but if, on the other hand, the Turks cannot be applauded for either foresight or organization, the manner in which they hurried tribes of barbarians into the

field is an evidence of the great vitality of that martial nation which, if directed by a body of efficient officers, would astonish with the rapidity and brilliancy of their exploits all those people who look upon the Ottomans as quite effete.

The march of General Tergukasoff towards the Russian frontier was embarrassed by the task of protecting three thousand Armenian families who were fleeing from the valley of Alashgerd to escape the cruelties of the Bashi-Bazouks and Kurds who were massacring the inhabitants of whole villages; but at length he succeeded in placing these fugitives with his sick and the wounded in safety. While thus encumbered he was unable freely to repel the attack to which he was subjected, and his rear was much harassed. Relieved at length of anxiety on account of these *protégés*, he led his little army to Igdyr, where he arrived on the 8th at five P.M. Having completed the renewal of his supplies at Igdyr, and learned there that General Kalbolaikan had started on the 7th for Bayazid, he set out with his detachment to follow him. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 10th, having with him eight battalions of infantry, twenty-four guns, fifteen sotnias of Cossacks, and four squadrons of cavalry, he attacked a Corps of thirteen thousand men which was besieging the citadel of Bayazid. After eight hours cannonade the Russian troops took by storm the heights commanding the town, defeated the enemy, and put them to flight. Four cannon were captured, with a large quantity of ammunition and provisions. The garrison, with the sick and wounded, were taken away, and the Turks made a hasty retreat.

On the 19th of August the Russians advanced in force from the village of Suediklar against the right of Mukhtar Pasha's positions, their intention apparently being to recommence the invasion of Asia as before. They struck their tents, broke up their camp, and prepared in every way for an advance. The strength of the Russian force was forty battalions of infantry, ten regiments of cavalry, and ninety-six guns. The battle was begun at seven o'clock in the morning by three divisions of infantry, supported by thirty-six guns, attacking the Turkish entrenched position at Nakhirdji, a kind of redoubt faced by semicircular trenches. The Russian commander did not expose their troops in the usual manner, and apparently feared to send the infantry up the hill in anything like dense masses, owing to the destructive fire of the Turkish artillery. Reinforced by another division, Mukhtar



FINAL CHARGE OF THE TURKISH CAVALRY AT THE BATTLE OF KACELJEVO.

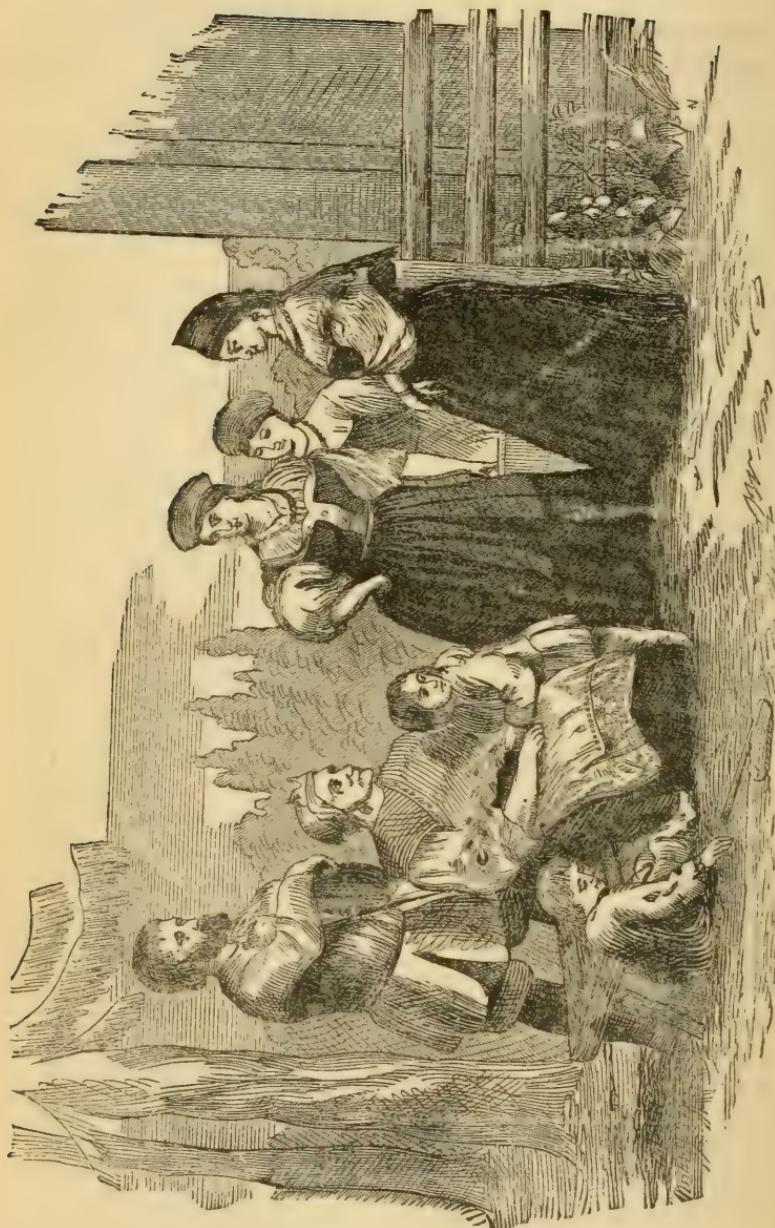
Pasha began a slight forward movement, and his infantry pushing down hill somewhat rapidly, endeavored to attack the Russians, who however, withdrew, and after midday ceased firing, leaving the the Turks at the foot of the slope.

Some time afterwards, however, another strong Russian division was seen advancing on the Turkish extreme left. Mukhtar Pasha immediately ordered forward reinforcements from the centre, which were sent to the aid of Hussein Pasha. Haddij's division being already in possession of the hill, two divisions under the command of Mustapha Tewfik and the force under Reshid Pasha were detailed to support him, whilst Chevket Pasha, with one brigade, made a detour for the purpose of operating on the Russian rear. Meanwhile the Russians pushed over the valley in front of the Turkish position, keeping both men and guns well under cover and advancing rapidly. The Turks remaining in the trenches opened a heavy fire upon the approaching troops, who once more hesitated to commence the attack, although frequently dense masses of soldiery could be indistinctly seen hidden away in the hollows of their ground. At eleven o'clock, however, the battle was raging simultaneously along the whole line with the exception of the centre, the two hills right and left being subjected to a tremendous artillery fire. About mid-day, just as the Russian left ceased firing, the Turkish left advanced to attack the Russian right, the son of Schamyl with the Circassians meanwhile threatening the Russian extreme flank. The Turks moved forward cautiously, but, firing rapidly, drove their foe from the foot of the hill across the valley, the Circassians making frequent charges, tending greatly to the demoralization of the Muscov troops. At two o'clock in the afternoon the Turkish right also made a forward movement, and, no resistance being offered, the Turkish left continued to advance, having in the meantime been heavily reinforced by artillery. Presently the firing of distant guns on the extreme left announced that Chevket Pasha had succeeded in reaching the rear of the Russians. The whole Turkish line then pressed forward, cheering loudly, but still keeping well under cover; whilst the Circassians made continued charges. Before this demonstration, the Russians fell back rapidly, yet in good order. They were utterly unable to hold any position for many minutes together; and the Turkish artillery, getting a view of the retreating masses of infantry, poured in a heavy fire, before which

the Russians retired as quickly as possible, all the while being considerably harassed by Schamyl's son and Chevket Pasha. At six o'clock the fight ended, the Turks holding the ground, upon which the Russians left about one thousand bodies.

At dawn on the 25th, Mukhtar Pasha, with all his forces, attacked the positions held by General Loris Melikoff. Previous to the engagement the Turkish position extended from the neighborhood of the ancient city of Ani, now dismal ruins, on the Arpatchy River, to the vicinity of Kars, from which fortress the supplies were drawn. The main force, however, leaned its left wing on the mountain branch ending in a high hill called the Yaghny. On another steep hill, the Kizil Tepe (Red Hill), which, in an entirely isolated position, towers above the Kuruk Dara plateaux, almost in the very centre of the military positions, the Russian Commander-in-Chief, General Loris Melikoff, had established his headquarters. It was usually occupied by a single battalion and four field pieces, and was thus considered as almost impregnable. On account of its commanding position over the surrounding flats and undulating grounds it was well worth particular attention, especially as the camp at Bashkladnyklar, which was under the fire of its artillery, was only about two miles distant from its northern slope.

The time selected for the attack was a bright moonlight night. The mountains and plains were almost as distinctly visible as in daytime. Availing themselves of this circumstance, at two or three o'clock in the morning on the 25th of August, about seven thousand Turks crept stealthily, in a compact, noiseless mass, through a dark, deep ravine, without being observed by the pickets and patrols, till they arrived at the very foot of the Kizil Tepe. Here deploying, they made a sudden rush, savagely yelling their "Allah-il-Allah!" on the eight Russian companies which were stationed on the summit. These men, though surprised, defended themselves courageously at the point of the bayonet without yielding an inch. Hundreds of Turks who a few seconds before dashed fiercely on with the rifle in their hands fell to rise no more. At last, however, as the fast increasing force threatened to outflank and envelope them altogether, the Russians were compelled to retreat to the camp at Bashkladnyklar, protecting and dragging away their four cannons. Here the alarm was given, and, as quickly as possible, infantry and dragoons marched to the rescue, and stormed

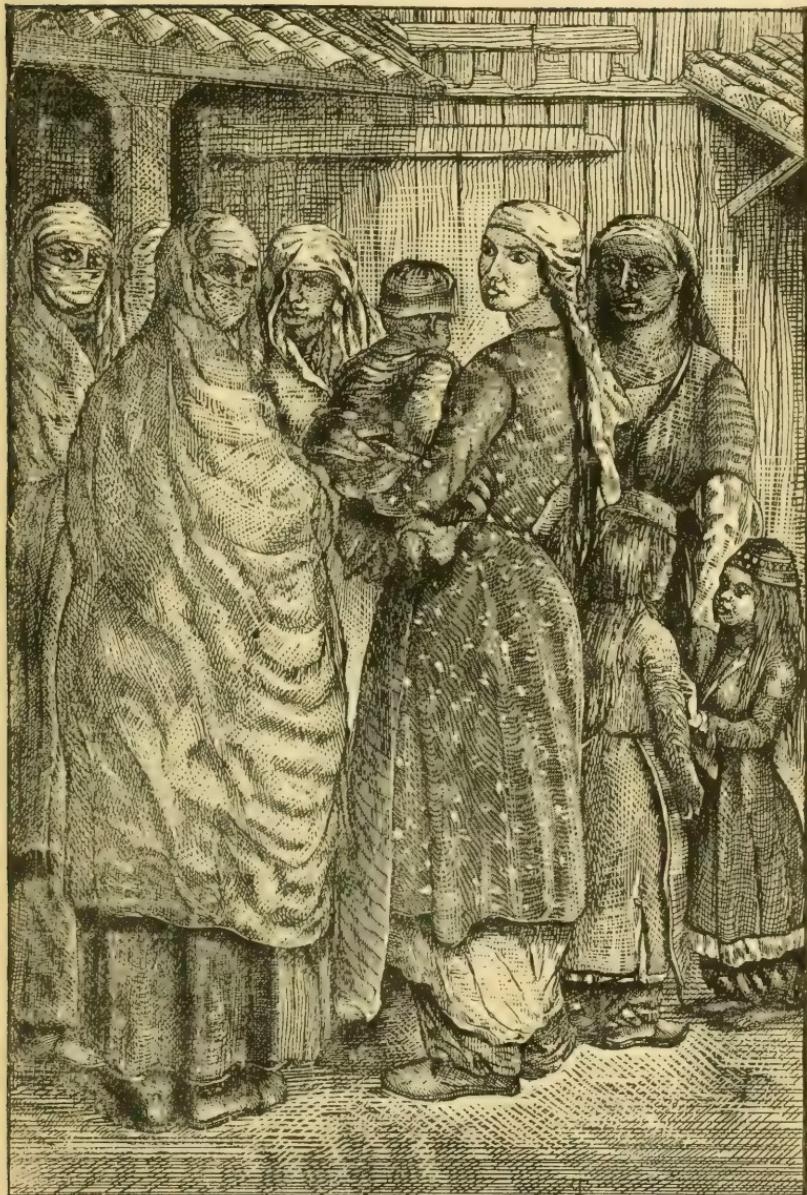


THE COSTUME OF RUSSIAN PEASANTS IN THE ENVIRONS OF ST. PETERSBURG.

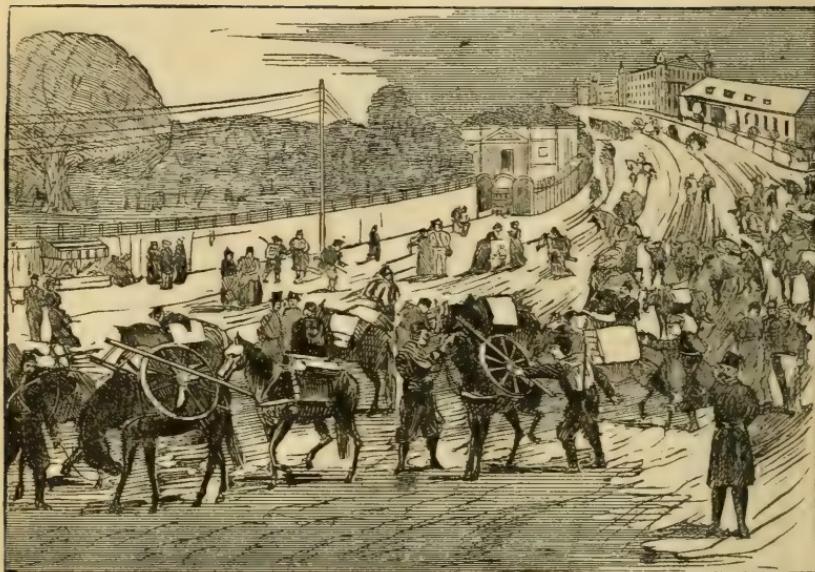
the hill with dauntless courage, in the hope of recovering it in the way in which it had been lost. In spite of their heroic efforts, however, they were repeatedly repulsed by overwhelming numbers. The whole hill was like a beehive, thickly thronged with enemies, and had they persisted in their gallant attempt they would have all been exterminated. In the meanwhile the principal Russian forces encamped at Kuruk Dara had been roused, and battalions, squadrons, batteries, with ammunition carts and red cross wagons behind, hastened in long columns into the field. The Kizil Tepe was now encircled, top and bottom, by two girdles of smoke and flames. On its rocky bastion-like summit, stood thickly crowded Turkish soldiers, under the cover of the opposite slope, and fired their rifles, aiming down into a ravine across which the Russian Tiflis regiment struggled heroically, but in vain, to reconquer the lost position. The very steep, rocky slope of the hill on that side rendered this task almost impossible. In the Turkish ranks could be seen an imam, with turban and flowing gown lifting his hands in fanatical ecstasy above the devoted children of the faith, exciting them to withstand the arms of the Moscow giaour, in Allah's and the Prophet's name. On some other parts of the battlefield Mohammedan priests were equally observed in the foremost lines, animating timid recruits by fervent words of faith. One of these priests was shot.

The Turks evidently meant to crush their weakened adversaries by a general attack, and so they employed all imaginable means to secure success. Many battalions, emerging by scores together, and thousands of irregular horsemen, descended the mountain and were brought at once into action. The whole long line—twelve miles—from the neighborhood of Ani up to the Kaback Tepe, near to the road to Kars, was swarming with Mussulmans. On the summit of that eminence, situated two miles to the right of the Yaghny Hill, three new battalions and clusters of cavalry appeared, with the view to outflank the Russian army and capture their camp at Kuruk Dara. Their general advance, however, was thoroughly checked as soon as the Russian columns of combined arms, the battalions, squadrons and batteries which left the camp, had the necessary time to march to the encounter. In the Russian order of battle the extreme left was held by two regiments of dragoons, then followed the remaining brigade of General Devel's division, and next to it in the centre Colonel Komaroff's five

valiant battalions which have seen hard work ever since Ardahan. Connected with them and directing its front line against the Yaghny hills, the division of grenadiers operated with one of its brigades while the other remained in reserve. The extreme right was secured by three regiments of Caucasian regular Cossack cavalry and their horse artillery. Numerous troops besides protected the camp. It took some hours before those masses were all able to meet the Turkish lines, on account of the considerable distance which originally separated the combatants. In the meantime the now exposed camp at Bashkladnykler was broken up. Thousands of carts and wagons transported the tents and the baggage to Kuruk Dara. Again and again the Russians tried to reconquer the Kizil Tepe by storming, while shells and shrapnells were showered upon its ridge, but again and again they were repelled by the defenders, who stood, shoulder to shoulder, behind its rocky edge. On a sudden, shortly after the last assault, which was supported and followed by the play of two batteries, thick white smoke rose on the summit, and a long flame carried it to the skies. Fragments of carriages and limbs of horses and men were scattered in all directions, or flew up to the clouds. It was clear that stores of ammunition or a powder cart had exploded, ignited by a Russian shell. A short time afterwards, as regiment after regiment entered successively the line of battle, the roar of the fighting extended gradually from the Russian left to the centre. It was, however, obvious that before the Yaghny the fate of the day was to be decided, because from that part of their position only the Turks might have had a chance of forcing the camp, as it is quite open and unprotected in that direction. Yet long ere the Tirailleurs there had mingled their fire with the boom of their cannon and the cracking of their shells, Colonel Komaroff's brigade in the centre was engaged in sharp infantry fighting. Steadily the Russians gained ground, and drove the Turks over the flats and the undulations till they reached the broad ravine of Soubatan, at the foot of the Aaladja Mountain. In this narrow valley, studded at its opposite side with entrenchments and batteries, the battle came to a standstill. Had it not been for an express order to abstain from advancing beyond, it is highly probable that Mukhtar Pasha's camp might have fallen into Colonel Komaroff's hands. All energy of resistance on the part of the Turks had decidedly been broken; they ceased fighting, and retired in disorder. Their dead lay



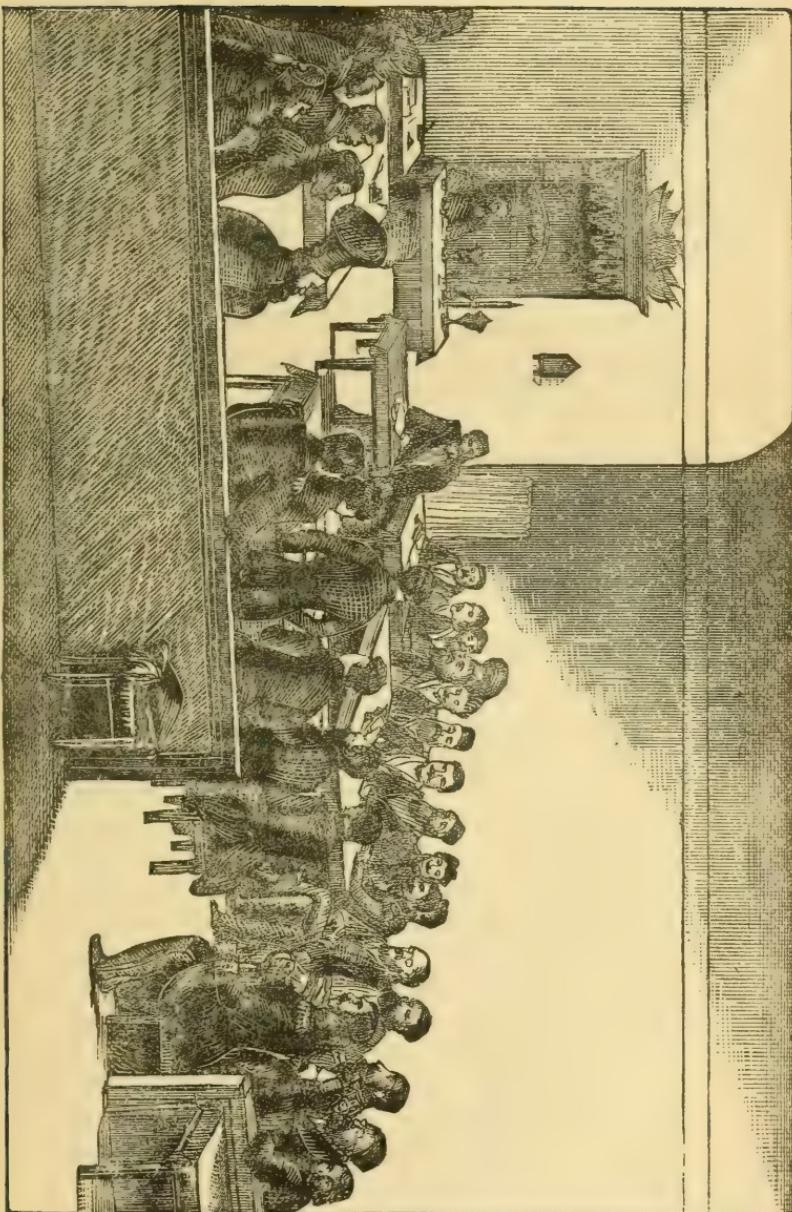
A TARTAR FAMILY.



A MOUNTAIN BATTERY LEAVING CONSTANTINOPLE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE BALKANS.

in rows in the valley, and the survivors were glad to get out of the rifle range. In consequence of this mutual pause on different grounds, the fighting died out there at half-past one o'clock in the afternoon.

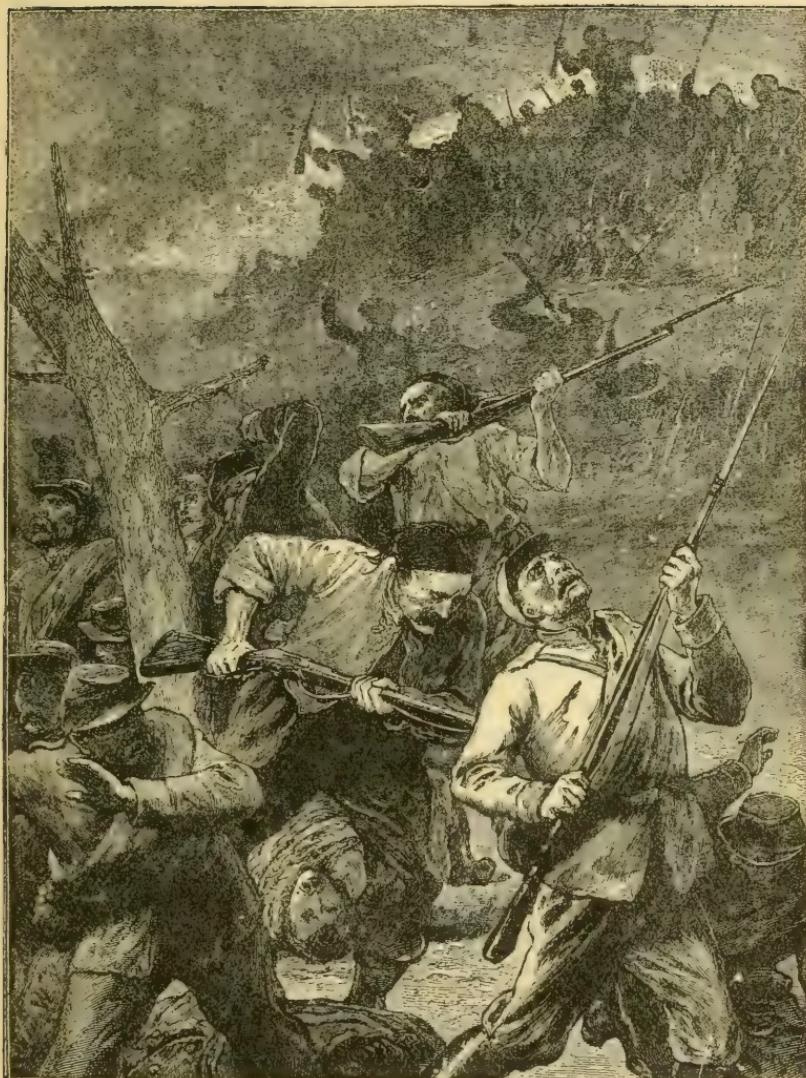
While thus the struggle was going on in the centre, the grenadiers fell in with the Turks. After a brisk cannonade with smart shell and shrapnel practice the deadly rifle firing was going on in an uninterrupted line stretching two miles on either side, front against front. Like a light morning mist the smoke was wafted over the hostile forces, and prevented them from taking good aim. The Turks had evidently brought forth their picked men, several Arabian battalions, which fought with resolute stubbornness, as they are accustomed to do on all occasions, thus constituting beyond doubt the Sultan's best troops. Notwithstanding their superior numbers and the bravery they displayed, they could not hold their ground for more than a single hour, and then were compelled to fall back to their rifle pits and entrenchments at the foot of the Yaghny hills. Worn out by the want of food and water, having had all day a sun burning like a red-hot iron over their heads, both antagonists were at last satisfied to



ASSEMBLY OF BUCHAREST (MOLDAVIA).

see themselves finally separated from each other by intervening hillocks. While the infantry rested, completely exhausted by the heat and the work, the cannons still thundered continuously over the whole line, but with considerable less intensity than in the morning. Finally the Turks moved, with three fresh battalions and over a thousand horse, down the Kaback hill on their left endeavoring to outflank the Russians there. The wild, irregular riders, in their fantastical garments, galloped down until they came, unexpectedly, in sight of the three Caucasian Cossack regiments. Quietly they stood in the valley, drawn in separate lines, with two batteries of horse artillery in the interstices. The Bashi-Bazouks, one after the other, as they rode on stopped their horses, fired their rifles at the enemy, who did not even reply, and turned back at full speed in order to give to their expectant comrades the dismal news that the time for plundering the Russian camp at Kuruk Dara had not come yet. They apparently judged that the Russian cavalry was more than a match for them, and in this conviction they united again in squadrons, and thought it prudent to wait, under the cover of a concealed battery, for their enemies' onset. The Russian regiments, however, warned by some shells from above that they were likely to fall into an ambush of artillery and infantry, did not stir. So the fighting ceased at four o'clock P.M. on the whole line in the same succession as it had begun, from the Russian left to their right. The result was negative. Although the Russian troops had repulsed, with great slaughter and remarkable pluck, the general attack of the Turks, and had remained for four hours on the battle-field, from which they had victoriously driven their foe, they had been, for all that, incapable of wresting the principal point, the Kizil Tepe Hill, out of Turkish hands. Mukhtar Pasha did not hesitate to avail himself of the advantageous position which he had obtained, and on the next day shifted his whole camp down to the plain, where his soldiers were not exposed to the cold night winds as on the mountain. Here, as the Turks have systematically done during this war, they began entrenching themselves as strongly as possible, having one wing protected by the Kizil Tepe and the other by the Yaghny Hill. The force which the Turks brought into action consisted of thirty battalions of infantry and eight thousand irregular horsemen, with sixty cannons. The Russian army was somewhat inferior in number.

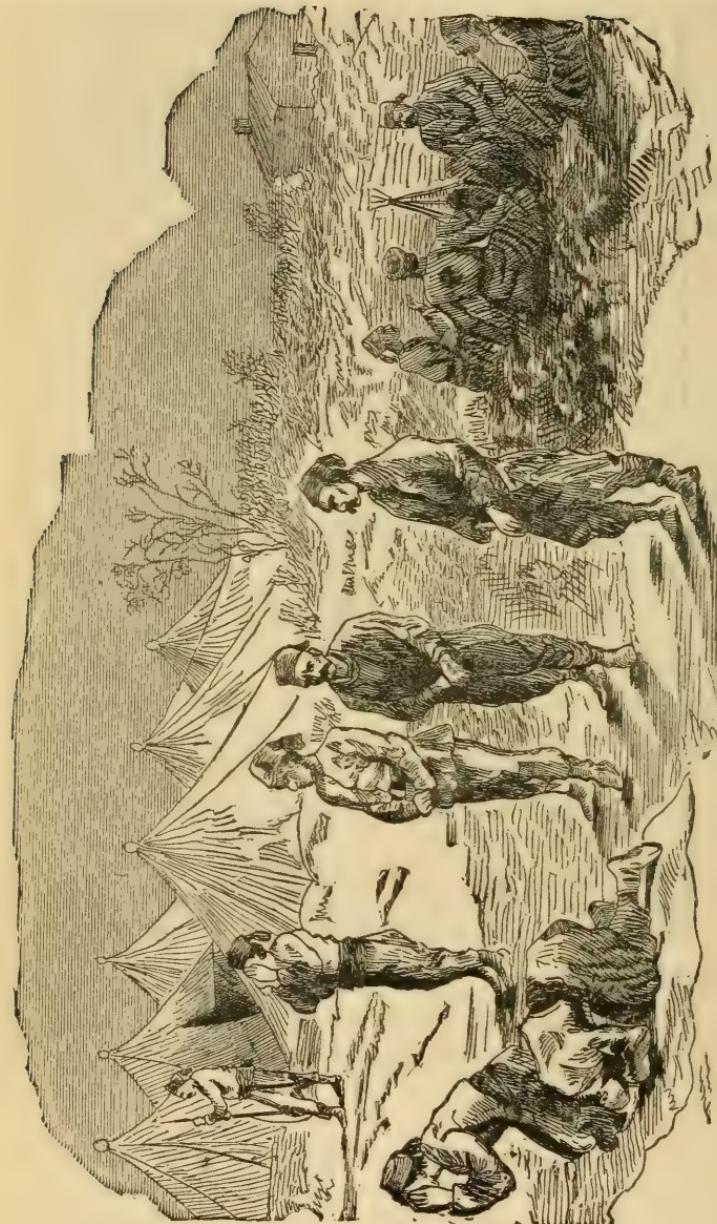
During the remainder of August and September the movements of



A TURKISH BAYONET CHARGE AT SHIPKA.

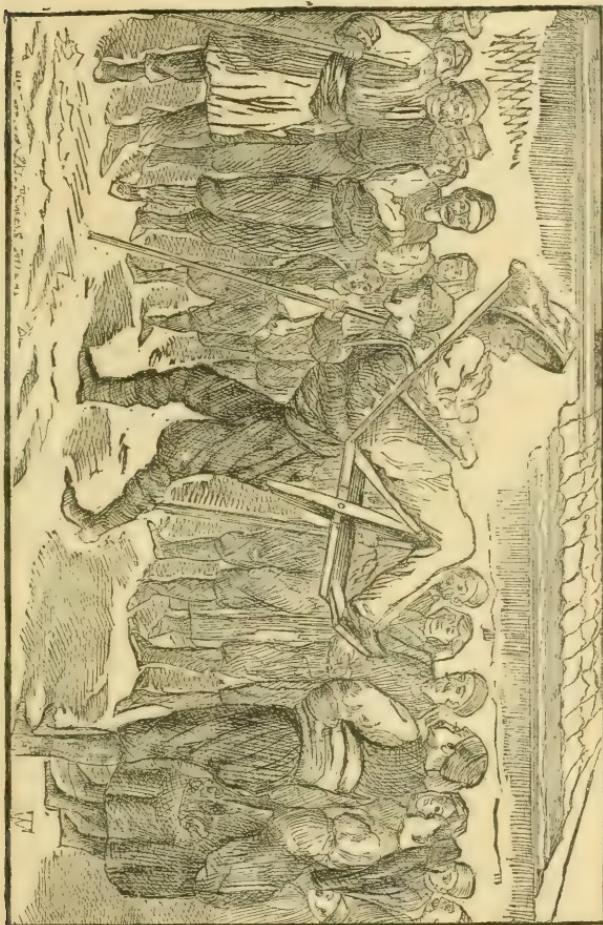
the armies in Asia were confined to desultory attacks, of no special significance or importance.

The Turks having reinforced their left wing, and occupied Parget,

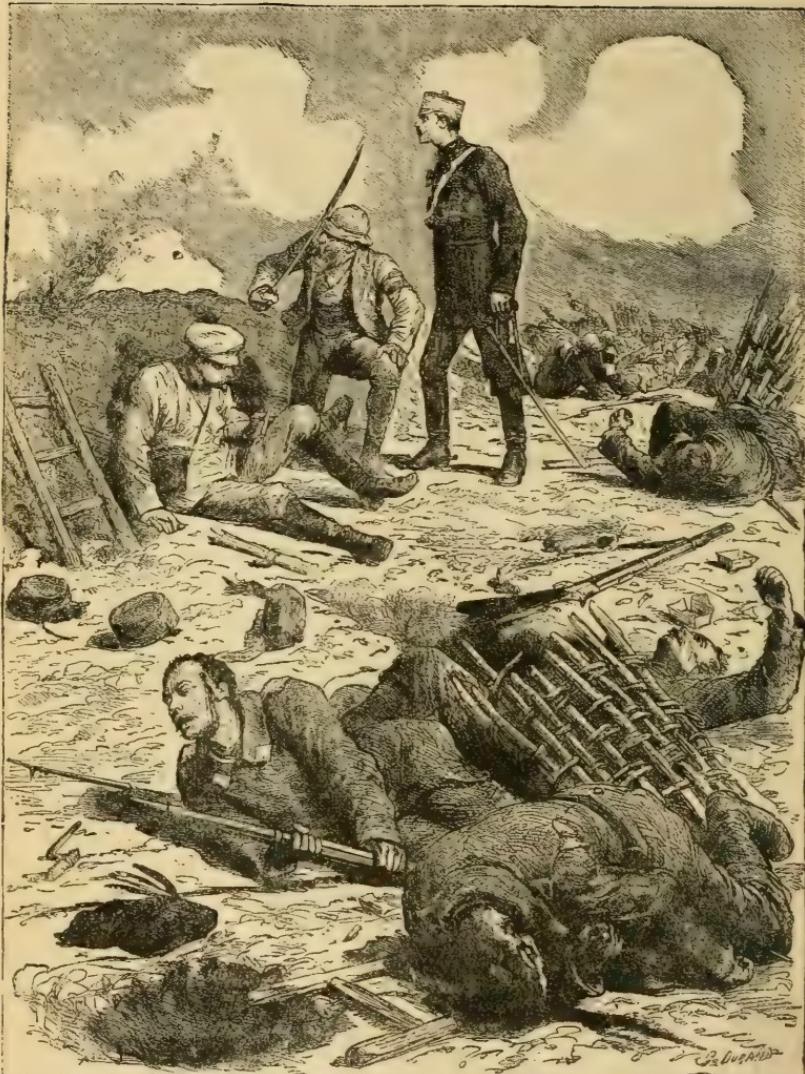


THE EVENING PRAYER.

NEW CONTRIVANCE FOR TRANSPORTING WOUNDED BULGARIANS.

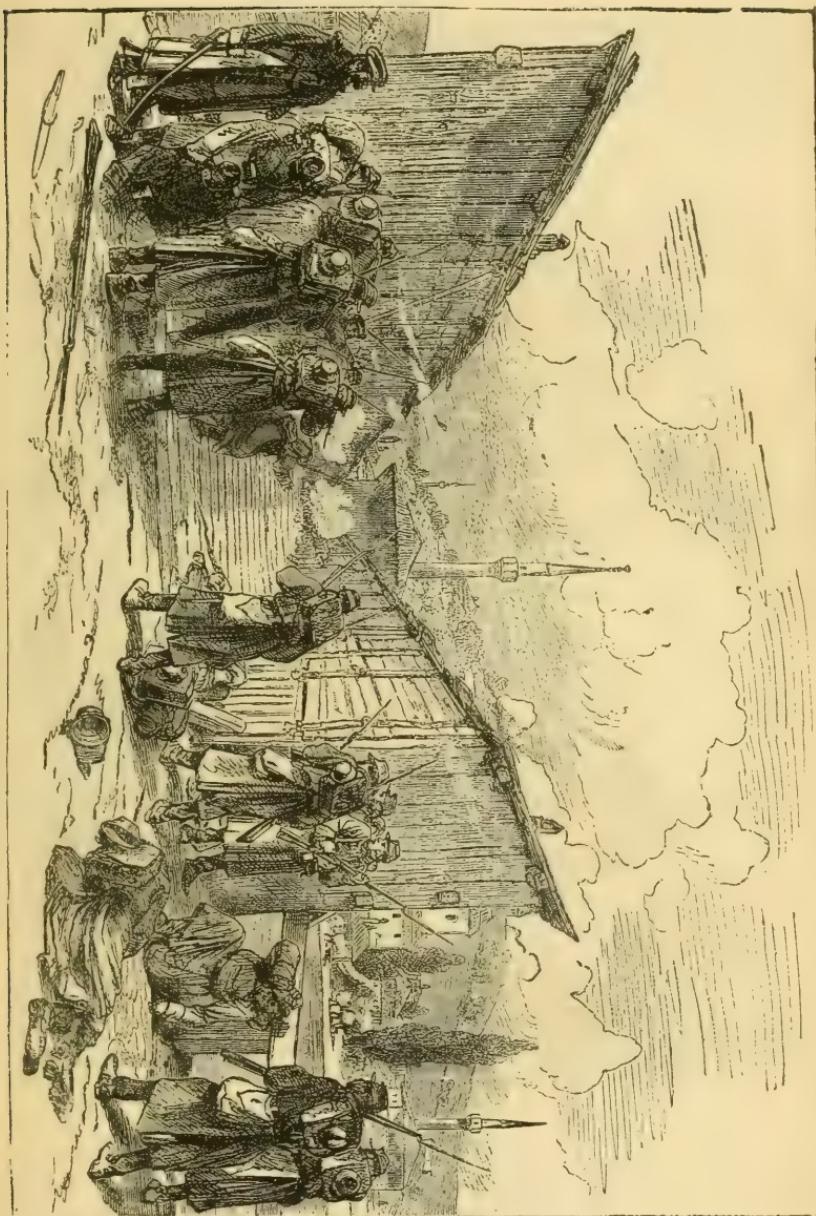


on the Kars River, an important engagement began on the 1st of October, with a skirmish near the Arpa Chai, in which the Russians were worsted. On the 2d, the Russian General made a serious attempt to cut off the Turks from Kars. At break of day the Russians captured the Great Yaghni Dagh, but their attempt on the Little Yaghni failed. They also occupied Parget and Akchakala, on the Kars River. On their right flank the Turks not only resisted the attack of the Russians, but drove them back as far as the Arpa Chai.

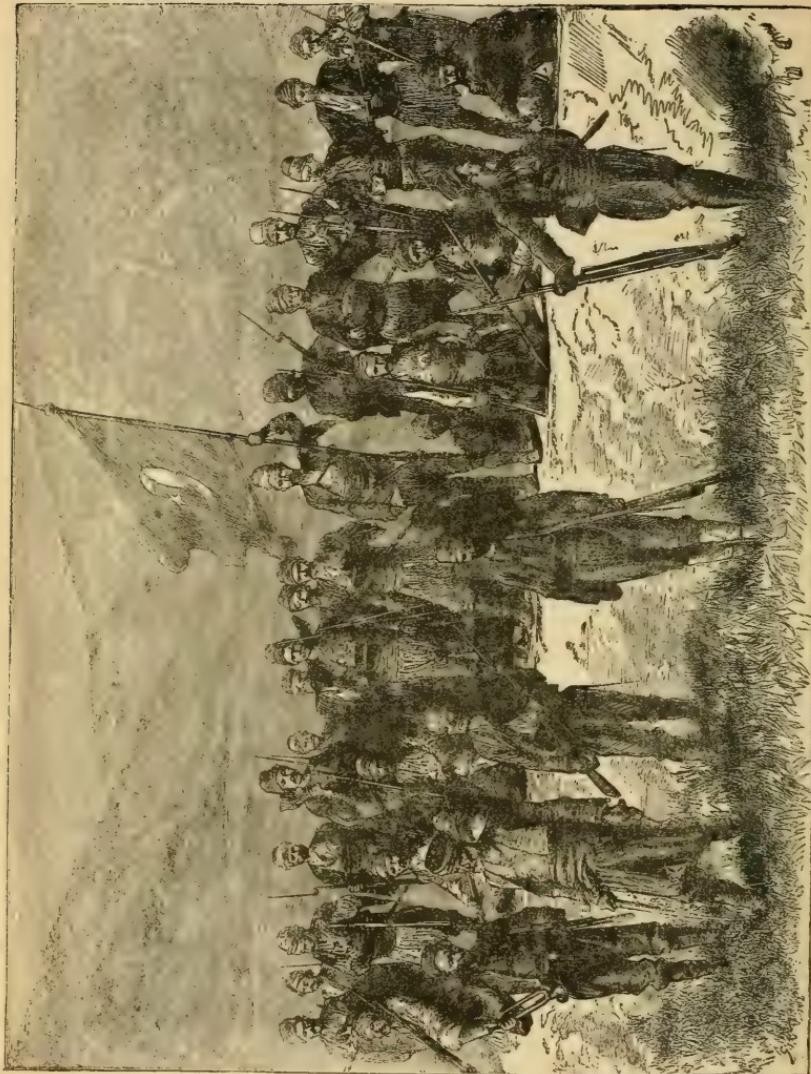


COLONEL WELLESLEY INSPECTING THE GRIVITZA REDOUBT.

The Russian losses on this day were sixty-nine officers and three thousand men killed and wounded. Next day there was but little fighting on the Russian left; the Russians retained their positions; but



RUSSIAN ATTACK ON THE BRIDGE AND TOWN OF LOFTCHA.



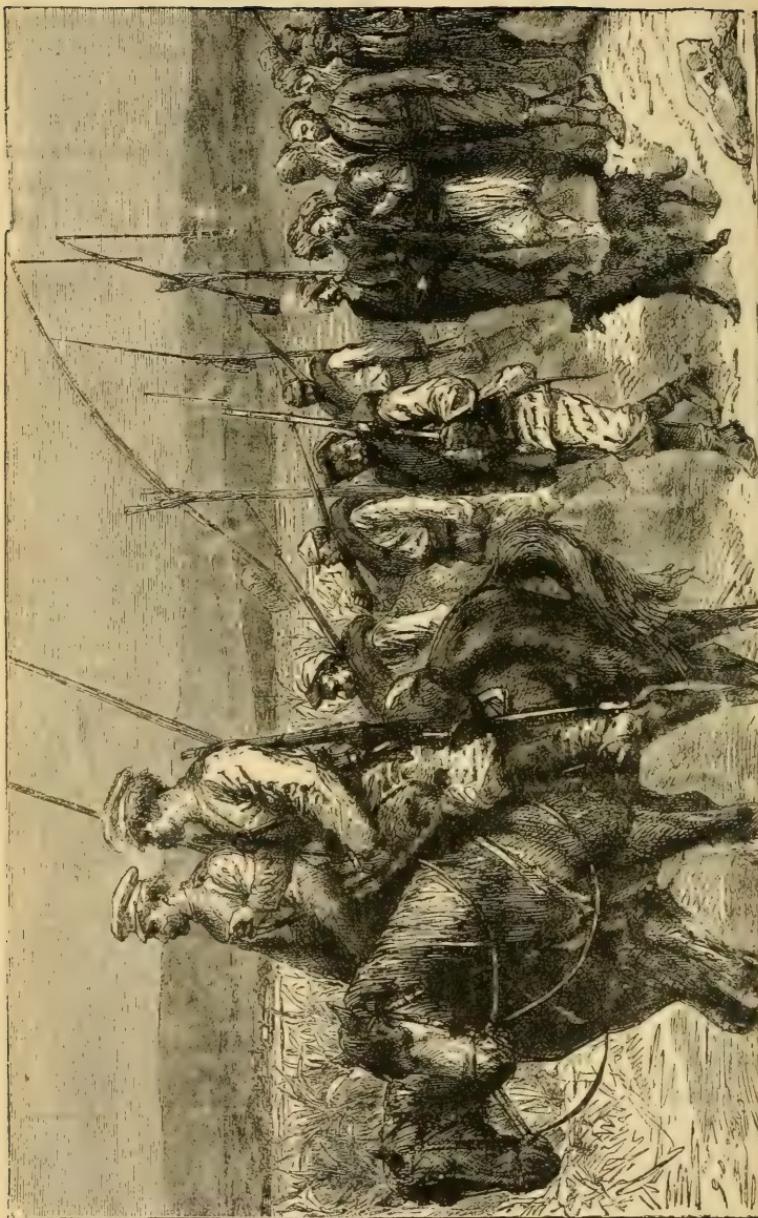
THE TURKS BEFORE PLEVNA, WAITING THE ATTACK.

on Thursday the battle recommenced. During the night the Russians voluntarily evacuated their positions on the Great Yaghni Dagh, owing to want of water. The Turks attacked the Russian centre, but were repulsed. After this, on the following day, no operation of

importance took place; but in the evening the Russians withdrew most of their forces from Parget, on the Kars River, only leaving there an advanced guard of six battalions.

Matters remained comparatively quiet, without any important incident, until Sunday, October 14th, when the column of General Lazaroff, which was operating with the object of outflanking the Turks, occupied the heights of Orlok, driving out the Turkish troops and compelling them to fall back in the direction of Kars and Vizinkoi. As by this movement part of the Turkish army was already turned, it was decided to make a general attack upon the positions of Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha, of which the fortified hill of Evlias formed the key. On Monday morning, therefore, after preparing the way by a very well directed cannonade the Russians commenced a general attack. In the afternoon General Heimann with the Eriwan, Grusien and Pjatigorsk regiments, and a battalion of riflemen, made a brilliant attack upon Mount Evlias, which he succeeded in carrying. By the Russian occupation of this position Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha's army was cut in two. That part of his army which retreated in the direction of Kars was attacked by the troops under General Lazaroff, and subsequently pursued by General Heimann. Towards five o'clock in the afternoon it was completely beaten and dispersed, losing an enormous number killed, several thousand prisoners, and four guns. At the same time, the three Turkish divisions which had remained on the Turkish right flank were entirely surrounded and driven out of their positions on the Aladja Dagh, with great loss, and at eight o'clock in the evening were compelled to surrender. Among the numerous prisoners taken were seven Pashas. The Russians also captured thirty-two guns and an immense quantity of war material. After this crushing defeat Mukhtar left part of his forces at Kars, and retreated towards Erzeroum.

After the battle of the 15th the main body of the Russian army marched over the heights of Vezinkoi and Orlok, thus leaving Kars on its right, and operated against the Turkish positions at Madikars, Sarykamish, and Mazca. The troops of Ismail Pasha, numbering twenty-seven battalions, attacked the position of General Tergukasoff on the 14th. Their operations were principally directed against the village of Chafaly, but they were everywhere driven back and compelled to retreat to their entrenchments. On the night of the 16th



TURKISH PRISONERS ON THEIR WAY TO RUSSIA.

Ismail Pasha evacuated his position at the foot of the mountain. He was pursued during his retreat by General Tergukasoff, who on the 18th occupied the positions on the heights of Sara formerly in Turkish occupation. But Ismail Pasha subsequently succeeded in rejoining Mukhtar Pasha, whose army, though much diminished and weakened, held a defensible position at Zewin, on the mountain road half way between Kars and Erzeroum. No engagement took place until the armies met at Deve-Boyun, near Erzeroum, on the 4th of November. Mukhtar was routed, and retired to Erzeroum, where he was closely besieged.

The investment of Kars began soon after the battle of Aladja Dagh. The Turks made a sortie from the entrenched camp southeast of the city, but were repulsed. The Russians continued, however, to press the siege, and finally were in a position to make safely the general assault which ultimately gave them possession of the fortress.

At last, on Sunday, the 18th of November, after a battle which lasted twelve hours, the fortress was captured by about fifteen thousand Russians, who climbed the steep rocks, ramparts and walls, and stormed an equal number of desperately fighting Turks in a headlong flight over their ditches and parapets, compelling them to die or surrender. The escalade had been originally fixed for the 13th, but it was postponed owing to bad weather. The principal attack was made on the southern forts. General Lazaroff commanded the right wing, and attacked Hafiz Pasha, a fort crowning a steep rocky height. General Count Grabbe, with a regiment of Moscow Grenadiers, assailed in the centre the Kanli-Tabia, the three towers and the citadel. The Ardahan Brigade and another regiment of Moscow Grenadiers, under Generals Roop and Komaroff, forming the left wing, assaulted Fort Inglis on the north.

The attack began in the centre at eight o'clock on Saturday evening, November 17th, when Count Grabbe led his brigade against the Kanli redoubt, and himself fell dead at the first onset, pierced by a bullet. Captain Kwadmicki, of the Thirty-ninth Regiment, was the first to enter the redoubt, at eleven o'clock at night. His sword was cut clean out of his hand and his clothes pierced. The redoubt surrendered early in the morning, and then the three towers, almost simultaneously with the capture of the Kanli redoubt.

The citadel, Fort Suiwarri, and Fort Hafiz Pasha, were carried by

assault. By daylight on Sunday morning, General Lazaroff's troops had made progress as far as the capture of Fort Kara Dagh. The other forts, especially the Arab-Tabia on the east, and the Tohakmok-Tabia on the west, maintained a stubborn resistance until eight o'clock, when all of the garrison who could escape fled toward Erzeroum. But these were subsequently overtaken by the dragoons and Cossacks, and brought back prisoners.

The fortress and city of Kars, with three hundred cannons, stores, ammunition, cash, etc., fell into Russian hands. The Turks lost five thousand killed and wounded, ten thousand prisoners, and many flags. The Russian loss was about two thousand seven hundred. The Russian soldiers made but trifling booty and spared peaceful citizens, women and children. General Loris Melikoff directed the battle during the day. The Grand Duke Michael was present also. The former entered the city at eleven o'clock Sunday morning.

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